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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DECLINE AND FALL
OF
THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER XXIV.

RESIDENCE OF JULIAN AT ANTIOCH.—HIS SUCCESSFUL EXPEDITION AGAINST THE PERSIANS.—PASSAGE OF THE TIGRIS.—THE RETREAT AND DEATH OF JULIAN.—ELECTION OF JOVIAN.—HE SAVES THE ROMAN ARMY BY A DISGRACEFUL TREATY.

THE philosophical fable which Julian composed under the name of the CÆSARS,* is one of the most agreeable and instructive productions of ancient wit.† During the freedom and equality of the days of the Saturnalia, Romulus prepared a feast for the deities of Olympus, who had adopted him as a worthy associate, and for the Roman princes who had reigned over his martial people, and the vanquished nations of the earth. The immortals were placed in just order on their thrones of state, and the table of the Cæsars was spread below

* See this fable, or satire, p. 306—336, of the Leipzig edition of Julian's works. The French version of the learned Ezekiel Spanheim (Paris, 1683) is coarse, languid, and incorrect; and his notes, proofs, illustrations, &c. are piled on each other till they form a mass of five hundred and fifty-seven close printed quarto pages. The Abbé de la Bleterie (Vie de Jovien, tom. i, p. 241—393,) has more happily expressed the spirit, as well as the sense, of the original, which he illustrates with some concise and curious notes. † Spanheim (in his preface) has most learnedly discussed the etymology, origin, resemblance, and disagreement, of the Greek *satyrs*, a dramatic piece, which was acted after the tragedy; and the Latin *satyræ* (from *Satura*), a

the Moon, in the upper region of the air. The tyrants, who would have disgraced the society of gods and men, were thrown headlong, by the inexorable Nemesis, into the Tartarean abyss. The rest of the Cæsars successively advanced to their seats; and as they passed, the vices, the defects, the blemishes, of their respective characters were maliciously noticed by old Silenus, a laughing moralist, who disguised the wisdom of a philosopher under the mask of a bacchanal.* As soon as the feast was ended, the voice of Mercury proclaimed the will of Jupiter, that a celestial crown should be the reward of superior merit. Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Trajan, and Marcus Antoninus, were selected as the most illustrious candidates; the effeminate Constantine† was not excluded from this honourable competition, and the great Alexander was invited to dispute the prize of glory with the Roman heroes. Each of the candidates was allowed to display the merit of his own exploits; but, in the judgment of the gods, the modest silence of Marcus pleaded more powerfully than the elaborate orations of his haughty rivals. When the judges of this awful contest proceeded to examine the heart, and to scrutinize the springs of action, the superiority of the imperial stoic appeared still more decisive and conspicuous.‡ Alexander and Cæsar, Augustus, Trajan, and Constantine, acknowledged with a blush, that fame, or power; or pleasure, had been the important object of *their* labours: but the gods themselves beheld with reverence and love, a virtuous mortal, who had practised on the throne the lessons of philosophy; and who, in a state of human imperfection, had aspired to imitate the moral attributes of the Deity. The value of this agreeable composition (the Cæsars of Julian) is enhanced by the rank of the author. A prince, who delineates with freedom the vices

miscellaneous composition, either in prose or verse. But the Cæsars of Julian are of such an original cast, that the critic is perplexed to which class he should ascribe them. [Horace (A. P. 220—250) is the best authority for the origin, meaning, and object of *Satires*.—ED.]

* This mixed character of Silenus is finely painted in the sixth eclogue of Virgil.

† Every impartial reader must perceive and condemn the partiality of Julian against his uncle Constantine, and the Christian religion. On this occasion, the interpreters are compelled by a more sacred interest, to renounce their allegiance, and to desert the cause of their author.

‡ Julian was secretly inclined to prefer a Greek to a Roman. But when he seriously compared a hero with a philosopher, he was sensible that

and virtues of his predecessors, subscribes in every line, the censure or approbation of his own conduct.

In the cool moments of reflection, Julian preferred the useful and benevolent virtues of Antoninus; but his ambitious spirit was inflamed by the glory of Alexander: and he solicited with equal ardour, the esteem of the wise, and the applause of the multitude. In the season of life when the powers of the mind and body enjoy the most active vigour, the emperor, who was instructed by the experience, and animated by the success, of the German war, resolved to signalize his reign by some more splendid and memorable achievement. The ambassadors of the east, from the continent of India, and the isle of Ceylon,* had respectfully saluted the Roman purple.† The nations of the west esteemed and dreaded the personal virtues of Julian, both in peace and war. He despised the trophies of a Gothic victory,‡ and was satisfied that the rapacious barbarians of

mankind had much greater obligations to Socrates than to Alexander. (Orat. ad Themistium, p. 264.)

* *Inde nationibus Indicis certatim cum donis optimates mittentibus . . . ab usque Divis, et Serendivis.* Ammian. 20, 7. This island, to which the names of *Tâprobana*, *Serendib*, and *Ceylon*, have been successively applied; manifests how imperfectly the seas and lands to the east of Cape Comorin were known to the Romans. 1. Under the reign of Claudius, a freedman, who farmed the customs of the Red sea, was accidentally driven by the winds upon this strange and undiscovered coast: he conversed six months with the natives; and the king of Ceylon, who heard, for the first time, of the power and justice of Rome, was persuaded to send an embassy to the emperor. (Plin. Hist. Nat. 6. 24.). 2. The geographers (and even Ptolemy) have magnified, above fifteen times, the real size of this new world, which they extended as far as the equator, and the neighbourhood of China. [M. Letronne, to whom Dean Milman refers, in a commentary on this note, supposed that the names of *Diva Gens* or *Divorum regio*, which the Romans gave to the eastern coast of Hindostan, had some connection with those of the *Divy point*, of *Devipatnam*, *Devidan*, and other places in that country. It is much more probable, that in their unfrequent and scanty intercourse, some mariners picked up from the natives a few words of a language which they did not understand, and hearing perhaps *dhi*, a village, often repeated, framed from it a name for the people, quite unknown to those whom it designated.—ED.]

† These embassies had been sent to Constantius. Ammianus, who unwarily deviates into gross flattery, must have forgotten the length of the way, and the short duration of the reign of Julian.

‡ *Gothos sæpe fallaces et perfidos; hostes quærere se meliores aiebat; illis enim sufficere mercatores Galatas per quos ubique sine conditionis*

the Danube would be restrained from any future violation of the faith of treaties, by the terror of his name, and the additional fortifications with which he strengthened the Thracian and Illyrian frontiers. The successor of Cyrus and Artaxerxes was the only rival whom he deemed worthy of his arms; and he resolved, by the final conquest of Persia, to chastise the haughty nation, which had so long resisted and insulted the majesty of Rome.*

As soon as the Persian monarch was informed that the throne of Constantius was filled by a prince of a very different character, he condescended to make some artful, or perhaps sincere, overtures, towards a negotiation of peace. But the pride of Sapor was astonished by the firmness of Julian, who sternly declared, that he would never consent to hold a peaceful conference among the flames and ruins of the cities of Mesopotamia; and who added, with a smile of contempt, that it was needless to treat by ambassadors, as he himself had determined to visit speedily the court of Persia. The impatience of the emperor urged the diligence of the military preparations. The generals were named; a formidable army was destined for this important service; and Julian, marching from Constantinople through the provinces of Asia Minor, arrived at Antioch about eight months after the death of his predecessor. His ardent desire to march into the heart of Persia was checked by the indispensable duty of regulating the state of the empire; by his zeal to revive the worship of the gods; and by the advice of his wisest friends, who represented the necessity of allowing the salutary interval of winter-quarters, to restore the exhausted strength of the legions of Gaul, and the discipline and spirit of the eastern troops. Julian was persuaded to fix, till the ensuing spring, his residence at Antioch, among a people maliciously disposed to deride the haste, and to censure the delays of their sovereign.†

If Julian had flattered himself, that his personal condiscipine venundantur (Ammian. xxii, 7). Within less than fifteen years, these Gothic slaves threatened and subdued their masters.

* Alexander reminds his rival Cæsar, who depreciated the fame and merit of an Asiatic victory, that Crassus and Antony had felt the Persian arrows; and that the Romans, in a war of three hundred years, had not yet subdued the single province of Mesopotamia or Assyria. Cæsaress, p. 324.) † The design of the Persian war is declared by Ammianus (22, 7. 12), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 79, 89, p. 305, 306),

nection with the capital of the east would be productive of mutual satisfaction to the prince and people, he made a very false estimate of his own character, and of the manners of Antioch.* The warmth of the climate disposed the natives to the most intemperate enjoyment of tranquillity and opulence; and the lively licentiousness of the Greeks was blended with the hereditary softness of the Syrians. Fashion was the only law, pleasure the only pursuit, and the splendour of dress and furniture was the only distinction of the citizens of Antioch. The arts of luxury were honoured; the serious and manly virtues were the subject of ridicule; and the contempt for female modesty and reverence, announced the universal corruption of the capital of the east. The love of spectacles was the taste, or rather passion, of the Syrians: the most skilful artists were procured from the adjacent cities;† a considerable share of the revenue was devoted to the public amusements;‡ and the magnificence of the games of the theatre and circus was considered as the happiness and as the glory of Antioch. The rustic manners of a prince who disdained such glory, and was insensible of such happiness, soon disgusted the delicacy of his subjects; and the effeminate orientals could neither imitate, nor admire, the severe simplicity which Julian always maintained, and sometimes affected. The days of festivity, consecrated by ancient custom to the honour of the gods, were the only occasions on which Julian relaxed his philosophic severity; and those festivals were the only days in which the Syrians of Antioch could reject the allurements of pleasure. The majority of the people supported the glory of the Christian name, which had been first invented by their ancestors;§ they contented themselves with disobeying the moral precepts, but they were

Zosimus (l. 3, p. 158), and Socrates (l. 3, c. 19). * The Satire of Julian, and the Homilies of St. Chrysostom, exhibit the same picture of Antioch. The miniature which the abbé de la Bletterie has copied from thence, (Vie de Julien. p. 332,) is elegant and correct.

† Laodicea furnished charioteers; Tyre and Berytus, comedians; Casarea, pantomimos; Heliopolis, singers; Gaza, gladiators; Ascalon, wrestlers; and Castabala, rope-dancers. See the *Expositio totius Mundi*, p. 6, in the third tome of Hudson's *Minor Geographers*.

‡ Χριστὸν δὲ ἀγαπῶντες ἔχετε πολιοῦχον ἀντὶ τοῦ Διός. The people of Antioch ingenuously professed their attachment to the *Chi* (Christ), and the *Kappa* (Constantius). Julian in *Misopogon*, p. 357.

scrupulously attached to the speculative doctrines of their religion. The church of Antioch was distracted by heresy and schism; but the Arians and the Athanasians, the followers of Meletius and those of Paulinus,* were actuated by the same pious hatred of their common adversary.

The strongest prejudice was entertained against the character of an apostate, the enemy and successor of a prince who had engaged the affections of a very numerous sect; and the removal of St. Babylas excited an implacable opposition to the person of Julian. His subjects complained, with superstitious indignation, that famine had pursued the emperor's steps from Constantinople to Antioch; and the discontent of a hungry people was exasperated by the injudicious attempt to relieve their distress. The inclemency of the season had affected the harvests of Syria; and the price of bread,† in the markets of Antioch, had naturally risen in proportion to the scarcity of corn. But the fair and reasonable proportion was soon violated by the rapacious arts of monopoly. In this unequal contest, in which the produce of the land is claimed by one party, as his exclusive property; is used by another, as a lucrative object of trade; and is required by a third, for the daily and necessary support of life; all the profits of the intermediate agents are accumulated on the head of the defenceless consumers. The hardships of their situation were exaggerated and increased by their own impatience and anxiety; and the apprehension of a scarcity gradually produced the appearances of a famine. When the luxurious citizens of Antioch

* The schism of Antioch, which lasted eighty-five years, (A.D. 330—415.) was inflamed, while Julian resided in that city, by the indiscreet ordination of Paulinus. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclési.* tom. vii, p. 803, of the 4to. edition, (Paris, 1701, &c.) which henceforward I shall quote.

† Julian states three different proportions of five, ten, or fifteen *modii* of wheat, for one piece of gold, according to the degrees of plenty and scarcity, (in *Misopogon*. p. 369.) From this fact, and from some collateral examples, I conclude, that under the successors of Constantine, the moderate price of wheat was about thirty-two shillings the English quarter, which is equal to the average price of the sixty-four first years of the present century. See Arbuthnot's *Tables of Coins, Weights, and Measures*, p. 88, 89. *Plin. Hist. Natur.* 18. 12. *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxviii, p. 718—721. *Smith's Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, vol. i. p. 246. This last I am proud to quote, as the work of a sage and a friend.

complained of the high price of poultry and fish, Julian publicly declared, that a frugal city ought to be satisfied with a regular supply of wine, oil, and bread; but he acknowledged, that it was the duty of a sovereign to provide for the subsistence of his people. With this salutary view, the emperor ventured on a very dangerous and doubtful step, of fixing, by legal authority, the value of corn. He enacted, that, in a time of scarcity, it should be sold at a price which had seldom been known in the most plentiful years; and, that his own example might strengthen his laws, he sent into the market four hundred and twenty-two thousand *modii*, or measures, which were drawn by his order from the granaries of Hierapolis, of Chalcis, and even of Egypt. The consequences might have been foreseen, and were soon felt. The imperial wheat was purchased by the rich merchants; the proprietors of land, or of corn, withheld from the city the accustomed supply; and the small quantities that appeared in the market were secretly sold at an advanced and illegal price. Julian still continued to applaud his own policy, treated the complaints of the people as a vain and ungrateful murmur, and convinced Antioch that he had inherited the obstinacy, though not the cruelty, of his brother Gallus.* The remonstrances of the municipal senate served only to exasperate his inflexible mind. He was persuaded, perhaps with truth, that the senators of Antioch who possessed lands, or were concerned in trade, had themselves contributed to the calamities of their country; and he imputed the disrespectful boldness which they assumed, to the sense, not of public duty, but of private interest. The whole body, consisting of two hundred of the most noble and wealthy citizens, were sent under a guard from the palace to the prison; and though they were permitted, before the close of evening, to return to their respective houses,† the emperor himself could not obtain the forgiveness which he had so easily granted. The same grievances were still the subject of the same complaints,

* Nunquam a proposito declinabat, Galli similis fratris, licet incruentus. Ammian. 22, 14. The ignorance of the most enlightened princes may claim some excuse; but we cannot be satisfied with Julian's own defence (in Misopogon, p. 368, 369), or the elaborate apology of Libanius (Orat. Parental. c. 97, p. 321). † Their short and easy confinement is gently touched by Libanius. (Orat. Parent.

which were industriously circulated by the wit and levity of the Syrian Greeks. During the licentious days of the Saturnalia, the streets of the city resounded with insolent songs, which derided the laws, the religion, the personal conduct, and even the *beard*, of the emperor; and the spirit of Antioch was manifested by the connivance of the magistrates, and the applause of the multitude.* The disciple of Socrates was too deeply affected by these popular insults; but the monarch, endowed with quick sensibility, and possessed of absolute power, refused his passions the gratification of revenge. A tyrant might have proscribed, without distinction, the lives and fortunes of the citizens of Antioch; and the unwarlike Syrians must have patiently submitted to the lust, the rapaciousness, and the cruelty, of the faithful legions of Gaul. A milder sentence might have deprived the capital of the east of its honours and privileges; and the courtiers, perhaps the subjects of Julian, would have applauded an act of justice, which asserted the dignity of the supreme magistrate of the republic.† But instead of abusing, or exerting, the authority of the state, to revenge his personal injuries, Julian contented himself with an inoffensive mode of retaliation, which it would be in the power of few princes to employ. He had been insulted by satires and libels; in his turn he composed, under the title of the *Enemy of the Beard*, an ironical confession of his own faults, and a severe satire of the licentious and effeminate manners of Antioch. This imperial reply was publicly exposed before the gates of the palace; and the MISOPOGON still remains a singular monument of the resentment, the wit, the humanity, and the indiscretion, of Julian.‡ Though he affected to laugh, he could not forgive.§ His contempt

c. 98, p. 322, 323.) * Libanius (ad Antiochenos de Imperatoris ira, c. 17—19, in Fabricius, Bibl. Græc. tom. vii, p. 221—223) like a skilful advocate, severely censures the folly of the people, who suffered for the crime of a few obscure and drunken wretches. † Libanius (ad Antiochen. c. 7, p. 213) reminds Antioch of the recent chastisement of Cæsarea: and even Julian (in Misopogon, p. 355) insinuates how severely Tarentum had expiated the insult to the Roman ambassadors.

‡ On the subject of the Misopogon, see Ammianus (22, 14), Libanius (Orat. Parentalis, c. 99, p. 323), Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. 4, p. 133), and the Chronicle of Antioch, by John Malala (tom. ii, p. 15, 16). I have essential obligations to the translation and notes of the Abbé de la Bletterie. (Vie de Jovien, tom. ii, p. 1—138.) § Ammianus very justly remarks, Coactus dissimulare pro tempore irā suffilabatur internā.

was expressed, and his revenge might be gratified, by the nomination of a governor* worthy only of such subjects: and the emperor, for ever renouncing the ungrateful city, proclaimed his resolution to pass the ensuing winter at Tarsus in Cilicia.†

Yet Antioch possessed one citizen, whose genius and virtues might atone, in the opinion of Julian, for the vice and folly of his country. The sophist Libanius was born in the capital of the east; he publicly professed the arts of rhetoric and declamation at Nice, Nicomedia, Constantinople, Athens, and, during the remainder of his life, at Antioch. His school was assiduously frequented by the Grecian youth; his disciples, who sometimes exceeded the number of eighty, celebrated their incomparable master; and the jealousy of his rivals, who persecuted him from one city to another, confirmed the favourable opinion which Libanius ostentatiously displayed of his superior merit. The preceptors of Julian had extorted a rash but solemn assurance, that he would never attend the lectures of their adversary: the curiosity of the royal youth was checked and inflamed: he secretly procured the writings of this dangerous sophist, and gradually surpassed, in the perfect imitation of his style, the most laborious of his domestic pupils.‡ When Julian ascended the throne, he declared his impatience to embrace and reward the Syrian sophist, who had preserved, in a degenerate age, the Grecian purity of taste, of manners, and of religion. The emperor's prepossession was increased and justified by the discreet pride of his favourite. Instead of pressing, with the foremost of the crowd, into the palace of Constantinople, Libanius calmly expected his arrival at Antioch; withdrew from court on the first symptoms of coldness and indifference; required a formal invitation for each visit; and taught his sovereign an important

The elaborate irony of Julian at length bursts forth into serious and direct invective.

* Ipse autem Antiochiam egressurus, Heliopoliten quendam Alexandrum Syriacæ jurisdictioni præfecit, turbulentum et sævum; dicebatque non illum meruisse, sed Antiochensibus avaris et contumeliosis hujusmodi judicem convenire. (Ammian. 23, 2.) Libanius (epist. 722, p. 346, 347), who confesses to Julian himself, that he had shared the general discontent, pretends that Alexander was a useful, though harsh, reformer of the manners and religion of Antioch.

† Julian, in Misopogon, p. 364, Ammian. 23, 2, and Valesius ad loc. Libanius, in a professed oration, invites him to return to his loyal and penitent city of Antioch. ‡ Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 7, p. 230, 231

lesson, that he might command the obedience of a subject, but that he must deserve the attachment of a friend. The sophists of every age, despising, or affecting to despise, the accidental distinctions of birth and fortune,* reserve their esteem for the superior qualities of the mind, with which they themselves are so plentifully endowed. Julian might disdain the acclamations of a venal court, who adored the imperial purple; but he was deeply flattered by the praise, the admonition, the freedom, and the envy of an independent philosopher, who refused his favours, loved his person, celebrated his fame, and protected his memory. The voluminous writings of Libanius still exist: for the most part, they are the vain and idle compositions of an orator, who cultivated the science of words; the productions of a recluse student, whose mind, regardless of his contemporaries, was incessantly fixed on the Trojan war, and the Athenian commonwealth. Yet the sophist of Antioch sometimes descended from this imaginary elevation; he entertained a various and elaborate correspondence;† he praised the virtues of his own times; he boldly arraigned the abuses of public and private life; and he eloquently pleaded the cause of Antioch against the just resentment of Julian and Theodosius. It is the common calamity of old age,‡ to lose whatever might have rendered it desirable; but Libanius experienced the peculiar misfortune of surviving the religion and the sciences, to which he had consecrated his genius. The friend of Julian was an indignant spectator of the triumph of Christianity; and his bigotry, which darkened the prospect of the visible world, did not inspire Libanius with any lively hopes of celestial glory and happiness.§

* Eunapius reports, that Libanius refused the honorary rank of prætorian prefect, as less illustrious than the title of Sophist (in Vit. Sophist. p. 135). The critics have observed a similar sentiment in one of the epistles (18th edit. Wolf) of Libanius himself. † Near two thousand of his letters, a mode of composition in which Libanius was thought to excel, are still extant, and already published. The critics may praise their subtle and elegant brevity; yet Dr. Bentley (Dissertation upon Phalaris, p. 487) might justly, though quaintly, observe, that "you feel, by the emptiness and deadness of them, that you converse with some dreaming pedant, with his elbow on his desk."

‡ His birth is assigned to the year 314. He mentions the seventy-sixth year of his age (A.D. 390), and seems to allude to some events of a still later date. [The latest ascertained date in the life of Libanius, is that of his Ep. 941, addressed "Tatiano Consuli." Tatianus and Symmachus were consuls, A.D. 391.—Ed.] § Libanius has composed

The martial impatience of Julian urged him to take the field in the beginning of the spring; and he dismissed, with contempt and reproach, the senate of Antioch, who accompanied the emperor beyond the limits of their own territory, to which he was resolved never to return. After a laborious march of two days,* he halted on the third, at Beræa, or Aleppo, where he had the mortification of finding a senate almost entirely Christian, who received with cold and formal demonstrations of respect, the eloquent sermon of the apostle of Paganism. The son of one of the most illustrious citizens of Beræa, who had embraced, either from interest or conscience, the religion of the emperor, was disinherited by his angry parent. The father and the son were invited to the imperial table. Julian, placing himself between them, attempted, without success, to inculcate the lesson and example of toleration; supported, with affected calmness, the indiscreet zeal of the aged Christian, who seemed to forget the sentiments of nature and the duty of a subject; and at length turning towards the afflicted youth,—"Since you have lost a father," said he, "for my sake, it is incumbent on me to supply his place.†" The emperor was received in a manner much more agreeable to his wishes at Batnæ, a small town pleasantly seated in a grove of cypresses, about twenty miles from the city of Hierapolis.‡

the vain, prolix, but curious narrative of his own life (ii, 1—84, edit. Morell.), of which Eunapius (p. 130—135) has left a concise and unfavourable account. Among the moderns, Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, iv, 571—576), Fabricius (*Bibliot. Græc.* vii, 378—414), and Lardner (*Heathen Testimonies*, tom. iv, p. 127—163) have illustrated the character and writings of this famous sophist. * From Antioch to Litarbe, on the territory of Chaleis, the road, over hills and through morasses, was extremely bad; and the loose stones were cemented only with sand. (Julian, *epist.* 27) It is singular enough that the Romans should have neglected the great communication between Antioch and the Euphrates. See Wesseling, *Itinerar.* p. 190. Bergier, *Hist. des Grands Chemins*, tom. ii, p. 100. † Julian alludes to this incident (*epist.* 27), which is more distinctly related by Theodoret (*lib.* 3. c. 22). The intolerant spirit of the father is applauded by Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv, p. 534), and even by La Bleterie (*Vie de Julien*, p. 413). ‡ The name of Batnæ, according to Dean Milman, in his note on this passage, is "of Syriac origin, and means a plain in a valley, where waters meet." The Celtic custom, already noticed, of planting earlier and ruder settlements at similar points, and designating them from their site, was followed by later tribes and in other varieties of language. The Romans, too, had seve-

The solemn rites of sacrifice were decently prepared by the inhabitants of Batnæ, who seemed attached to the worship of their tutelar deities, Apollo and Jupiter; but the serious piety of Julian was offended by the tumult of their applause; and he too clearly discerned, that the smoke which arose from their altars was the incense of flattery rather than of devotion. The ancient and magnificent temple which had sanctified, for so many ages, the city of Hierapolis,* no longer subsisted; and the consecrated wealth, which afforded a liberal maintenance to more than three hundred priests, might hasten its downfall. Yet Julian enjoyed the satisfaction of embracing a philosopher and a friend, whose religious firmness had withstood the pressing and repeated solicitations of Constantius and Gallus, as often as those princes lodged at his house, in their passage through Hierapolis. In the hurry of military preparation, and the careless confidence of a familiar correspondence, the zeal of Julian appears to have been lively and uniform. He had now undertaken an important and difficult war; and the anxiety of the event rendered him still more attentive to observe and register the most trifling presages, from which, according to the rules of divination, any knowledge of futurity could be derived.† He informed Libanius of his progress as far as Hierapolis, by an elegant epistle,‡ which displays the facility of his genius, and his tender friendship for the sophist of Antioch.

Hierapolis, situate almost on the banks of the Euphrates§, had been appointed for the general rendezvous of the Roman troops, who immediately passed the great river on a bridge of boats, which was previously constructed.¶ If the incli-

ral *Confluentes*, but whether the name originated with them or was a corruption of a former barbarian appellation cannot now be ascertained.—ED.

* See the curious treatise de Deâ Syriâ, inserted among the works of Lucian (tom. iii, p. 451—490; edit. Reitz). The singular appellation of *Ninus vetus* (Ammian. 14, 8) might induce a suspicion that Hierapolis had been the royal seat of the Assyrians.

† Julian (epist. 28) kept a regular account of all the fortunate omens; but he suppresses the inauspicious signs which Ammianus (23, 2) has carefully recorded.

‡ Julian, epist. 27, p. 399—402. § I take the earliest opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to M. D'Anville, for his recent geography of the Euphrates and the Tigris (Paris 1780, in 4to.) which particularly illustrates the expedition of Julian. ¶ There are three passages, within a few miles of each other: 1. Zeugma, celebrated

nations of Julian had been similar to those of his predecessor, he might have wasted the active and important season of the year in the circus of Samosata, or in the churches of Edessa. But as the warlike emperor, instead of Constantius, had chosen Alexander for his model, he advanced without delay to Carrhæ,* a very ancient city of Mesopotamia, at the distance of fourscore miles from Hierapolis. The temple of the Moon attracted the devotion of Julian; but the halt of a few days was principally employed in completing the immense preparations of the Persian war. The secret of the expedition had hitherto remained in his own breast; but as Carrhæ is the point of separation of the two great roads, he could no longer conceal, whether it was his design to attack the dominions of Sapor on the side of the Tigris, or on that of the Euphrates. The emperor detached an army of thirty thousand men, under the command of his kinsman Procopius, and of Sebastian, who had been duke of Egypt. They were ordered to direct their march towards Nisibis, and to secure the frontier from the desultory incursions of the enemy, before they attempted the passage of the Tigris. Their subsequent operations were left to the discretion of the generals; but Julian expected, that after wasting with fire and sword the fertile districts of Media and Adiabene, they might arrive under the walls of Ctesiphon about the same time that he himself, advancing with equal steps along the banks of the Euphrates, should besiege the capital of the Persian monarchy. The success of this well-concerted plan depended, in a great measure, on the powerful and ready assistance of the king of Armenia, who, without exposing the safety of his own dominions, might detach an army of four thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot, to the assistance of the Romans.† But the feeble Arsaces Tiranus,‡ king of Armenia, had degenerated still more

by the ancients; 2. Bir, frequented by the moderns; and, 3. The bridge of Membigz, or Hierapolis, at the distance of four parasangs from the city.

* Haran, or Carrhæ, was the ancient residence of the Sabæans, and of Abraham. See the Index Geographicus of Schultens (ad calcem Vit. Saladin.) a work from which I have obtained much oriental knowledge concerning the ancient and modern geography of Syria and the adjacent countries.

† See Xenophon. Cyropæd. lib. 3, p. 189, edit. Hutchinson. Artavasdes might have supplied Mark Antony with sixteen thousand horse, armed and disciplined after the Parthian manner. (Plutarch, in M. Antonio, tom. v, p. 117.) ‡ Moses of Choreas

shamefully than his father Chosroes, from the manly virtues of the great Tiridates; and as the pusillanimous monarch was averse to any enterprise of danger and glory, he could disguise his timid indolence by the more decent excuses of religion and gratitude. He expressed a pious attachment to the memory of Constantius, from whose hands he had received in marriage Olympias, the daughter of the prefect Ablavius; and the alliance of a female, who had been educated as the destined wife of the emperor Constans, exalted the dignity of a barbarian king.* Tiranus professed the Christian religion; he reigned over a nation of Christians; and he was restrained by every principle of conscience and interest, from contributing to the victory, which would consummate the ruin of the church. The alienated mind of Tiranus was exasperated by the indiscretion of Julian, who treated the king of Armenia as *his* slave, and as the enemy of the gods. The haughty and threatening style of the imperial mandates† awakened the secret indignation of a prince, who, in the humiliating state of dependence, was still conscious of his royal descent from the Arsacides, the lords of the east, and the rivals of the Roman power.

The military dispositions of Julian were skilfully contrived to deceive the spies, and to divert the attention of Sapor. The legions appeared to direct their march towards Nisibis and the Tigris. On a sudden they wheeled to the right; traversed the level and naked plain of Carrhæ; and reached, on the third day, the banks of the Euphrates, where the strong town of Nicephorium, or Callinicum, had been founded by the Macedonian kings. From thence the emperor pursued his march, above ninety miles, along the winding stream of the Euphrates, till, at length, about one month after his departure from Antioch, he discovered the towers of Circesium, the extreme limit of the Roman dominions.

(Hist. Armeniac. lib. 3, c. 11, p. 242) fixes his accession (A.D. 354) to the seventeenth year of Constantius. * Ammian. 20, 11. Athanasius

(tom. i, p. 856) says, in general terms, that Constantius gave his brother's widow τοῖς βαρβάροις, an expression more suitable to a Roman than a Christian. † Ammianus (23, 2) uses a word much too soft

for the occasion, *monuerat*. Muratori (Fabricius, Bibliothec. Græc. tom. vii, p. 86) has published an epistle from Julian to the satrap Arsaces, fierce, vulgar, and (though it might deceive Sozomen, lib. 6, c. 5) most probably spurious. La Bleterie (Hist. de Jovien, tom. ii, p. 339) translates and rejects it.

The army of Julian, the most numerous that any of the Cæsars had ever led against Persia, consisted of sixty-five thousand effective and well-disciplined soldiers. The veteran bands of cavalry and infantry, of Romans and barbarians, had been selected from the different provinces; and a just pre-eminence of loyalty and valour was claimed by the hardy Gauls, who guarded the throne and person of their beloved prince. A formidable body of Scythian auxiliaries had been transported from another climate, and almost from another world, to invade a distant country, of whose name and situation they were ignorant. The love of rapine and war allured to the imperial standard several tribes of Saracens, or roving Arabs, whose service Julian had commanded, while he sternly refused the payment of the accustomed subsidies. The broad channel of the Euphrates* was crowded by a fleet of eleven hundred ships, destined to attend the motions and to satisfy the wants, of the Roman army. The military strength of the fleet was composed of fifty armed galleys; and these were accompanied by an equal number of flat-bottomed boats, which might occasionally be connected into the form of temporary bridges. The rest of the ships, partly constructed of timber, and partly covered with raw hides, were laden with an almost inexhaustible supply of arms and engines, of utensils and provisions. The vigilant humanity of Julian had embarked a very large magazine of vinegar and biscuit for the use of the soldiers; but he prohibited the indulgence of wine, and rigorously stopped a long string of superfluous camels that attempted to follow the rear of the army. The river Chaboras falls into the Euphrates at Circesium,† and as soon as the trumpet gave the signal of march, the Romans passed the little stream which separated two mighty and hostile empires.

* *Latissimum flumen Euphraten artabat.* Ammian. 23, 3. Somewhat higher, at the fords of Thapsacus, the river is four stadia, or eight hundred yards, almost half an English mile broad. (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, lib. 1, p. 41, edit. Hutchinson, with Foster's Observations, p. 29, &c. in the second volume of Spelman's translation.) If the breadth of the Euphrates at Bir and Zeugma is no more than one hundred and thirty yards (*Voyages de Niebuhr*, tom. ii, p. 335), the enormous difference must chiefly arise from the depth of the channel.

† *Monumentum tutissimum et fabrè politum, cujus mœnia Abora (the orientals asperate Chaboras or Chabour) et Euphrates ambiunt flumina, velut spatium insulare fingentes.* (Ammian. 23, 5.) [For the Chaboras and Circesium, see notes, vol. i. p. 243 and 448.—Ed.]

The custom of ancient discipline required a military oration: and Julian embraced every opportunity of displaying his eloquence. He animated the impatient and attentive legions by the example of the inflexible courage and glorious triumphs of their ancestors. He excited their resentment by a lively picture of the insolence of the Persians; and he exhorted them to imitate his firm resolution, either to extirpate that perfidious nation, or to devote his life in the cause of the republic. The eloquence of Julian was enforced by a donative of one hundred and thirty pieces of silver to every soldier; and the bridge of the Chaboras was instantly cut away, to convince the troops that they must place their hopes of safety in the success of their arms. Yet the prudence of the emperor induced him to secure a remote frontier, perpetually exposed to the inroads of the hostile Arabs. A detachment of four thousand men was left at Circesium, which completed, to the number of ten thousand, the regular garrison of that important fortress.*

From the moment that the Romans entered the enemy's country,† the country of an active and artful enemy, the order of march was disposed in three columns.‡ The strength of the infantry, and consequently of the whole army, was placed in the centre, under the peculiar command of their master-general Victor. On the right, the brave Nevitta led a column of several legions along the banks of the Euphrates, and almost always in sight of the fleet. The left flank of the army was protected by the column of cavalry. Hormisdas and Arinthæus were appointed generals of the horse; and the singular adventures of Hormisdas§ are not undeserving of our notice. He was a Persian prince of the royal race of the Sassanides, who, in the troubles of the minority of Sapor, had escaped from prison

* The enterprise and armament of Julian are described by himself (epist. 27), Ammianus Marcellinus (23, 3—5), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 108, 109, p. 332, 333), Zosimus (lib. 3, p. 160—162), Sozomen, (lib. 6, c. 1), and John Malala (tom. ii, p. 17). † Before he enters Persia, Ammianus copiously describes (23. 6, p. 396—419, edit. Gronov. in 4to.) the eighteen great satrapies, or provinces (as far as the Seric or Chinese frontiers), which were subject to the Sassanides.

‡ Ammianus (24, 1), and Zosimus (lib. 3, p. 162, 163) have accurately expressed the order of march. § The adventures of Hormisdas are related with some mixture of fable. (Zosimus, lib. 2, p. 100—102. Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv, p. 98.) It is

to the hospitable court of the great Constantine. Hormisdas at first excited the compassion, and at length acquired the esteem, of his new masters; his valour and fidelity raised him to the military honours of the Roman service: and, though a Christian, he might indulge the secret satisfaction of convincing his ungrateful country, that an oppressed subject may prove the most dangerous enemy. Such was the disposition of the three principal columns. The front and flanks of the army were covered by Lucilianus with a flying detachment of fifteen hundred light-armed soldiers, whose active vigilance observed the most distant signs, and conveyed the earliest notice of any hostile approach. Dagalaiphus, and Secundinus duke of Osrhoene, conducted the troops of the rear-guard; the baggage securely proceeded in the intervals of the columns; and the ranks, from a motive either of use or ostentation, were formed in such open order, that the whole line of march extended almost ten miles. The ordinary post of Julian was at the head of the centre column; but as he preferred the duties of a general to the state of a monarch, he rapidly moved, with a small escort of light cavalry, to the front, the rear, the flanks—wherever his presence could animate or protect the march of the Roman army. The country which they traversed, from the Chaboras to the cultivated lands of Assyria, may be considered as a part of the desert of Arabia, a dry and barren waste, which could never be improved by the most powerful arts of human industry. Julian marched over the same ground which had been trod above seven hundred years before by the footsteps of the younger Cyrus, and which is described by one of the companions of his expedition, the sage and heroic Xenophon.* "The country was

almost impossible that he should be the brother (*frater germanus*) of an *eldest* and *posthumous* child: nor do I recollect that Ammianus ever gives him that title. * See the first book of the *Anabasis*; p. 45, 46. This pleasing work is original and authentic. Yet Xenophon's memory, perhaps many years after the expedition, has sometimes betrayed him, and the distances which he marks are often larger than either a soldier or a geographer will allow. [Mr. Layard has given an interesting description of this country. (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 233, 284.) "To the Chebar," he says, "were transported the captive children of Israel. Around Arban may have been pitched the tents of the sorrowing Jews, as those of the Arabs were during my visit. To the same pastures they led their sheep, and they drank of the same waters. Then the banks of the river were covered with towns and villages, and a palace temple still stood on the mound, reflected in the

a plain throughout, as even as the sea, and full of worm-wood; and if any other kind of shrubs or reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic smell; but no trees could be seen. Bustards and ostriches, antelopes and wild asses,* appeared to be the only inhabitants of the desert; and the fatigues of the march were alleviated by the amusements of the chase." The loose sand of the desert was frequently raised by the wind into clouds of dust: and a great number of the soldiers of Julian, with their tents, were suddenly thrown to the ground by the violence of an unexpected hurricane.

The sandy plains of Mesopotamia were abandoned to the antelopes and wild asses of the desert; but a variety of populous towns and villages were pleasantly situated on the banks of the Euphrates, and in the islands which are occasionally formed by that river. The city of Annah, or Anatho,† the actual residence of an Arabian emir, is composed of two long streets, which inclose, within a natural fortification, a small island in the midst, and two fruitful spots on either side of the Euphrates. The warlike inhabitants of Anatho shewed a disposition to stop the march of a Roman emperor, till they were diverted from such fatal presumption, by the mild exhortations of prince Hormisdas, and the approaching terrors of the fleet and army. They implored, and experienced, the clemency of Julian, who transplanted the people to an advantageous settlement near Chalcis in Syria, and admitted Pusæus, the governor, to an honourable rank in his service and friendship. But the impregnable fortress of Thilutha could scorn the menace of a siege; and the emperor was obliged to content himself

transparent stream. But the hand of time has long since swept away the busy crowds which thronged the banks of the river. From its mouth to its source, from Carchemish to Ras-al-din, there is now no single permanent human habitation on the Khabour. Its rich meadows and its deserted ruins are alike become the encamping places of the wandering Arabs."—ED.] * Mr. Spelman, the English translator of the *Anabasis* (vol. i, p. 51), confounds the antelope with the roebuck, and the wild ass with the zebra. † See *Voyages de Tavernier*, part 1, lib. 3, p. 316, and more especially *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle*, tom. i, lett. 17, p. 671, &c. He was ignorant of the old name and condition of Annah. Our blind travellers seldom possess any previous knowledge of the countries which they visit. Shaw and Tournefort deserve an honourable exception. [This description of Anatho agrees with that given of it by an early Assyrian monarch, in one of the inscriptions discovered by Mr. Layard at Nimroud. "On the top of (or above) Anat Shalted, Anat stands in the middle of the Euphratea." The modern town is called Ana. Bab. and Nin. p. 355.—ED.]

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with an insulting promise, that when he had subdued the interior provinces of Persia, Thilutha would no longer refuse to grace the triumph of the conqueror. The inhabitants of the open towns, unable to resist and unwilling to yield, fled with precipitation; and their houses, filled with spoil and provisions, were occupied by the soldiers of Julian, who massacred, without remorse, and without punishment, some defenceless women. During the march, the Surenas, or Persian general, and Malek Rodosaces, the renowned emir of the tribe of Gassan,* incessantly hovered round the army: every straggler was intercepted; every detachment was attacked; and the valiant Hormisdas escaped with some difficulty from their hands. But the barbarians were finally repulsed; the country became every day less favourable to the operations of cavalry; and when the Romans arrived at Macepracta, they perceived the ruins of the wall, which had been constructed by the ancient kings of Assyria, to secure their dominions from the incursions of the Medes. These preliminaries of the expedition of Julian appear to have employed about fifteen days; and we may compute near three hundred miles from the fortress of Circesium to the wall of Macepracta.†

The fertile province of Assyria,‡ which stretched beyond the Tigris, as far as the mountains of Media,§ extended about four hundred miles from the ancient wall of Mace-

* *Famosi nominis latro*, says Ammianus; a high encomium for an Arab. The tribe of Gassan had settled on the edge of Syria, and reigned some time in Damascus, under a dynasty of thirty-one kings or emirs, from the time of Pompey to that of the Caliph Omar. D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 360. Pocock, *Specimen Hist. Arabiæ*, p. 75—78. The name of Rodosaces does not appear in the list. † See Ammianus (24, 1, 2), Libanius (*Orat. Parental.* c. 110, p. 334), Zosimus (lib. 3, p. 164—168). [This ancient line of fortification may still be traced. In some parts it has the name of Far-riyah, and in others that of Sidr-al-Nimroud, or the Rampart of Nimrod. Layard's *B. and N.* p. 471, 578.—Ed.] ‡ The description of Assyria is furnished by Herodotus (lib. 1, c. 192, &c.), who sometimes writes for children, and sometimes for philosophers; by Strabo (lib. 16, p. 1070—1082), and by Ammianus (lib. 23, c. 6.) The most useful of the modern travellers are Tavernier, (part 1, lib. 2, p. 226—258.) Otter, (tom. ii, p. 35—69. 189—224,) and Niebuhr (tom. ii, p. 172—258.) Yet I much regret that the *Irac Arabi* of Abulfeda has not been translated. § Ammianus remarks, that the primitive Assyria, which comprehended Ninus (Nineveh) and Arbela, had assumed the more recent and peculiar appellation of Adiabene; and he seems to fix Taredon, Vologesia, and Apollonia, as the extreme cities of the actual

practa to the territory of Basra, where the united streams of the Euphrates and Tigris discharge themselves into the Persian gulf.* The whole country might have claimed the peculiar name of Mesopotamia; as the two rivers, which are never more distant than fifty, approach, between Bagdad and Babylon, within twenty-five miles of each other. A multitude of artificial canals, dug without much labour in a soft and yielding soil, connected the rivers, and intersected the plain of Assyria.† The uses of these artificial canals were various and important. They served to discharge the superfluous waters from one river into the other, at the season of their respective inundations. Subdividing themselves into smaller and smaller branches, they refreshed the dry lands, and supplied the deficiency of rain. They facilitated the intercourse of peace and commerce; and, as the dams could be speedily broken down, they armed the despair of the Assyrians with the means of opposing a sudden deluge to the progress of an invading army. To the soil and climate of Assyria, nature had denied some of her choicest gifts—the vine, the olive, and the fig-tree; but the food which supports the life of man, and particularly wheat and barley, were produced with inexhaustible fertility; and the husbandman, who committed his seed to the earth, was frequently rewarded with an increase of two, or even of three hundred. The face of the country was interspersed with groves of innumerable palm-trees;‡ and the diligent natives celebrated, either in verse or prose, the three hundred and sixty uses to which the trunk, the branches, the leaves, the juice, and the fruit, were skilfully applied. Several manufactures, especially those of leather and linen, employed the industry of a numerous people, and afforded valuable materials for foreign trade; which appears, how-

province of Assyria.

* The two rivers unite at Apamea or Corna (one hundred miles from the Persian gulf), into the broad stream of the Pasitigris, or Shat-ul-Arab. The Euphrates formerly reached the sea by a separate channel, which was obstructed and diverted by the citizens of Orchoe, about twenty miles to the south-east of modern Basra. (D'Anville, in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, tom. xxx, p. 170—191). † This plain is still “covered with a perfect net-work of ancient canals and water-courses. Their lofty embankments defy the hand of time, and seem rather the work of nature than of man.” Layard's *Bab. and Nin.* p. 479.—ED.

‡ The learned Kämpfer, as a botanist, an antiquary, and a traveller, was exhausted (*Amœnitat. Exotica*, Fascicul. 4. p. 660—764) the whole

ever, to have been conducted by the hands of strangers. Babylon had been converted into a royal park; but near the ruins of the ancient capital, new cities had successively arisen, and the populousness of the country was displayed in the multitude of towns and villages, which were built of bricks dried in the sun, and strongly cemented with bitumen, the natural and peculiar production of the Babylonian soil. While the successors of Cyrus reigned over Asia, the province of Assyria alone maintained, during a third part of the year, the luxurious plenty of the table and household of the great king. Four considerable villages were assigned for the subsistence of his Indian dogs; eight hundred stallions, and sixteen thousand mares, were constantly kept, at the expense of the country, for the royal stables; and as the daily tribute which was paid to the satrap amounted to one English bushel of silver, we may compute the annual revenue of Assyria at more than 1,200,000*l.* sterling.*

The fields of Assyria were devoted by Julian to the calamities of war; and the philosopher retaliated on a guiltless people the acts of rapine and cruelty which had been committed by their haughty master in the Roman provinces. The trembling Assyrians summoned the rivers to their assistance; and completed, with their own hands, the ruin of their country. The roads were rendered impracticable; a flood of waters was poured into the camp; and, during several days, the troops of Julian were obliged to contend with the most discouraging hardships. But every obstacle was surmounted by the perseverance of the legionaries, who were inured to toil as well as to danger, and who felt themselves animated by the spirit of their leader. The damage was gradually repaired; the waters were restored to their proper channels; whole groves of palm trees were cut down, and placed along the broken parts of the road; subject of palm-trees.

* Assyria yielded to the Persian satrap an *Ariaba* of silver each day. The well-known proportion of weights and measures (see bishop Hooper's elaborate Inquiry), the specific gravity of water and silver, and the value of that metal, will afford, after a short process, the annual revenue which I have stated. Yet the great king received no more than one thousand Euboic, or Tyrian, talents (252,000*l.*) from Assyria. The comparison of two passages in Herodotus (lib. 1, c. 192; lib. 3, c. 89—96), reveals an important difference between the *gross* and the *net* revenue of Persia; the sums paid by the province, and the gold or silver deposited in the royal treasury. The monarch might annually save 3,600,000*l.* of the 77,000,000*l.* or 18,000,000*l.* raised upon the people.

and the army passed over the broad and deeper canals on bridges of floating rafts, which were supported by the help of bladders. Two cities of Assyria presumed to resist the arms of a Roman emperor: and they both paid the severe penalty of their rashness. At the distance of fifty miles from the royal residence of Ctesiphon, Perisabor, or Anbar, held the second rank in the province: a city, large, populous, and well fortified, surrounded with a double wall, almost encompassed by a branch of the Euphrates, and defended by the valour of a numerous garrison. The exhortations of Hormisdas were repulsed with contempt; and the ears of the Persian prince were wounded by a just reproach, that, unmindful of his royal birth, he conducted an army of strangers against his king and country. The Assyrians maintained their loyalty by a skilful, as well as vigorous defence; till the lucky stroke of a battering ram having opened a large breach, by shattering one of the angles of the wall, they hastily retired into the fortifications of the interior citadel. The soldiers of Julian rushed impetuously into the town, and, after the full gratification of every military appetite, Perisabor was reduced to ashes; and the engines which assaulted the citadel were planted on the ruins of the smoking houses. The contest was continued by an incessant and mutual discharge of missile weapons; and the superiority which the Romans might derive from the mechanical powers of their balistæ and catapultæ was counterbalanced by the advantage of the ground on the side of the besieged. But as soon as an *helepolis* had been constructed, which could engage on equal terms with the loftiest ramparts, the tremendous aspect of a moving turret, that would leave no hope of resistance or of mercy, terrified the defenders of the citadel into an humble submission; and the place was surrendered only two days after Julian first appeared under the walls of Perisabor. Two thousand five hundred persons, of both sexes, the feeble remnant of a flourishing people, were permitted to retire; the plentiful magazines of corn, of arms, and of splendid furniture were partly distributed among the troops, and partly reserved for the public service; the useless stores were destroyed by fire, or thrown into the stream of the Euphrates; and the fate of Amida was revenged by the total ruin of Perisabor.

The city, or rather fortress, of Maogamalcha, which

was defended by sixteen large towers, a deep ditch, and two strong and solid walls of brick and bitumen, appears to have been constructed at the distance of eleven miles, as the safeguard of the capital of Persia. The emperor, apprehensive of leaving such an important fortress in his rear, immediately formed the siege of Maogamaleha; and the Roman army was distributed, for that purpose, into three divisions. Victor, at the head of the cavalry, and of a detachment of heavy-armed foot, was ordered to clear the country, as far as the banks of the Tigris, and the suburbs of Ctesiphon. The conduct of the attack was assumed by Julian himself, who seemed to place his whole dependence in the military engines which he erected against the walls; while he secretly contrived a more efficacious method of introducing his troops into the heart of the city. Under the direction of Nevitta and Dagalaiphus, the trenches were opened at a considerable distance, and gradually prolonged as far as the edge of the ditch. The ditch was speedily filled with earth; and, by the incessant labour of the troops, a mine was carried under the foundations of the walls, and sustained, at sufficient intervals, by props of timber. Three chosen cohorts, advancing in a single file, silently explored the dark and dangerous passage, till their intrepid leader whispered back the intelligence, that he was ready to issue from his confinement into the streets of the hostile city. Julian checked their ardour, that he might ensure their success; and immediately diverted the attention of the garrison by the tumult and clamour of a general assault. The Persians, who, from their walls, contemptuously beheld the progress of an impotent attack, celebrated, with songs of triumph, the glory of Sapor; and ventured to assure the emperor, that he might ascend the starry mansion of Ormusd, before he could hope to take the impregnable city of Maogamaleha. The city was already taken. History has recorded the name of a private soldier, the first who ascended from the mine into a deserted tower. The passage was widened by his companions, who pressed forward with impatient valour. Fifteen hundred enemies were already in the midst of the city. The astonished garrison abandoned the walls, and their only hope of safety; the gates were instantly burst open; and the revenge of the soldier, unless it were suspended by lust or avarice, was satiated by an undistinguishing massacre. The governor,

who had yielded on a promise of mercy, was burnt alive a few days afterwards, on a charge of having uttered some disrespectful words against the honour of prince Hormisdas. The fortifications were razed to the ground; and not a vestige was left, that the city of Maogamalcha had ever existed. The neighbourhood of the capital of Persia was adorned with three stately palaces, laboriously enriched with every production that could gratify the luxury and pride of an eastern monarch. The pleasant situation of the gardens along the banks of the Tigris was improved, according to the Persian taste, by the symmetry of flowers, fountains, and shady walks; and spacious parks were enclosed for the reception of the bears, lions, and wild boars, which were maintained at a considerable expense for the pleasure of the royal chase. The park walls were broken down, the savage game was abandoned to the darts of the soldiers, and the palaces of Sapor were reduced to ashes, by the command of the Roman emperor. Julian, on this occasion, shewed himself ignorant or careless of the laws of civility, which the prudence and refinement of polished ages have established between hostile princes. Yet these wanton ravages need not excite in our breasts any vehement emotions of pity or resentment. A simple naked statue, finished by the hand of a Grecian artist, is of more genuine value than all these rude and costly monuments of barbaric labour; and if we are more deeply affected by the ruin of a palace, than by the conflagration of a cottage, our humanity must have formed a very erroneous estimate of the miseries of human life.*

Julian was an object of terror and hatred to the Persians: and the painters of that nation represented the invader of their country under the emblem of a furious lion, who vomited from his mouth a consuming fire.† To his friends and soldiers, the philosophic hero appeared in a more amiable light; and his virtues were never more conspicuously displayed than in the last, and most active period of his life. He practised, without effort, and almost without merit, the habitual qualities of temperance and sobriety.

* The operations of the Assyrian war are circumstantially related by Ammianus (24, 2—5), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 112—123, p. 335—347), Zosimus (lib. 3, p. 168—180), and Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. 4, p. 113. 144.) The *military* criticisms of the saint are devoutly copied by Tillemont, his faithful slave. † Libanius, *De ulciscendâ Juliani*

According to the dictates of that artificial wisdom, which assumes an absolute dominion over the mind and body, he sternly refused himself the indulgence of the most natural appetites.* In the warm climate of Assyria, which solicited a luxurious people to the gratification of every sensual desire,† a youthful conqueror preserved his chastity pure and inviolate: nor was Julian ever tempted, even by a motive of curiosity, to visit his female captives of exquisite beauty,‡ who, instead of resisting his power, would have disputed with each other the honour of his embraces. With the same firmness that he resisted the allurements of love, he sustained the hardships of war. When the Romans marched through the flat and flooded country, their sovereign, on foot, at the head of his legions, shared their fatigues, and animated their diligence. In every useful labour, the hand of Julian was prompt and strenuous; and the imperial purple was wet and dirty, as the coarse garment of the meanest soldier. The two sieges allowed him some remarkable opportunities of signalizing his personal valour, which, in the improved state of the military art, can seldom be exerted by a prudent general. The emperor stood before the citadel of Perisabor, insensible of his extreme danger, and encouraged his troops to burst open the gates of iron, till he was almost overwhelmed under a cloud of missile weapons and huge stones, that were directed against his person. As he examined the exterior fortifications of Maogamalcha, two Persians, devoting themselves for their country, suddenly rushed upon him with drawn scimitars: the emperor dexterously received their blows on his uplifted shield; and, with a steady and well-aimed thrust, laid one of his adversaries dead at his feet. The esteem of a prince who possesses the virtues which he approves, is the noblest recompense of a deserving subject; and the authority which Julian derived from his personal merit, enabled him to

nece, c. 13, p. 162.

* The famous examples of Cyrus, Alexander, and Scipio, were acts of justice. Julian's chastity was voluntary, and, in his opinion, meritorious.

† Sallust (ap. Vet. Scholiast. Juvnal. Satir. 1. 104), observes, that nihil corruptius moribus. The matrons and virgins of Babylon freely mingled with the men in licentious banquets; and as they felt the intoxication of wine and love, they gradually, and almost completely, threw aside the encumbrance of dress; ad ultimum ima corporum velamenta projiciunt. Q. Curtius, 5. 1.

‡ Ex virginibus autem, quæ speciosæ sunt captæ, et in Perside, ubi fæminarum pulchritudo excellit, nec contrectare aliquam

revive and enforce the rigour of ancient discipline. He punished with death, or ignominy, the misbehaviour of three troops of horse, who, in a skirmish with the Surenas, had lost their honour, and one of their standards: and he distinguished with *obsidional** crowns, the valour of the foremost soldiers, who had ascended into the city of Maogamalcha. After the siege of Perisabor, the firmness of the emperor was exercised by the insolent avarice of the army, who loudly complained that their services were rewarded by a trifling donative of one hundred pieces of silver. His just indignation was expressed in the grave and manly language of a Roman. "Riches are the object of your desires; those riches are in the hands of the Persians; and the spoils of this fruitful country are proposed as the prize of your valour and discipline. Believe me," added Julian, "the Roman republic, which formerly possessed such immense treasures, is now reduced to want and wretchedness; since our princes have been persuaded, by weak and interested ministers, to purchase with gold the tranquillity of the barbarians. The revenue is exhausted; the cities are ruined; the provinces are dispeopled: for myself, the only inheritance that I have received from my royal ancestors, is a soul incapable of fear; and, as long as I am convinced that every real advantage is seated in the mind, I shall not blush to acknowledge an honourable poverty, which, in the days of ancient virtue, was considered as the glory of Fabricius. That glory, and that virtue may be your own, if you will listen to the voice of heaven, and of your leader. But if you will rashly persist, if you are determined to renew the shameful and mischievous examples of old seditions, proceed: as it becomes an emperor who has filled the first rank among men, I am prepared to die standing; and to despise a precarious life, which, every hour, may depend on an accidental fever. If I have been found unworthy of the command, there are now among you (I speak it with pride and pleasure), there are many chiefs, whose merit and experience are equal to the conduct of the most important war. Such has been the temper of my reign, that I

* *voluit nec videre.* Ammian. 24, 4. The native race of Persians is small and ugly; but it has been improved by the perpetual mixture of Circassian blood. (Herodot. lib. 3, c. 97. Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. iii, p. 420).
 * *Obsidionalibus coronis donati.* Ammian. 24, 4.
 Either Julian or his historian were unskilful antiquaries. He should

can retire without regret, and without apprehension, to the obscurity of a private station." * The modest resolution of Julian was answered by the unanimous applause and cheerful obedience of the Romans; who declared their confidence of victory, while they fought under the banners of their heroic prince. Their courage was kindled by his frequent and familiar asseverations (for such wishes were the oaths of Julian), "So may I reduce the Persians under the yoke!"—"Thus may I restore the strength and splendour of the republic." The love of fame was the ardent passion of his soul; but it was not before he trampled on the ruins of Maogamalcha, that he allowed himself to say: "We have now provided some materials for the sophist of Antioch." †

The successful valour of Julian had triumphed over all the obstacles that opposed his march to the gates of Ctesiphon. But the reduction, or even the siege, of the capital of Persia, was still at a distance: nor can the military conduct of the emperor be clearly apprehended, without a knowledge of the country which was the theatre of his bold and skilful operations.‡ Twenty miles to the south of Bagdad, and on the eastern bank of the Tigris, the curiosity of travellers has observed some ruins of the palaces of Ctesiphon, which, in the time of Julian, was a great and populous city. The name and glory of the adjacent Seleucia were for ever extinguished; and the only remaining quarter of that Greek colony had resumed, with the Assyrian language and manners, the primitive appellation of Coche. Coche was situated on the western side of the Tigris; but it was naturally considered as a suburb of Ctesiphon, with which we may suppose it to have been connected by a permanent bridge of boats. The united parts contributed to form the common epithet of Al Modain,

have given *mural* crowns. The *obsidional* were the reward of a general who had delivered a besieged city. Aulus Gellius, Noct. Attic. 5, 6.

* I give this speech as original and genuine. Ammianus might hear, could transcribe, and was incapable of inventing it. I have used some slight freedoms, and conclude with the most forcible sentence.

† Ammian. 24, 3. Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 122, p. 346.

‡ M. D'Anville (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii, p. 246—259), has ascertained the true position and distance of Babylon, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, Bagdad, &c. The Roman traveller, Pietro della Valle (tom. i, lett. 17, p. 650—780), seems to be the most intelligent spectator of that famous province. He is a gentleman and a scholar,

THE CITIES, which the Orientals have bestowed on the winter residence of the Sassanides; and the whole circumference of the Persian capital was strongly fortified by the waters of the river, by lofty walls, and by impracticable morasses. Near the ruins of Seleucia, the camp of Julian was fixed, and secured by a ditch and rampart, against the sallies of the numerous and enterprising garrison of Coche. In this fruitful and pleasant country, the Romans were plentifully supplied with water and forage; and several forts which might have embarrassed the motions of the army, submitted, after some resistance, to the efforts of their valour. The fleet passed from the Euphrates into an artificial derivation of that river, which pours a copious and navigable stream into the Tigris, at a small distance *below* the great city. If they had followed this royal canal, which bore the name of Nahar-Malcha,* the intermediate situation of Coche would have separated the fleet and army of Julian; and the rash attempt of steering against the current of the Tigris, and forcing their way through the midst of a hostile capital, must have been attended with the total destruction of the Roman navy. The prudence of the emperor foresaw the danger, and provided the remedy. As he had minutely studied the operations of Trajan in the same country, he soon recollected, that his warlike predecessor had dug a new and navigable canal, which, leaving Coche on the right hand, conveyed the waters of the Nahar-Malcha into the river Tigris, at some distance *above* the cities. From the information of the peasants, Julian ascertained the vestiges of this ancient work, which were almost obliterated by design or accident. By the indefatigable labour of the soldiers, a broad and deep channel was speedily prepared for the reception of the Euphrates. A strong dike was constructed to interrupt the ordinary current of the Nahar-Malcha; a flood of waters rushed impetuously into their new bed; and the Roman fleet, steering their triumphant course into the Tigris, derided the vain and ineffectual

but intolerably vain and prolix.

* The royal canal (*Nahar-Malcha*) might be successively restored, altered, divided, &c. (Cellarius, *Geograph. Antiq.* tom. ii, p. 453), and these changes may serve to explain the seeming contradictions of antiquity. In the time of Julian, it must have fallen into the Euphrates *below* Ctesiphon. [The Saklawiyah, a great canal, now almost lost in marshes, connects the Euphrates with the Tigris, below Bagdad, and above the ruins of Ctesiphon. (Layard, B. and N., p. 478.) This probably indicates the

barriers which the Persians of Ctesiphon had erected to oppose their passage.

As it became necessary to transport the Roman army over the Tigris, another labour presented itself, of less toil, but of more danger, than the preceding expedition. The stream was broad and rapid; the ascent steep and difficult; and the intrenchments, which had been formed on the ridge of the opposite bank, were lined with a numerous army of heavy cuirassiers, dexterous archers, and huge elephants; who (according to the extravagant hyperbole of Libanius) could trample, with the same ease, a field of corn, or a legion of Romans.* In the presence of such an enemy, the construction of a bridge was impracticable; and the intrepid prince, who instantly seized the only possible expedient, concealed his design, till the moment of execution, from the knowledge of the barbarians, of his own troops, and even of his generals themselves. Under the specious pretence of examining the state of the magazines, fourscore vessels were gradually unladen; and a select detachment, apparently destined for some secret expedition, was ordered to stand to their arms on the first signal. Julian disguised the silent anxiety of his own mind with smiles of confidence and joy; and amused the hostile nations with the spectacle of military games, which he insultingly celebrated under the walls of Coche. The day was consecrated to pleasure; but, as soon as the hour of supper was past, the emperor summoned the generals to his tent, and acquainted them that he had fixed that night for the passage of the Tigris. They stood in silent and respectful astonishment; but, when the venerable Sallust assumed the privilege of his age and experience, the rest of the chiefs supported with freedom the weight of his prudent remonstrances.† Julian contented himself with observing, that conquest and safety depended on the attempt; that, instead of diminishing, the number of their enemies would be increased, by successive reinforcements; and that a longer delay would neither contract the breadth of the stream nor level the height of the bank. The signal was instantly given and obeyed: the most impatient of the legionaries leaped into five vessels that lay nearest to the

course of Julian's fleet.—ED.] * *Καὶ μεγέθειν ἑλεφάντων, οἷς ἴσον ἔργον διὰ σταχέων ἰλθεῖν, καὶ χαλάγγορ.* Rien n'est beau que le vrai; a maxim which should be inscribed on the desk of every rhetorician.

† Libanius alludes to the most powerful of the generals. *λαο*

bank; and as they plied their oars with intrepid diligence, they were lost, after a few moments, in the darkness of the night. A flame arose on the opposite side, and Julian, who too clearly understood that his foremost vessels, in attempting to land, had been fired by the enemy, dexterously converted their extreme danger into a presage of victory. "Our fellow soldiers," he eagerly exclaimed, "are already masters of the bank; see, they make the appointed signal; let us hasten to emulate and assist their courage." The united and rapid motion of a great fleet broke the violence of the current, and they reached the eastern shore of the Tigris with sufficient speed to extinguish the flames, and rescue their adventurous companions. The difficulties of a steep and lofty ascent were increased by the weight of armour, and the darkness of the night. A shower of stones, darts, and fire, was incessantly discharged on the heads of the assailants; who, after an arduous struggle, climbed the bank, and stood victorious upon the rampart. As soon as they possessed a more equal field, Julian, who, with his light infantry, had led the attack,* darted through the ranks a skilful and experienced eye; his bravest soldiers, according to the precepts of Homer,† were distributed in the front and rear; and all the trumpets of the imperial army sounded to battle. The Romans, after sending up a military shout, advanced in measured steps to the animating notes of martial music; launched their formidable javelins, and rushed forwards with drawn swords, to deprive the barbarians, by a closer onset, of the advantage of their missile weapons. The whole engagement lasted above twelve hours; till the gradual retreat of the Persians was changed into a disorderly flight, of which the shameful example was given by the principal leaders, and the Surenas himself. They were pursued to the gates of Ctesiphon; and the conquerors might have entered the dismayed city‡ if their general, Victor, who was dangerously wounded with an arrow, had not conjured them to desist from a rash

ventured to name *Sallust*. Ammianus says, of all the leaders, quod acri metu terribili duces concordi precatu fieri prohibere tentarent.

* Hinc Imperator . . . (says Ammianus) ipse cum levis armaturæ auxiliis per prima postremaque discurrens, &c. Yet Zosimus, his friend, does not allow him to pass the river till two days after the battle.

† Secundum Homericam dispositionem. A similar disposition is ascribed to the wise Nestor, in the fourth book of the *Iliad*: and Homer was never absent from the mind of Julian.

‡ Persæ

attempt, which must be fatal if it were not successful. On *their* side, the Romans acknowledged the loss of only seventy-five men; while they affirmed, that the barbarians had left on the field of battle two thousand five hundred, or even six thousand, of their bravest soldiers. The spoil was such as might be expected from the riches and luxury of an Oriental camp; large quantities of silver and gold, splendid arms and trappings, and beds and tables of massy silver. The victorious emperor distributed, as the rewards of valour, some honourable gifts, civic, and mural, and naval crowns; which he, and perhaps he alone, esteemed more precious than the wealth of Asia. A solemn sacrifice was offered to the god of war, but the appearances of the victims threatened the most inauspicious events; and Julian soon discovered, by less ambiguous signs, that he had now reached the term of his prosperity.*

On the second day after the battle, the domestic guards, the Jovians and Herculians, and the remaining troops, which composed near two-thirds of the whole army, were securely wafted over the Tigris.† While the Persians beheld from the walls of Ctesiphon the desolation of the adjacent country, Julian cast many an anxious look towards the north, in full expectation that, as he himself had victoriously penetrated to the capital of Sapor, the march and junction of his lieutenants, Sebastian and Procopius, would be executed with the same courage and diligence. His expectations were disappointed by the treachery of the Armenian king, who permitted, and most probably directed, the desertion of his auxiliary troops from the camp of the Romans;‡ and by the dissensions of the two generals, who were incapable of forming or execut-

terrore subito miscuerunt, versisque agminibus totius gentis apertas Ctesiphontis portas victor miles intrasset, ni major prædærum occasio fuisset, quam cura victoria. (Sextus Rufus de Provinciis, c. 28.) Their avarice might dispose them to hear the advice of Victor.

* The labour of the canal, the passage of the Tigris, and the victory, are described by Ammianus (24, 5, 6), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 124—128, p. 347—353), Greg. Nazianzen (Orat. 4, p. 115), Zosimus (lib. 3, p. 181—183), and Sextus Rufus (de Provinciis, c. 28). † The fleet and army were formed in three divisions, of which the first only had passed during the night. (Ammian. 24, 6.) The πᾶσι δορυφόρια, whom Zosimus transports on the third day (lib. 3, p. 183), might consist of the Protectors, among whom the historian Ammianus, and the future emperor Jovian, actually served; some schools of the domestics, and perhaps the Jovians and Herculians, who often did duty as guards. ‡ Moses of Chorene (Hist. Armen. lib. 3, c. 15, p. 246).

ing any plan for the public service. When the emperor had relinquished the hope of this important reinforcement, he condescended to hold a council of war, and approved, after a full debate, the sentiment of those generals, who dissuaded the siege of Ctesiphon, as a fruitless and pernicious undertaking. It is not easy for us to conceive, by what arts of fortification, a city thrice besieged and taken by the predecessors of Julian, could be rendered impregnable against an army of sixty thousand Romans, commanded by a brave and experienced general, and abundantly supplied with ships, provisions, battering engines, and military stores. But we may rest assured, from the love of glory, and contempt of danger, which formed the character of Julian, that he was not discouraged by any trivial or imaginary obstacles.* At the very time when he declined the siege of Ctesiphon, he rejected, with obstinacy and disdain, the most flattering offers of a negotiation of peace. Sapor, who had been so long accustomed to the tardy ostentation of Constantius, was surprised by the intrepid diligence of his successor. As far as the confines of India and Scythia, the satraps of the distant provinces were ordered to assemble their troops, and to march, without delay, to the assistance of their monarch. But their preparations were dilatory, their motions slow; and before Sapor could lead an army into the field, he received the melancholy intelligence of the devastation of Assyria, the ruin of his palaces, and the slaughter of his bravest troops, who defended the passage of the Tigris. The pride of royalty was humbled in the dust; he took his repasts on the ground; and the disorder of his hair expressed the grief and anxiety of his mind. Perhaps he would not have refused to purchase, with one-half of his kingdom, the safety of the remainder; and he would have gladly subscribed himself, in a treaty of peace, the faithful and dependent ally of the Roman conqueror. Under the pretence of private business, a minister of rank and confidence was secretly dispatched to embrace the knees of Hormisdas, and to request, in the language of a suppliant, that he might be introduced into the presence of the emperor. The Sassanian prince, whether he listened to the

supplies us with a national tradition, and a spurious letter. I have borrowed only the leading circumstance, which is consistent with truth, probability, and Libanius. (Orat. Parent. c. 131, p. 355).

* *Civitas inexpugnabilis, facinus audax et importunum* Ammianus,

voice of pride or humanity, whether he consulted the sentiments of his birth, or the duties of his situation, was equally inclined to promote a salutary measure, which would terminate the calamities of Persia, and secure the triumph of Rome. He was astonished by the inflexible firmness of a hero, who remembered, most unfortunately for himself, and for his country, that Alexander had uniformly rejected the propositions of Darius. But as Julian was sensible, that the hope of a safe and honourable peace might cool the ardour of his troops, he earnestly requested that Hormisdas would privately dismiss the minister of Sapor, and conceal this dangerous temptation from the knowledge of the camp.*

The honour, as well as interest, of Julian, forbade him to consume his time under the impregnable walls of Ctesiphon; and as often as he defied the barbarians who defended the city, to meet him on the open plain, they prudently replied, that if he desired to exercise his valour, he might seek the army of the great king. He felt the insult, and he accepted the advice. Instead of confining his servile march to the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, he resolved to imitate the adventurous spirit of Alexander, and boldly to advance into the inland provinces, till he forced his rival to contend with him, perhaps in the plains of Arbela, for the empire of Asia. The magnanimity of Julian was applauded and betrayed, by the arts of a noble Persian, who, in the cause of his country, had generously submitted to act a part full of danger, of falsehood, and of shame.† With a train of faithful followers, he deserted to the imperial camp, exposed, in a specious tale, the injuries which he had sustained; exaggerated the cruelty of Sapor, the discontent of the people, and the weakness of the monarchy; and confidently offered

24, 7. His fellow-soldier, Eutropius, turns aside from the difficulty, Assyriamque populatus, castra apud Ctesiphontem stativa aliquandiu habuit: remeansque victor, &c. 10. 16. Zosimus is artful or ignorant, and Socrates inaccurate. * Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 130, p. 354; c. 139, p. 361. Socrates, lib. 3, c. 21. The ecclesiastical historian

imputes the refusal of peace to the advice of Maximus. Such advice was unworthy of a philosopher; but the philosopher was likewise a magician, who flattered the hopes and passions of his master.

† The arts of this new Zopyrus (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. 4, p. 115, 116,) may derive some credit from the testimony of two abbreviators (Sextus Rufus and Victor) and the casual hints of Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 134, p. 357), and Ammianus (24. 7). The course of genuine

himself as the hostage and guide of the Roman march. The most rational grounds of suspicion were urged, without effect, by the wisdom and experience of Hormisdas; and the credulous Julian, receiving the traitor into his bosom, was persuaded to issue a hasty order, which, in the opinion of mankind, appeared to arraign his prudence, and to endanger his safety. He destroyed in a single hour the whole navy, which had been transported above five hundred miles, at so great an expense of toil, of treasure, and of blood. Twelve, or at the most, twenty-two small vessels were saved, to accompany, on carriages, the march of the army, and to form occasional bridges for the passage of the rivers. A supply of twenty days' provisions was reserved for the use of the soldiers; and the rest of the magazines, with a fleet of eleven hundred vessels, which rode at anchor in the Tigris, were abandoned to the flames, by the absolute command of the emperor. The Christian bishops, Gregory and Augustine, insult the madness of the apostate, who executed, with his own hands, the sentence of divine justice. Their authority, of less weight, perhaps, in a military question, is confirmed by the cool judgment of an experienced soldier, who was himself spectator of the conflagration, and who could not disapprove the reluctant murmurs of the troops.* Yet there are not wanting some specious, and perhaps solid reasons, which might justify the resolution of Julian. The navigation of the Euphrates never ascended above Babylon; nor that of the Tigris above Opis.† The distance of the last-mentioned city from the Roman camp was not very considerable; and Julian must soon have renounced the vain and impracticable attempt of forcing upwards a great

history is interrupted by a most unseasonable chasm in the text of Ammianus.

* See Ammianus, (24, 7) Libanius, (*Orat. Parentalis*, c. 132, 133, p. 356, 357), Zosimus, (lib. 3, p. 183), Zonaras, (tom. ii, lib. 13, p. 26), Gregory, (*Orat.* 4, p. 116,) and Augustin (*de Civitate Dei*, lib. 4, c. 29; lib. 5, c. 21). Of these, Libanius alone attempts a faint apology for his hero; who, according to Ammianus, pronounced his own condemnation, by a tardy and ineffectual attempt to extinguish the flames.

† Consult Herodotus (lib. 1, c. 194), Strabo (lib. 16, p. 1074), and Tavernier, (p. 1, lib. 2, p. 152). [The Euphrates and the Tigris have been recently explored by British steamers. The former, "in its present condition, is not navigable, even in the lower part of its course." The latter will admit vessels, drawing from three to four feet water, from the Persian Gulph, almost as far as Tekrit, which is several miles above the ancient site of Opis. Layard, N. and B.,

fleet against the stream of a rapid river,* which in several places was embarrassed by natural or artificial cataracts.† The power of sails and oars was insufficient; it became necessary to tow the ships against the current of the river; the strength of twenty thousand soldiers was exhausted in this tedious and servile labour; and if the Romans continued to march along the banks of the Tigris, they could only expect to return home without achieving any enterprise worthy of the genius or fortune of their leader. If, on the contrary, it was advisable to advance into the inland country, the destruction of the fleet and magazines was the only measure which could save that valuable prize from the hands of the numerous and active troops which might suddenly be poured from the gates of Ctesiphon. Had the arms of Julian been victorious, we should now admire the conduct as well as the courage of a hero, who, by depriving his soldiers of the hopes of a retreat, left them only the alternative of death or conquest.‡

The cumbersome train of artillery and wagons, which retards the operations of a modern army, was in a great measure unknown in the camps of the Romans.§ Yet, in every age, the subsistence of sixty thousand men must have been one of the most important cares of a prudent general; and that subsistence could only be drawn from his own or from the enemy's country. Had it been possible for Julian to maintain a bridge of communication on the Tigris, and to preserve the conquered places of Assyria, a desolated province could not afford any large or regular supplies, in a season of the year when the lands were covered by the inundation of the Euphrates,¶ and the unwholesome air

p. 472—475.—ED.]

* A celeritate Tigris incipit vocari, ita appellat Medi sagittam. Plin. Hist. Natur. 6. 31.

† One of these dikes, which produces an artificial cascade or cataract, is described by Tavernier (part 1, lib. 2, p. 226), and Therenot (part 2, lib. 1, p. 193). The Persians, or Assyrians, laboured to interrupt the navigation of the river. (Strabo, lib. 15, p. 1075. D'Anville, L'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 98, 99.)

‡ Recollect the successful and applauded rashness of Agathocles and Cortez, who burnt their ships on the coasts of Africa and Mexico.

§ See the judicious reflections of the author of the *Essai sur la Tactique*, tom. ii, p. 257—353. and the learned remarks of M. Guichardt, *Nouveaux Mémoires Militaires*, tom. i, p. 351—382, on the baggage and subsistence of the Roman armies.

¶ The Tigris rises to the south, the Euphrates to the north, of the Armenian mountains. The former overflows in March, the latter in July. These circumstances are well explained in

my actions to the laws of prudence, of justice, and of moderation, I have trusted the event to the care of Providence. Peace was the object of my counsels, as long as peace was consistent with the public welfare; but when the imperious voice of my country summoned me to arms, I exposed my person to the dangers of war, with the clear foreknowledge (which I had acquired from the art of divination) that I was destined to fall by the sword. I now offer my tribute of gratitude to the Eternal Being, who has not suffered me to perish by the cruelty of a tyrant, by the secret dagger of conspiracy, or by the slow tortures of lingering disease. He has given me, in the midst of an honourable career, a splendid and glorious departure from this world; and I hold it equally absurd, equally base, to solicit, or to decline, the stroke of fate.—Thus much I have attempted to say; but my strength fails me, and I feel the approach of death.—I shall cautiously refrain from any word that may tend to influence your suffrages in the election of an emperor. My choice might be imprudent or injudicious; and if it should not be ratified by the consent of the army, it might be fatal to the person whom I should recommend. I shall only, as a good citizen, express my hopes, that the Romans may be blessed with the government of a virtuous sovereign.” After this discourse, which Julian pronounced in a firm and gentle tone of voice, he distributed by a military testament,* the remains of his private fortune; and making some inquiry why Anatolius was not present, he understood, from the answer of Sallust, that Anatolius was killed; and bewailed, with amiable inconsistency, the loss of his friend. At the same time he reproved the immoderate grief of the spectators; and conjured them not to disgrace by unmanly tears, the fate of a prince, who in a few moments would be united with heaven and with the stars.† The spectators were silent; and Julian entered into a metaphysical argument with the philosophers Priscus and Maximus, on the nature of the soul. The efforts which he made, of mind as well as body, most probably hastened his death.

happiness or glory beyond the grave.

* The soldiers who made their verbal, or nuncupatory, testaments, upon actual service (in *prociuctu*) were exempted from the formalities of the Roman law. See Heineccius (*Antiquit. Jur. Roman. tom. i. p. 504.*) and Montesquieu, (*Esprit des Loix*, l. 27.)

† This union of the human soul with the divine ethereal substance of the universe, is the ancient doctrine of Pythagoras and Plato; but it seems to exclude any personal or con-

His wound began to bleed with fresh violence; his respiration was embarrassed by the swelling of the veins; he called for a draught of cold water, and, as soon as he had drank it, expired without pain about the hour of midnight. Such was the end of that extraordinary man, in the thirty-second year of his age, after a reign of one year and about eight months, from the death of Constantius. In his last moments he displayed, perhaps with some ostentation, the love of virtue and of fame, which had been the ruling passions of his life.*

The triumph of Christianity, and the calamities of the empire, may, in some measure, be ascribed to Julian himself, who had neglected to secure the future execution of his designs, by the timely and judicious nomination of an associate and successor. But the royal race of Constantius Chlorus was reduced to his own person; and if he entertained any serious thoughts of investing with the purple the most worthy among the Romans, he was diverted from his resolution by the difficulty of the choice, the jealousy of power, the fear of ingratitude, and the natural presumption of health, of youth, and of prosperity. His unexpected death left the empire without a master, and without an heir, in a state of perplexity and danger, which, in the space of fourscore years, had never been experienced, since the election of Diocletian. In a government, which had almost forgotten the distinction of pure and noble blood, the superiority of birth was of little moment; the claims of official rank were accidental and precarious; and the candidates, who might aspire to ascend the vacant throne, could be supported only by the consciousness of personal merit, or by the hopes of popular favour. But the situation of a famished army, encompassed on all sides by a host of barbarians, shortened the moments of grief and deliberation. In this scene of terror and distress, the body of the deceased prince, according to his own directions, was decently embalmed; and, at the dawn of day, the generals convened a military senate, at which the commanders of the legions, and the officers, both of cavalry and infantry, shared in the discussion of the means of preserving the empire, and of securing its immortal glory. See Warburton's learned and rational observations. *Divine Legation*, vol. ii, p. 199—216.

* The whole relation of the death of Julian is given by Ammianus, (25, 3,) an intelligent spectator. Libanius, who turns with horror from the scene, has supplied some circumstances. (*Orat. Parental.* c. 136—140, p. 359—362.) The calumnies of Gregory, and the legends of more recent saints, may

were invited to assist. Three or four hours of the night had not passed away without some secret cabals; and when the election of an emperor was proposed, the spirit of faction began to agitate the assembly. Victor and Arinthæus collected the remains of the court of Constantius; the friends of Julian attached themselves to the Gallic chiefs, Dagalaiphus and Nevitta; and the most fatal consequences might be apprehended from the discord of two factions, so opposite in their character and interest, in their maxims of government, and perhaps in their religious principles. The superior virtues of Sallust could alone reconcile their divisions, and unite their suffrages; and the venerable prefect would immediately have been declared the successor of Julian if he himself, with sincere and modest firmness, had not alleged his age and infirmities, so unequal to the weight of the diadem. The generals, who were surprised and perplexed by his refusal, showed some disposition to adopt the salutary advice of an inferior officer,* that they should act as they would have acted in the absence of the emperor; that they should exert their abilities to extricate the army from the present distress; and, if they were fortunate enough to reach the confines of Mesopotamia, they should proceed with united and deliberate counsels in the election of a lawful sovereign. While they debated, a few voices saluted Jovian, who was no more than *first*† of the domestics, with the names of emperor and Augustus. The tumultuary acclamation was instantly repeated by the guards who surrounded the tent, and passed, in a few minutes, to the extremities of the line. The new prince, astonished with his own fortune, was hastily invested with the imperial ornaments, and received an oath of fidelity from the generals, whose favour and protection he so lately solicited. The strongest recommendation of Jovian was the merit of his father, count Varronian, who enjoyed in honourable retirement, the fruit of his long services. In the obscure freedom of a private station, the son indulged his taste for wine and women; yet he supported, with credit,

now be *silently* despised. * *Honoratior aliquis miles*; perhaps Ammianus himself. The modest and judicious historian describes the scene of the election, at which he was undoubtedly present. (25, 5.)

† The *primus*, or *primicerius*, enjoyed the dignity of a senator; and though only a tribune, he ranked with the military dukes. Cod. Theodosian. l. 6, tit. 24. These privileges are perhaps more recent than the

the character of a Christian* and a soldier. Without being conspicuous for any of the ambitious qualifications which excite the admiration and envy of mankind, the comely person of Jovian, his cheerful temper and familiar wit, had gained the affection of his fellow-soldiers; and the generals of both parties acquiesced in a popular election, which had not been conducted by the arts of their enemies. The pride of this unexpected elevation was moderated by the just apprehension, that the same day might terminate the life and reign of the new emperor. The pressing voice of necessity was obeyed without delay; and the first orders issued by Jovian, a few hours after his predecessor had expired, were to prosecute a march, which could alone extricate the Romans from their actual distress.†

The esteem of an enemy is most sincerely expressed by his fears; and the degree of fear may be accurately measured by the joy with which he celebrates his deliverance. The welcome news of the death of Julian, which a deserter revealed to the camp of Sapor, inspired the desponding monarch with a sudden confidence of victory. He immediately detached the royal cavalry, perhaps the ten thousand *Immortals*,‡ to second and support the pursuit; and discharged the whole weight of his united forces on the rear-guard of the Romans. The rear-guard was thrown into disorder; the renowned legions, which derived their titles from Diocletian and his warlike colleague, were broken and trampled down by the elephants; and three tribunes lost their lives in attempting to stop the flight of their soldiers. The battle was at length restored by the persevering valour of the Romans; the Persians were repulsed with a great slaughter of men and elephants; and the army, after march-

time of Jovian. * The ecclesiastical historians, Socrates, (l. 3, c. 22.) Sozomen, (l. 6, c. 3.) and Theodoret, (l. 4, c. 1.) ascribe to Jovian the merit of a confessor under the preceding reign; and piously suppose that he refused the purple, till the whole army unanimously exclaimed that they were Christians. Ammianus, calmly pursuing his narrative, overthrows the legend by a single sentence. *Hostiis pro Joviano extisque inspectis, pronuntiatum est*, &c. 25, 6.

† Ammianus (25, 10,) has drawn from the life an impartial portrait of Jovian, to which the younger Viator has added some remarkable strokes. The Abbé de la Bleterie (*Histoire de Jovien*, tom. i, p. 1—238,) has composed an elaborate history of his short reign; a work remarkably distinguished by elegance of style, critical disquisition, and religious prejudice. ‡ *Regius equitatus*. It appears from Procopius, that the *Immortals*, so famous under Cyrus and his successors, were revived,

ing and fighting a long summer's day, arrived, in the evening, at Samara on the banks of the Tigris, about one hundred miles above Ctesiphon.* On the ensuing day, the barbarians, instead of harassing the march, attacked the camp of Jovian; which had been seated in a deep and sequestered valley. From the hills, the archers of Persia insulted and annoyed the weary legionaries, and a body of cavalry, which had penetrated with desperate courage through the prætorian gate, was cut in pieces, after a doubtful conflict, near the imperial tent. In the succeeding night the camp of Carche was protected by the lofty dikes of the river; and the Roman army, though incessantly exposed to the vexatious pursuit of the Saracens, pitched their tents near the city of Dura,† four days after the death of Julian. The Tigris was still on their left: their hopes and provisions were almost consumed; and the impatient soldiers who had fondly persuaded themselves that the frontiers of the empire were not far distant, requested their new sovereign, that they might be permitted to hazard the passage of the river. With the assistance of his wisest officers, Jovian endeavoured to check their rashness, by representing, that if they possessed sufficient skill and vigour to stem the torrent of a deep and rapid stream, they would only deliver themselves naked and defenceless to the barbarians who had occupied the opposite banks. Yielding at length to their clamorous importunities, he consented, with reluctance, that five hundred Gauls and Germans, accustomed from their infancy to the waters of the Rhine and Danube, should attempt the bold adventure, which might serve either as an encouragement, or as a warning, for the rest of the army. In the silence of the night they swam the Tigris, surprised an unguarded post of the enemy, and displayed at the dawn of day the signal of their resolution and fortune. The

if we may use that improper word, by the Sassanides. Brisson, de Regno Persico, p. 268, &c.

* The obscure villages of the inland country are irrecoverably lost; nor can we name the field of battle where Julian fell; but M. D'Anville has demonstrated the precise situation of Sumere, Carche, and Dura, along the banks of the Tigris. (*Géographie Ancienne*, tom. ii, p. 248. *L'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 95. 97.) In the ninth century, Sumere, or Samara, became, with a slight change of name, the royal residence of the caliphs of the house of Abbas. [Samarrah now consists of a half-ruined mosque and a few falling houses, surrounded by a mud wall, defended by towers and bastions. Layard, p. 471.—ED.] † Dura was a fortified place in the

success of this trial disposed the emperor to listen to the promises of his architects, who proposed to construct a floating bridge of the inflated skins of sheep, oxen, and goats, covered with a floor of earth and fascines.* Two important days were spent in the ineffectual labour; and the Romans, who already endured the miseries of famine, cast a look of despair on the Tigris, and upon the barbarians; whose numbers and obstinacy increased with the distress of the imperial army.†

In this hopeless situation, the fainting spirits of the Romans were revived by the sound of peace. The transient presumption of Sapor had vanished: he observed with serious concern, that in the repetition of doubtful combats, he had lost his most faithful and intrepid nobles, his bravest troops, and the greatest part of his train of elephants: and the experienced monarch feared to provoke the resistance of despair, the vicissitudes of fortune, and the unexhausted powers of the Roman empire; which might soon advance to relieve, or to revenge the successor of Julian. The Surenas himself, accompanied by another satrap, appeared in the camp of Jovian;‡ and declared that the clemency of his sovereign was not averse to signify the conditions, on which he would consent to spare and to dismiss the Cæsar, with the relics of his captive army. The hopes of safety subdued the firmness of the Romans; the emperor was compelled, by the advice of his council, and the cries of his soldiers, to embrace the offer of peace; and the prefect Sallust was immediately sent, with the general Arinthæus, to under-

wars of Antiochus against the rebels of Media and Persia. (Polybius, l. 5, c. 48, 52, p. 548, 552, edit. Casaubon, in 8vo.) [Dura is believed by some to have been the place where Nebuchadnezzar made his image of gold. The name still attaches to a wilderness, with hero and there a shapeless mound, the remains of some ancient habitation. Layard, p. 470.—Ed.]

* A similar expedient was proposed to the leaders of the ten thousand, and wisely rejected. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, l. 3, p. 255—257. It appears from our modern travellers, that rafts floating on bladders perform the trade and navigation of the Tigris.

† The first military acts of the reign of Jovian are related by Ammianus, (25, 6.) Libanius, (*Orat. Parent.* c. 146, p. 364,) and Zosimus, (l. 3, p. 189—191). Though we may distrust the fairness of Libanius, the ocular testimony of Eutropius (uno a Persis atque altero prælio victus, 10. 17,) must incline us to suspect, that Ammianus has been too jealous of the honour of the Roman arms. ‡ Sextus Rufus (*de Provinciis*, c. 29,) embraces a poor subterfuge of national vanity. Tanta reverentia nominis Romani fuit, ut a Persis *primus de pace* scire haberetur.

stand the pleasure of the great king. The crafty Persian delayed, under various pretences, the conclusion of the agreement; started difficulties, required explanations, suggested expedients, receded from his concessions, increased his demands, and wasted four days in the arts of negotiation, till he had consumed the stock of provisions which yet remained in the camp of the Romans. Had Jovian been capable of executing a bold and prudent measure, he would have continued his march with unremitting diligence; the progress of the treaty would have suspended the attacks of the barbarians; and, before the expiration of the fourth day, he might have safely reached the fruitful province of Corduene, at the distance of only one hundred miles.* The irresolute emperor, instead of breaking through the toils of the enemy, expected his fate with patient resignation; and accepted the humiliating conditions of peace, which it was no longer in his power to refuse. The five provinces beyond the Tigris, which had been ceded by the grandfather of Sapor, were restored to the Persian monarchy. He acquired by a single article, the impregnable city of Nisibis; which had sustained, in three successive sieges, the effort of his arms. Singara, and the castle of the Moors, one of the strongest places of Mesopotamia, were likewise dismembered from the empire. It was considered as an indulgence, that the inhabitants of those fortresses were permitted to retire with their effects; but the conqueror rigorously insisted, that the Romans should for ever abandon the king and kingdom of Armenia. A peace, or rather a long truce of thirty years, was stipulated between the hostile nations; the faith of the treaty was ratified by solemn oaths, and religious ceremonies; and hostages of distinguished rank were reciprocally delivered to secure the performance of the conditions.†

The sophist of Antioch, who saw with indignation the

* It is presumptuous to controvert the opinion of Ammianus, a soldier and a spectator. Yet it is difficult to understand, *how* the mountains of Corduene could extend over the plain of Assyria, as low as the conflux of the Tigris and the great Zab; or *how* an army of sixty thousand men could march one hundred miles in four days.

† The treaty of Dura is recorded with grief or indignation by Ammianus (25, 7), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 142, p. 364), Zosimus (lib. 3, p. 190, 191), Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. 4, p. 117, 118, who imputes the distress to Julian, the deliverance to Jovian) and Eutropius (10, 17). The last-mentioned writer, who was present in a military station, styles

sceptre of his hero in the feeble hand of a Christian successor, professes to admire the moderation of Sapor, in contenting himself with so small a portion of the Roman empire. If he had stretched as far as the Euphrates the claims of his ambition, he might have been secure, says Libanius, of not meeting with a refusal. If he had fixed, as the boundary of Persia, the Orontes, the Cydnus, the Sangarius, or even the Thracian Bosphorus, flatterers would not have been wanting in the court of Jovian to convince the timid monarch, that his remaining provinces would still afford the most ample gratifications of power and luxury.* Without adopting in its full force this malicious insinuation, we must acknowledge, that the conclusion of so ignominious a treaty was facilitated by the private ambition of Jovian. The obscure domestic, exalted to the throne by fortune rather than by merit, was impatient to escape from the hands of the Persians, that he might prevent the designs of Procopius, who commanded the army of Mesopotamia, and establish his doubtful reign over the legions and provinces, which were still ignorant of the hasty and tumultuous choice of the camp beyond the Tigris.† In the neighbourhood of the same river, at no very considerable distance from the fatal station of Dura,‡ the ten thousand Greeks, without generals, or guides, or provisions, were abandoned, above twelve hundred miles from their native country, to the resentment of a victorious monarch. The difference of *their* conduct and success depended much more on their character than on their situation. Instead of tamely resigning themselves to the secret deliberations and private views of a single person, the united councils of the Greeks were inspired by the generous enthusiasm of a popular assembly;

this peace *necessariam quidem sed ignobilem*. * Libanius, *Orat. Parent.* c. 143, p. 364, 365. † *Conditionibus dispendiosis*

Romanæ reipublicæ impositis quibus cupidior regni quam gloriæ Jovianus imperio rudis adquevit. Sextus Rufus de *Provinciis*, c. 29. La Bleterie has expressed, in a long direct oration, these specious considerations of public and private interest. (*Hist. de Jovien*, tom. i, p. 39, &c.) ‡ The generals were murdered on the banks of the Zabatus (*Anabasis*, lib. 2, p. 156, lib. 3, p. 226), or great Zab, a river of Assyria, four hundred feet broad, which falls into the Tigris fourteen hours below Mosul. The terror of the Greeks bestowed on the great and lesser Zab the names of the *Wolf* (Lyeus) and the *Goat* (Capros). They created these animals to attend the *Tiger* of the east. [Mr. Layard (p. 60) thinks that the ford, by which the Greeks passed

where the mind of each citizen is filled with the love of glory the pride of freedom, and the contempt of death. Conscious of their superiority over the barbarians in arms and discipline, they disdained to yield, they refused to capitulate; every obstacle was surmounted by their patience, courage, and military skill; and the memorable retreat of the ten thousand exposed and insulted the weakness of the Persian monarchy.*

As the price of his disgraceful concessions, the emperor might perhaps have stipulated, that the camp of the hungry Romans should be plentifully supplied;† and that they should be permitted to pass the Tigris on the bridge which was constructed by the hands of the Persians. But if Jovian presumed to solicit those equitable terms, they were sternly refused by the haughty tyrant of the east; whose clemency had pardoned the invaders of his country. The Saracens sometimes intercepted the stragglers of the march; but the generals and troops of Sapor respected the cessation of arms; and Jovian was suffered to explore the most convenient place for the passage of the river. The small vessels, which had been saved from the conflagration of the fleet, performed the most essential service. They first conveyed the emperor and his favourites; and afterwards transported, in many successive voyages, a great part of the army. But as every man was anxious for his personal safety, and apprehensive of being left on the hostile shore, the soldiers, who were too impatient to wait the slow return of the boats, boldly ventured themselves on light hurdles, or inflated skins; and drawing after them their horses, attempted, with various success, to swim across the river. Many of these daring adventurers were swallowed by the waves; many others, who were carried along by the violence of the stream, fell an easy prey to the avarice, or cruelty, of the wild Arabs; and the loss which the army sustained in the passage of the Tigris, was not inferior to the carnage of a day of battle.

the great Zab, may be accurately determined at about twenty-five miles from the confluence of that river with the Tigris. He has traced very ingeniously and perspicuously the march of the ten thousand.—ED.]

* The *Cyropædia* is vague and languid; the *Anabasis* circumstantial and animated. Such is the eternal difference between fiction and truth.

† According to Rufinus, an immediate supply of provisions was stipulated by the treaty; and Theodoret affirms, that the obligation was faithfully discharged by the Persians. Such a fact is probable, but

As soon as the Romans had landed on the western bank, they were delivered from the hostile pursuit of the barbarians; but, in a laborious march of two hundred miles over the plains of Mesopotamia, they endured the last extremities of thirst and hunger. They were obliged to traverse a sandy desert, which, in the extent of seventy miles, did not afford a single blade of sweet grass, nor a single spring of fresh water; and the rest of the inhospitable waste was untrod by the footsteps either of friends or enemies. Whenever a small measure of flour could be discovered in the camp, twenty pounds weight were greedily purchased with ten pieces of gold;* the beasts of burden were slaughtered and devoured; and the desert was strewed with the arms and baggage of the Roman soldiers, whose tattered garments and meagre countenances displayed their past sufferings and actual misery. A small convoy of provisions advanced to meet the army as far as the castle of Ur; and the supply was the more grateful, since it declared the fidelity of Sebastian and Procopius. At Thilsaphata,† the emperor most graciously received the generals of Mesopotamia; and the remains of a once flourishing army at length reposed themselves under the walls of Nisibis. The messengers of Jovian had already proclaimed, in the language of flattery, his election, his treaty, and his return; and the new prince had taken the most effectual measures to secure the allegiance of the armies and provinces of Europe; by placing the military command in the hands of those officers who, from motives of interest or inclination, would firmly support the cause of their benefactor.‡

undoubtedly false. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 702. * We may recollect some lines of Lucan (*Pharsal* 4, 95) who describes a similar distress of Cæsar's army in Spain:—

Sæva fames aderat—
Miles eget: toto censu non prodigus emit

Exiguam Cererem. Proh lueri pallida tabes!
Non deest prolato jejunos venditor auro.

See Guiehard, (*Nouveaux Mémoires Militaires*, tom. i, p. 379—382). His Analysis of the two campaigns in Spain and Africa is the noblest monument that has ever been raised to the fame of Cæsar.

† M. d'Anville (see his *Maps*, and *l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 92, 93) traces their march; and assigns the true position of Hatra, Ur, and Thilsaphata, which Ammianus has mentioned. He does not complain of the Samiel, the deadly hot wind, which Thevenot (*Voyages*, part 2, lib. 1, p. 192) so much dreaded.

‡ The retreat of Jovian is described

The friends of Julian had confidently announced the success of his expedition. They entertained a fond persuasion; that the temples of the gods would be enriched with the spoils of the east; that Persia would be reduced to the humble state of a tributary province, governed by the laws and magistrates of Rome; that the barbarians would adopt the dress, and manners, and language of their conquerors; and that the youth of Ecbatana and Susa would study the art of rhetoric under Grecian masters.* The progress of the arms of Julian interrupted his communication with the empire; and, from the moment that he passed the Tigris, his affectionate subjects were ignorant of the fate and fortunes of their prince. Their contemplation of fancied triumphs was disturbed by the melancholy rumour of his death; and they persisted to doubt, after they could no longer deny, the truth of that fatal event.† The messengers of Jovian promulgated the specious tale of a prudent and necessary peace; the voice of fame, louder and more sincere, revealed the disgrace of the emperor, and the conditions of the ignominious treaty. The minds of the people were filled with astonishment and grief, with indignation and terror, when they were informed that the unworthy successor of Julian relinquished the five provinces which had been acquired by the victory of Galerius; and that he shamefully surrendered to the barbarians the important city of Nisibis, the firmest bulwark of the provinces of the east.‡ The deep and dangerous question, how far the public faith should be observed, when it becomes incompatible with the public safety, was freely agitated in popular conversation; and some hopes were entertained, that the emperor would redeem his pusillanimous behaviour by a splendid act of patriotic perfidy. The inflexible spirit of the Roman senate had

by Ammianus (25, 9), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 143, p. 365), and Zosimus (lib. 3, p. 194). * Libanius, (Orat. Parent. c. 145, p. 366). Such were the natural hopes and wishes of a rhetorician.

† The people of Carrhæ, a city devoted to Paganism, buried the inauspicious messenger under a pile of stones. (Zosimus, l. 3, p. 196.) Libanius, when he received the fatal intelligence, cast his eye on his sword; but he recollected that Plato had condemned suicide, and that he must live to compose the panegyric of Julian. (Libanius de Vita sua, tom. ii, p. 45, 46.)

‡ Ammianus and Eutropius may be admitted as fair and credible witnesses of the public language and opinions. The people of Antioch reviled an ignominious peace, which exposed them to the Persians, on a naked and defenceless frontier. (Excerpt. Valesiana, p. 845, ex

always disclaimed the unequal conditions which were extorted from the distress of her captive armies; and, if it were necessary to satisfy the national honour by delivering the guilty general into the hands of the barbarians, the greatest part of the subjects of Jovian would have cheerfully acquiesced in the precedent of ancient times.*

But the emperor, whatever might be the limits of his constitutional authority, was the absolute master of the laws and arms of the state; and the same motives which had forced him to subscribe, now pressed him to execute, the treaty of peace. He was impatient to secure an empire at the expense of a few provinces; and the respectable names of religion and honour concealed the personal fears and the ambition of Jovian. Notwithstanding the dutiful solicitations of the inhabitants, decency, as well as prudence, forbade the emperor to lodge in the palace of Nisibis; but the next morning after his arrival, Bineses, the ambassador of Persia, entered the place, displayed from the citadel the standard of the Great King; and proclaimed, in his name, the cruel alternative of exile or servitude. The principal citizens of Nisibis, who, till that fatal moment had confided in the protection of their sovereign, threw themselves at his feet. They conjured him not to abandon, or at least not to deliver, a faithful colony to the rage of a barbarian tyrant, exasperated by the three successive defeats which he had experienced under the walls of Nisibis. They still possessed arms and courage to repel the invaders of their country: they requested only the permission of using them in their own defence; and as soon as they had asserted their independence, they should implore the favour of being again admitted into the rank of his subjects. Their arguments, their eloquence, their tears, were ineffectual. Jovian alleged, with some confusion, the sanctity of oaths; and, as the reluctance with which he accepted the present of a crown of gold convinced the citizens of their hopeless condition, the advocate Sylvanus was provoked to exclaim—"O emperor! may you thus be crowned by all the cities of your domi-

Johanne Antiocheno.) * The Abbé de la Bleterie (*Hist. de Jovien*, tom. i, p. 212—227), though a severe casuist, has pronounced that Jovian was not bound to execute his promise; since he *could not* dismember the empire, nor alienate, without their consent, the allegiance of his people. I have never found much delight or instruction in such

nions!" Jovian, who in a few weeks had assumed the habits of a prince, was* displeased with freedom and offended with truth: and as he reasonably supposed that the discontent of the people might incline them to submit to the Persian government, he published an edict, under pain of death, that they should leave the city within the term of three days. Ammianus has delineated in lively colours, the scene of universal despair, which he seems to have viewed with an eye of compassion.† The martial youth deserted, with indignant grief, the walls which they had so gloriously defended: the disconsolate mourner dropped a last tear over the tomb of a son or husband, which must soon be profaned by the rude hand of a barbarian master; and the aged citizen kissed the threshold and clung to the doors of the house, where he had passed the cheerful and careless hours of infancy. The highways were crowded with a trembling multitude; the distinctions of rank, and sex, and age, were lost in the general calamity. Every one strove to bear away some fragment from the wreck of his fortunes; and as they could not command the immediate service of an adequate number of horses or wagons, they were obliged to leave behind them the greatest part of their valuable effects. The savage insensibility of Jovian appears to have aggravated the hardships of these unhappy fugitives. They were seated, however, in a new-built quarter of Amida; and that rising city, with the reinforcement of a very considerable colony, soon recovered its former splendour, and became the capital of Mesopotamia.‡ Similar orders were dispatched by the emperor for the evacuation of Singara and the castle of the Moors; and for the restitution of the five provinces beyond the Tigris. Sapor enjoyed the glory and the fruits of his victory; and this ignominious peace has justly been considered as a memorable era in the decline and fall of the Roman empire. The predecessors of Jovian had sometimes relinquished the dominion of distant and unprofitable provinces; but, since the foundation of the city, the genius of Rome, the god Terminus, who guarded

political metaphysics. * At Nisibis he performed a *royal* act. A brave officer, his namesake, who had been thought worthy of the purple, was dragged from supper, thrown into a well, and stoned to death, without any form of trial, or evidence of guilt. (Ammian. 25, 8)

† See 25, 9, and Zosimus, lib. 3. p. 194, 195.

‡ Chron. Paschal.

the boundaries of the republic, had never retired before the sword of a victorious enemy.*

After Jovian had performed those engagements, which the voice of his people might have tempted him to violate, he hastened away from the scene of his disgrace, and proceeded with his whole court to enjoy the luxury of Antioch.† Without consulting the dictates of religious zeal, he was prompted, by humanity and gratitude, to bestow the last honours on the remains of his deceased sovereign;‡ and Procopius, who sincerely bewailed the loss of his kinsman, was removed from the command of the army, under the decent pretence of conducting the funeral. The corpse of Julian was transported from Nisibis to Tarsus, in a slow march of fifteen days; and as it passed through the cities of the east, was saluted by the hostile factions with mournful lamentations and clamorous insults. The Pagans already placed their beloved hero in the rank of those gods whose worship he had restored; while the invectives of the Christians pursued the soul of the apostate to hell, and his body to the grave.§ One party lamented the approaching ruin of their altars; the other celebrated the marvellous deliverance of the church. The Christians applauded, in lofty and ambiguous strains, the stroke of divine vengeance, which had been so long suspended over the guilty head of Julian. They acknowledged that the death of the tyrant, at the instant he expired beyond the Tigris, was *revealed* to the saints of Egypt, Syria, and Cappadocia;¶ and, instead of suffering him to fall by the Persian darts, their indiscretion ascribed

p. 300. The ecclesiastical Notitiæ may be consulted. * Zosimus, lib. 3, p. 192, 193. Sextus Rufus de Provinciis, c. 29. Augustin, de Civitat. Dei, lib. 4, c. 29. This general position must be applied and interpreted with some caution. † Ammianus, 25, 9. Zosimus, lib. 3, p. 196. He might be edax, et vino Venerique indulgens. But I agree with La Bleterie (tom. i, p. 148—154) in rejecting the foolish report of a Bacchanalian riot (ap. Suidam.) celebrated at Antioch, by the emperor, his wife, and a troop of concubines. ‡ The Abbé de la Bleterie (tom. i. p. 156—209) handsomely exposes the brutal bigotry of Baronius, who would have thrown Julian to the dogs, ne cespitiâ quidem sepulturâ dignus. § Compare the sophist and the saint, Libanius, Mouod. tom. ii, p. 251, and Orat. Parent. c. 145, p. 367, c. 156, p. 377, with Gregory Nazianzen. Orat. 4, p. 125—132. The Christian orator faintly mutters some exhortations to modesty and forgiveness; but he is well satisfied, that the real sufferings of Julian will far exceed the fabulous torments of Ixion or Tantalus.

¶ Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv, p. 549) has collected

the heroic deed to the obscure hand of some mortal or immortal champion of the faith.* Such imprudent declarations were eagerly adopted by the malice, or credulity, of their adversaries,† who darkly insinuated, or confidently asserted, that the governors of the church had instigated and directed the fanaticism of a domestic assassin.‡ Above sixteen years after the death of Julian, the charge was solemnly and vehemently urged in a public oration, addressed by Libanius to the emperor Theodosius. His suspicions are unsupported by fact or argument; and we can only esteem the generous zeal of the sophist of Antioch; for the cold and neglected ashes of his friend.§

It was an ancient custom in the funerals, as well as in the triumphs, of the Romans, that the voice of praise should be corrected by that of satire and ridicule; and that, in the midst of the splendid pageants, which displayed the glory of the living or of the dead, their imperfections should not be concealed from the eyes of the world.¶ This custom was practised in the funeral of Julian. The comedians, who resented his contempt and aversion for the theatre, exhibited, with the applause of a Christian audience, the lively and exaggerated representation of the faults and follies of

these visions. Some saint or angel was observed to be absent in the night on a secret expedition, &c.

* Sozomen (lib. 6, 2) applauds the Greek doctrine of *tyrannicide*; but the whole passage, which a Jesuit might have translated, is prudently suppressed by the president Cousin.

† Immediately after the death of Julian, an uncertain rumour was scattered, *telo cecidisse Romano*. It was carried, by some deserters, to the Persian camp; and the Romans were reproached as the assassins of the emperor by Sapor and his subjects. (Ammian. 25, 6. Libanius, *de ulciscendâ Juliani nece*, c. 13, p. 162, 163.) It was urged, as a decisive proof, that no Persian had appeared to claim the promised reward. (Liban. *Orat. Parent.* c. 141, p. 363.) But the flying horseman, who darted the fatal javelin, might be ignorant of its effect; or he might be slain in the same action. Ammianus neither feels nor inspires a suspicion.

‡ "Ὅστις ἐντόλην πληρῶν τῶ σὼν αὐτῶν ἄρχοντι. This dark and ambiguous expression may point to Athanasius, the first, without a rival, of the Christian clergy. (Libanius *de ulcis. Jul. nece*, c. 5, p. 149. La Bleterie, *Hist. de Jovien*, tcm. i, p. 179.)

§ The orator (Fabricius, *Bibliot. Græc.* tom. vii, p. 145—179) scatters suspicions, demands an inquiry, and insinuates, that proofs might still be obtained. He ascribes the success of the Huns to the criminal neglect of revenging Julian's death. ¶ At the funeral of Vespasian,

the comedian who personated that frugal emperor, anxiously inquired, how much it cost? "Fourscore thousand pounds" (centies). "Give me the tenth part of the sum, and throw my body into the Tiber." Sueton. in *Vespasian*, c. 19, with the notes of Casaubon and Grono-

the deceased emperor. His various character and singular manners afforded an ample scope for pleasantry and ridicule.* In the exercise of his uncommon talents, he often descended below the majesty of his rank. Alexander was transformed into Diogenes; the philosopher was degraded into a priest. The purity of his virtue was sullied by excessive vanity; his superstition disturbed the peace, and endangered the safety, of a mighty empire; and his irregular sallies were the less entitled to indulgence, as they appeared to be the laborious efforts of art, or even of affectation. The remains of Julian were interred at Tarsus in Cilicia; but his stately tomb, which arose in that city, on the banks of the cold and limpid Cydnus,† was displeasing to the faithful friends who loved and revered the memory of that extraordinary man. The philosopher expressed a very reasonable wish, that the disciple of Plato might have reposed amidst the groves of the academy;‡ while the soldier exclaimed in bolder accents, that the ashes of Julian should have been mingled with those of Cæsar, in the field of Mars, and among the ancient monuments of Roman virtue.§ The history of princes does not very frequently renew the example of a similar competition.

CHAPTER XXV.—THE GOVERNMENT AND DEATH OF JOVIAN.—ELECTION OF VALENTINIAN, WHO ASSOCIATES HIS BROTHER VALENS, AND MAKES THE FINAL DIVISION OF THE EASTERN AND WESTERN EMPIRES. REVOLT OF PROCOPIUS.—CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL ADMINISTRATION.—GERMANY.—BRITAIN.—AFRICA.—THE EAST.—THE DANUBE.—DEATH OF VALENTINIAN.—HIS TWO SONS GRATIAN AND VALENTINIAN II. SUCCEED TO THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

THE death of Julian had left the public affairs of the empire in a very doubtful and dangerous situation. The Roman army was saved by an inglorious, perhaps a necessary.

* Gregory (Orat. 4, p. 119, 120) compares this supposed ignominy and ridicule to the funeral honours of Constantius, whose body was chanted over mount Taurus by a choir of angels. † Quintus Curtius, lib. 3, c. 4. The luxuriancy of his descriptions has been often censured. Yet it was almost the duty of the historian to describe a river, whose waters had nearly proved fatal to Alexander.

‡ Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 156, p. 377. Yet he acknowledges with gratitude the liberality of the two royal brothers, in decorating the tomb of Julian (de ulcis. Jul. nece, c. 7, p. 152). § Cujus suprema et cineres, si qui tunc justè consuleret non Cydnus videre deberet,

sary treaty;* and the first moments of peace were consecrated by the pious Jovian to restore the domestic tranquillity of the church and state. The indiscretion of his predecessor, instead of reconciling, had artfully fomented, the religious war; and the balance which he affected to preserve between the hostile factions, served only to perpetuate the contest, by the vicissitudes of hope and fear, by the rival claims of ancient possession and actual favour. The Christians had forgotten the spirit of the gospel; and the Pagans had imbibed the spirit of the church. In private families, the sentiments of nature were extinguished by the blind fury of zeal and revenge; the majesty of the laws was violated or abused; the cities of the east were stained with blood; and the most implacable enemies of the Romans were in the bosom of their country. Jovian was educated in the profession of Christianity; and as he marched from Nisibis to Antioch, the banner of the cross, the LABARUM of Constantine, which was again displayed at the head of the legions, announced to the people the faith of their new emperor. As soon as he ascended the throne, he transmitted a circular epistle to all the governors of provinces;

quamvis gratissimus amnis et liquidus; sed ad perpetuandam gloriam recte factorum præterlabere Tiberis, intersecans urbem æternam, divorumque veterum monumenta præstringens. Ammian. 25, 10.

* The medals of Jovian adorn him with victories, laurel crowns, and prostrate captives. Ducange, *Famil. Byzantin.* p. 52. Flattery is a foolish suicide; she destroys herself with her own hands. [These are described by Eckhel (*Num. Vet.* vol. viii, p. 147.) The earliest of them, like those of preceding emperors, have a figure of Victory standing on the globe, which was first stamped on Roman coins by Julius Cæsar, as the symbol of imperial dominion. On the latter coins of this short reign, the cross is substituted for the Pagan goddess, so that the globe surmounted by the emblem of Christianity, as used in the coronation ceremonies of modern sovereigns, was first introduced by Jovian. "Nunc primum apparet," are Eckhel's words. The same is indeed placed by Nicephorus Callistus (*Hist. Ecc.* lib. 7, c. 49) in the right hand of the statue on Constantine's porphyry pillar. But his accuracy, as to the cross, is generally questioned. He calls the globe *an apple*, μήλον; yet it may be observed, that the Germans also designate that part of their imperial insignia by the same term, *Reichsapfel*. Nicephorus, however, is not corroborated by any other historian. Procopius (*De Æd. Just.* lib. 1, c. 2) and Suidas, after him, speak of the globe and cross in the left hand of Justinian's equestrian statue, as if the sign of universal rule had never before decorated any statue in that form. There is certainly no existing proof of its use earlier than the coins of Jovian.—ED.]

in which he confessed the divine truth, and secured the legal establishment, of the Christian religion. The insidious edicts of Julian were abolished; the ecclesiastical immunities were restored and enlarged; and Jovian condescended to lament, that the distress of the times obliged him to diminish the measure of charitable distributions.* The Christians were unanimous in the loud and sincere applause which they bestowed on the pious successor of Julian. But they were still ignorant what creed, or what synod, he would choose for the standard of orthodoxy; and the peace of the church immediately revived those eager disputes which had been suspended during the season of persecution. The episcopal leaders of the contending sects, convinced, from experience, how much their fate would depend on the earliest impressions that were made on the mind of an untutored soldier, hastened to the court of Edessa, or Antioch. The highways of the east were crowded with Homoousian, and Arian, and semi-Arian, and Eunomian bishops, who struggled to outstrip each other in the holy race; the apartments of the palace resounded with their clamours; and the ears of their prince were assaulted, and perhaps astonished, by the singular mixture of metaphysical argument and passionate invective.† The moderation of Jovian, who recommended concord and charity, and referred the disputants to the sentence of a future council, was interpreted as a symptom of indifference; but his attachment to the Nicene creed was at length discovered and declared, by the reverence which he expressed for the *celestial*‡ virtues of the great Athanasius. The intrepid veteran of the faith, at the age of seventy, had issued from his retreat on the first intel-

* Jovian restored to the church τὸν ἀρχαίον κόσμον; a forcible and comprehensive expression. (Philostorgius, l. 8, c. 5, with Godefroy's Dissertations, p. 329. Sozomen. l. 6, c. 3.) The new law, which condemned the rape or marriage of nuns, (Cod. Theod. l. 9, tit. 25, leg. 2,) is exaggerated by Sozomen; who supposes, that an amorous glance, the adultery of the heart, was punished with death by the evangelic legislator. † Compare Socrates, l. 3, c. 25, and Philostorgius, l. 8, c. 6, with Godefroy's Dissertations, p. 330. ‡ The word *celestial* faintly expresses the impious and extravagant flattery of the emperor to the archbishop, τῆς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν τῶν ὅλων ὁμοιώσεως. (See the original epistle in Athanasius, tom. ii, p. 33.) Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. 21, p. 392,) celebrates the friendship of Jovian and Athanasius. The prime's journey was advised by the Egyptian monks. (Tillemont,

ligence of the tyrant's death. The acclamations of the people seated him once more on the archiepiscopal throne; and he wisely accepted, or anticipated, the invitation of Jovian. The venerable figure of Athanasius, his calm courage, and insinuating eloquence, sustained the reputation which he had already acquired in the courts of four successive princes.* As soon as he had gained the confidence and secured the faith of the Christian emperor, he returned in triumph to his diocese, and continued, with mature counsels, and undiminished vigour, to direct, ten years longer,† the ecclesiastical government of Alexandria, Egypt, and the Catholic church. Before his departure from Antioch, he assured Jovian that his orthodox devotion would be rewarded with a long and peaceful reign. Athanasius had reason to hope, that he should be allowed either the merit of a successful prediction, or the excuse of a grateful, though ineffectual prayer.‡

The slightest force, when it is applied to assist and guide the natural descent of its object, operates with irresistible weight; and Jovian had the good fortune to embrace the religious opinions which were supported by the spirit of the times, and the zeal and numbers of the most powerful sect.§ Under his reign, Christianity obtained an easy and lasting victory; and as soon as the smile of royal patronage was withdrawn, the genius of Paganism, which had been fondly raised and cherished by the arts of Julian, sank irrecover-

Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii, p. 221.)

* Athanasius, at the court of Antioch, is agreeably represented by La Bleterie (*Hist. de Jovien*. tom. i, p. 121—148); he translates the singular and original conferences of the emperor, the primate of Egypt, and the Arian deputies. The abbé is not satisfied with the coarse pleasantry of Jovian; but his partiality for Athanasius assumes, in his eyes, the character of justice.

† The true era of his death is perplexed with some difficulties, (Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. viii, p. 719—723.) But the date (A.D. 373, May 2,) which seems the most consistent with history and reason, is ratified by his authentic life. (Maffei, *Osservazioni Letterarie*, tom. iii, p. 81.)

‡ See the observations of Valesius and Jortin (*Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv, p. 38,) on the original letter of Athanasius, which is preserved by Theodoret. (l. 4, c. 3). In some MSS. this indiscreet promise is omitted; perhaps by the Catholics, jealous of the prophetic fame of their leader.

§ Athanasius (apud Theodoret. l. 4, c. 3,) magnifies the number of the orthodox, who composed the whole world, *παρεβόλιντων τῶν τὰ Ἀρείου ἑπο-
υόντων*. This assertion was verified in the space of thirty or forty

ably in the dust. In many cities, the temples were shut or deserted; the philosophers, who had abused their transient favour, thought it prudent to shave their beards, and disguise their profession; and the Christians rejoiced, that they were now in a condition to forgive, or to revenge, the injuries which they had suffered under the preceding reign.* The consternation of the Pagan world was dispelled by a wise and gracious edict of toleration; in which Jovian explicitly declared, that although he should severely punish the sacrilegious rites of magic, his subjects might exercise, with freedom and safety, the ceremonies of the ancient worship. The memory of this law has been preserved by the orator Themistius, who was deputed by the senate of Constantinople to express their loyal devotion for the new emperor. Themistius expatiates on the clemency of the Divine nature, the facility of human error, the rights of conscience, and the independence of the mind; and, with some eloquence, inculcates the principles of philosophical toleration; whose aid Superstition herself, in the hour of her distress, is not ashamed to implore. He justly observes, that, in the recent changes, both religions had been alternately disgraced by the seeming acquisition of worthless proselytes, of those votaries of the reigning purple, who could pass, without a reason, and without a blush, from the church to the temple, and from the altars of Jupiter to the sacred table of the Christians.†

years. * Soerates, l. 3, c. 24. Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. 4, p. 131,) and Libanius (Orat. Parentalis, c. 148, p. 369,) express the *living* sentiments of their respective factions. † Themistius, Orat. 5, p. 63—71, edit. Harduin, Paris, 1684. The Abbé de la Bletterie judiciously remarks, (Hist. de Jovien, tom. i, p. 199) that Sozomen has forgotten the general toleration; and Themistius the establishment of the Catholic religion. Each of them turned away from the object which he disliked; and wished to suppress the part of the edict the least honourable, in his opinion, to the emperor Jovian. [Full justice is not done here to this oration. Neander (Hist. vol. iii, p. 97) bestows on it high and deserved commendation. "Golden words," he says, "were those which the moderate Pagan, Themistius, addressed to Jovian on his entrance upon the consular office, with a view to confirm him, in those principles, recognizing man's universal rights and the toleration in matters of religion, connected therewith, which he had expressed immediately after coming to the throne." He then gives an extract, too long for transfer to this page; but the following passages may not be omitted: "You alone," said the orator to his sovereign,

In the space of seven months, the Roman troops, who were now returned to Antioch, had performed a march of fifteen hundred miles; in which they had endured all the hardships of war, of famine, and of climate. Notwithstanding their services, their fatigues, and the approach of winter, the timid and impatient Jovian allowed only, to the men and horses, a respite of six weeks. The emperor could not sustain the indiscreet and malicious raillery of the people of Antioch.* He was impatient to possess the palace of Constantinople; and to prevent the ambition of some competitor, who might occupy the vacant allegiance of Europe. But he soon received the grateful intelligence, that his authority was acknowledged from the Thracian Bosphorus to the Atlantic ocean. By the first letters which he dispatched from the camp of Mesopotamia, he had delegated the military command of Gaul and Illyricum to Malarich, a brave and faithful officer of the nation of the Franks; and to his father-in-law count Lucillian, who had formerly distinguished his courage and conduct in the defence of Nisibis. Malarich had declined an office to which he thought himself unequal; and Lucillian was massacred at Rheims, in an accidental mutiny of the Batavian cohorts.† But the moderation of Jovinus, master-general of the cavalry, who forgave the intention of his disgrace, soon appeased the tumult, and confirmed the uncertain minds of the soldiers. The oath of fidelity was

“seem to be aware, that the monarch cannot force everything from his subjects; that there are things which are superior to all constraint, threatenings, and law,—whoever employs force here, takes away the freedom which God bestowed on every man. The laws of a Cheops and Cambyzes hardly lasted as long as their authors’ lives. But the law of God and your law, remain for ever unchangeable—the law, that every man’s soul is free in reference to its own peculiar mode of worship. This law, no pillage of goods, no death on the cross or at the stake, has ever been able to extinguish. You may indeed force and kill the body; but though the tongue may be silenced, the soul will rise and carry along with it its own will, free from the constraint of authority.” Such words, from a Pagan and in such an age, ought to make many a Christian blush, both sovereign, priest, and sectarian.—ED.]

* Οἱ δὲ Ἀντιοχείς οὐχ ἡδέως οὐκ ἐκιντο πρὸς αὐτὸν. ἀλλ’ ἐπέσκωπον αὐτὸν ψεῦδαις καὶ παρρησίαις, καὶ τοῖς καλουμένοις φημώσοις. (*famosis libellis*.) Johan. Antiochen. in Excerpt. Valesian. p. 845. The libels of Antioch may be admitted on very slight evidence.

† Compare Ammianus, (25, 10,) who omits the name of the Batavians, with Zosimus, (l. 3, p. 197,) who removes the scene of action

administered, and taken with loyal acclamations; and the deputies of the western armies* saluted their new sovereign as he descended from mount Taurus to the city of Tyana, in Cappadocia. From Tyana he continued his hasty march to Ancyra, capital of the province of Galatia; where Jovian assumed, with his infant son, the name and ensigns of the consulship.† Dadastana,‡ an obscure town, almost at an equal distance between Ancyra and Nice, was marked for the fatal term of his journey and his life. After indulging himself with a plentiful, perhaps an intemperate, supper, he retired to rest; and the next morning the emperor Jovian was found dead in his bed. The cause of this sudden death was variously understood. By some it was ascribed to the consequences of an indigestion, occasioned either by the quantity of the wine, or the quality of the mushrooms, which he had swallowed in the evening. According to others, he was suffocated in his sleep by the vapour of charcoal; which extracted from the walls of the apartment the unwholesome moisture of the fresh plaster.§ But the want of a regular inquiry into the death of a prince, whose reign and person were soon forgotten, appears to have been the only circumstance which countenanced the malicious whispers of poison and domestic guilt.¶ The body of Jovian was sent to Constantinople, to be interred with his predecessors; and the sad procession was met on the road by his wife Charito, the daughter of count Lucillian; who

from Rheims to Sirmium. * Quos capita scholarum ordo castrensis appellat. Ammian. 25, 10, and Vales. ad locum. † Cujus vagitus, pertinaciter reluctantis, ne in curuli sellâ veheretur ex more, id quod mox accidit protendebat. Augustus and his successors respectfully solicited a dispensation of age for the sons or nephews whom they raised to the consulship. But the curule chair of the first Brutus had never been dishonoured by an infant. ‡ The Itinerary of Antoninus fixes Dadastana one hundred and twenty-five Roman miles from Nice; one hundred and seventeen from Ancyra. (Wesseling, Itinerar. p. 142.)

The pilgrim of Bourdeaux, by omitting some stages, reduces the whole space from two hundred and forty-two to one hundred and eighty-one miles. Wesseling, p. 574. § See Ammianus (25, 10), Eutropius (10, 18), who might likewise be present; Jerome (tom. i, p. 26, ad Heliodorum), Orosius (7. 31), Sozomen (l. 6, c. 6), Zosimus (l. 3, p. 197. 198), and Zonaras, (tom. ii, l. 13, p. 28, 29). We cannot expect a perfect agreement, and we shall not discuss minute differences.

¶ Ammianus, unmindful of his usual candour and good sense, compares the death of the harmless Jovian to that of the second Africanus, who had excited the fears and resentment of the popular faction.

still wept the recent death of her father, and was hastening to dry her tears in the embraces of an imperial husband. Her disappointment and grief were imbittered by the anxiety of maternal tenderness. Six weeks before the death of Jovian, his infant son had been placed in the curule chair, adorned with the title of *Nobilissimus*, and the vain ensigns of the consulship. Unconscious of his fortune, the royal youth, who, from his grandfather, assumed the name of Varronian, was reminded only by the jealousy of the government, that he was the son of an emperor. Sixteen years afterwards he was still alive, but he had already been deprived of an eye; and his afflicted mother expected, every hour, that the innocent victim would be torn from her arms, to appease with his blood the suspicions of the reigning prince.*

After the death of Jovian, the throne of the Roman world remained ten days† without a master. The ministers and generals still continued to meet in council; to exercise their respective functions; to maintain the public order; and peaceably to conduct the army to the city of Nice in Bithynia, which was chosen for the place of the election.‡ In a solemn assembly of the civil and military powers of the empire, the diadem was again unanimously offered to the prefect Sallust. He enjoyed the glory of a second refusal; and when the virtues of the father were alleged in favour of his son, the prefect, with the firmness of a disinterested patriot, declared to the electors, that the feeble age of the one, and the unexperienced youth of the

* Chrysostom, tom. i, p. 336. 344, edit. Montfaucon. The Christian orator attempts to comfort a widow by the examples of illustrious misfortunes; and observes, that of nine emperors (including the Cæsar Gallus) who had reigned in his time, only two (Constantine and Constantius) died a natural death. Such vague consolations have never wiped away a single tear. † Ten days appear scarcely sufficient for the march and election. But it may be observed,—1. That the generals might command the expeditious use of the public posts for themselves, their attendants, and messengers. 2. That the troops, for the ease of the cities, marched in many divisions; and that the head of the column might arrive at Nice, when the rear halted at Ancyra.

‡ Ammianus, 26, 1. Zosimus, 1 3, p. 198. Philostorgius, l. 8, c. 8, and Godefroy, Dissertat. p. 334. Philostorgius, who appears to have obtained some curious and authentic intelligence, ascribes the choice of Valentinian to the prefect Sallust, the master-general Arintheus, Dagalaiphus, count of the domestics, and the patrician Datianus, whose

other, were equally incapable of the laborious duties of government. Several candidates were proposed; and, after weighing the objections of character or situation, they were successively rejected; but as soon as the name of Valentinian was pronounced, the merit of that officer united the suffrages of the whole assembly, and obtained the sincere approbation of Sallust himself. Valentinian* was the son of count Gratian, a native of Cibalis in Pannonia, who, from an obscure condition, had raised himself, by matchless strength and dexterity, to the military commands of Africa and Britain; from which he retired with an ample fortune and suspicious integrity. The rank and services of Gratian contributed, however, to smooth the first steps of the promotion of his son, and afforded him an early opportunity of displaying those solid and useful qualifications, which raised his character above the ordinary level of his fellow-soldiers. The person of Valentinian was tall, graceful, and majestic. His manly countenance, deeply marked with the impression of sense and spirit, inspired his friends with awe, and his enemies with fear: and, to second the efforts of his undaunted courage, the son of Gratian had inherited the advantages of a strong and healthy constitution. By the habits of chastity and temperance, which restrain the appetites and invigorate the faculties, Valentinian preserved his own and the public esteem. The avocations of a military life had diverted his youth from the elegant pursuits of literature; he was ignorant of the Greek language, and the arts of rhetoric; but as the mind of the orator was never disconcerted by timid perplexity, he was able, as often as the occasion prompted him, to deliver his decided sentiments with bold and ready elocution. The laws of martial discipline were the only laws that he had studied; and he was soon distinguished by the laborious diligence and inflexible severity with which he discharged and enforced the duties of the camp. In the time of Julian he provoked the danger of disgrace by the contempt which he publicly expressed for the reigning religion;† and it should

pressing recommendations from Ancyra had a weighty influence in the election.

* Ammianus (30, 7. 9,) and the younger Victor have furnished the portrait of Valentinian; which naturally precedes and illustrates the history of his reign.

† At Antioch, where he was obliged to attend the emperor to the temple, he struck a priest, who

seem from his subsequent conduct that the indiscreet and unseasonable freedom of Valentinian was the effect of military spirit, rather than of Christian zeal. He was pardoned, however, and still employed by a prince who esteemed his merit;* and in the various events of the Persian war, he improved the reputation which he had already acquired on the banks of the Rhine. The celerity and success with which he executed an important commission, recommended him to the favour of Jovian, and to the honourable command of the second *school*, or company, of targetteers, of the domestic guards. In the march from Antioch, he had reached his quarters at Ancyra, when he was unexpectedly summoned, without guilt, and without intrigue, to assume, in the forty-third year of his age, the absolute government of the Roman empire.

The invitation of the ministers and generals at Nice was of little moment, unless it were confirmed by the voice of the army. The aged Sallust, who had long observed the irregular fluctuations of popular assemblies, proposed, under pain of death, that none of those persons, whose rank in the service might excite a party in their favour, should appear in public on the day of the inauguration. Yet such was the prevalence of ancient superstition, that a whole day was voluntarily added to this dangerous interval, because it happened to be the intercalation of the Bissextile.† At length, when the hour was supposed to be propitious, Valentinian shewed himself from a lofty tribunal: the judicious choice was applauded; and the new prince was solemnly invested with the diadem and the purple amidst the acclamation of the troops, who were disposed in martial

had presumed to purify him with lustral water. (Sozomen, l. 6, c. 6. Theodoret. l. 3, c. 15.) Such public defiance might become Valentinian; but it could leave no room for the unworthy delation of the philosopher Maximus, which supposes some more private offence. (Zosimus, l. 4, p. 200, 201.) * Socrates, l. 4. A previous exile to

Melitene, or Thebais (the first might be possible), is interposed by Sozomen (l. 6, c. 6,) and Philostorgius. (l. 7, c. 7, with Godefroy's Dissertations, p. 293). † Ammianus, in a long, because unseasonable, digression (26, 1, and Valesius ad locum), rashly supposes that he understands an astronomical question, of which his readers are ignorant. It is treated with more judgment and propriety by Censorinus (De Die Natali, c. 20), and Macrobius (Saturnal. l. 1, c. 12—16.) The appellation of *Bissextile*, which marks the inauspicious year (Augustin, ad Januarium, epist. 119), is derived from the repetition of the sixth day

order round the tribunal. But when he stretched forth his hand to address the armed multitude, a busy whisper was accidentally started in the ranks, and insensibly swelled into a loud and imperious clamour, that he should name, without delay, a colleague in the empire. The intrepid calmness of Valentinian obtained silence, and commanded respect; and he thus addressed the assembly:—"A few minutes since it was in *your* power, fellow soldiers, to have left me in the obscurity of a private station. Judging, from the testimony of my past life, that I deserved to reign, you have placed me on the throne. It is now *my* duty to consult the safety and interest of the republic. The weight of the universe is undoubtedly too great for the hands of a feeble mortal. I am conscious of the limits of my abilities, and the uncertainty of my life: and far from declining, I am anxious to solicit, the assistance of a worthy colleague. But, where discord may be fatal, the choice of a faithful friend requires mature and serious deliberation. That deliberation shall be my care. Let your conduct be dutiful and consistent. Retire to your quarters, refresh your minds and bodies; and expect the accustomed donative on the accession of a new emperor."* The astonished troops, with a mixture of pride, of satisfaction, and of terror, confessed the voice of their master. Their angry clamours subsided into silent reverence; and Valentinian, encompassed with the eagles of the legions, and the various banners of the cavalry and infantry, was conducted, in warlike pomp, to the palace of Nice. As he was sensible, however, of the importance of preventing some rash declaration of the soldiers, he consulted the assembly of the chiefs: and their real sentiments were concisely expressed by the generous freedom of Dagalaiphus. "Most excellent prince," said that officer, "if you consider only your family, you have a brother; if you love the republic, look round for the most deserving of the Romans."† The emperor, who suppressed his displeasure, without altering his intention, slowly‡ proceeded from Nice to Nicomedia and Constantinople of the calends of March.

* Valentinian's first speech is full in Ammianus; (26, 2,) concise and sententious in Philostorgius. (l. 8, c. 8.)

† Si tuos amas, Imperator optime, habes fratrem; si Rempublicam, quære quem vestias. Ammian. 26, 4. In the division of the empire, Valentinian retained that sincere counsellor for himself. (c. 6.)

‡ Ammianus says, itineribus citis; and that Valentinian reached

tinople. In one of the suburbs of that capital,* thirty-days after his own elevation, he bestowed the title of Augustus on his brother Valens; and as the boldest patriots were convinced that their opposition, without being serviceable to their country, would be fatal to themselves, the declaration of his absolute will was received with silent submission. Valens was now in the thirty-sixth year of his age; but his abilities had never been exercised in any employment, military or civil: and his character had not inspired the world with any sanguine expectations. He possessed, however, one quality, which recommended him to Valentinian, and preserved the domestic peace of the empire; a devout and grateful attachment to his benefactor, whose superiority of genius, as well as of authority, Valens humbly and cheerfully acknowledged in every action of his life.†

Before Valentinian divided the provinces, he reformed the administration of the empire. All ranks of subjects, who had been injured or oppressed under the reign of Julian, were invited to support their public accusations. The silence of mankind attested the spotless integrity of the prefect Sallust;‡ and his own pressing solicitations that he might be permitted to retire from the business of the state were rejected by Valentinian with the most honourable expressions of friendship and esteem. But among the favourites of the late emperor, there were many who had abused his credulity or superstition; and who could no longer hope to be protected either by favour or justice.§ The greater part of the ministers of the palace, and the governors of the provinces, were removed from their respective stations; yet the eminent merit of some officers was

Nicomedia on the first of March, three days after his election.—ED.]

* In suburbano (Ammian. 26. 4.) The famous *Hebdomon*, or field of Mars, was distant from Constantinople either seven stadia, or seven miles. See Valesius and his brother, ad loc., and Ducange, Const. l. 2, p. 140, 141. 172, 173.

† Participem quidem legitimum potestatis; sed in modum apparitoris morigerum, ut progrediens aperiet textus. Ammian. 26. 4.

‡ Notwithstanding the evidence of Zonaras, Suidas, and the Paschal Chronicle, M. de Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v, p. 671) wishes to disbelieve these stories, si avantageuses à un payen.

§ Eunapius celebrates and exaggerates the sufferings of Maximus (p. 82, 83); yet he allows that this sophist or magician, the guilty favourite of Julian, and the personal enemy of Valentinian, was

distinguished from the obnoxious crowd; and, notwithstanding the opposite clamours of zeal and resentment, the whole proceedings of this delicate inquiry appear to have been conducted with a reasonable share of wisdom and moderation.* The festivity of a new reign received a short and suspicious interruption from the sudden illness of the two princes: but as soon as their health was restored, they left Constantinople in the beginning of the spring. In the castle or palace of Mediana, only three miles from Naissus, they executed the solemn and final division of the Roman empire.† Valentinian bestowed on his brother the rich prefecture of the *east*, from the lower Danube to the confines of Persia; whilst he reserved for his immediate government the warlike prefectures of *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Gaul*, from the extremity of Greece to the Caledonian rampart; and from the rampart of Caledonia to the foot of mount Atlas. The provincial administration remained on its former basis; but a double supply of generals and magistrates was required for two councils, and two courts: the division was made with a just regard to their peculiar merit and situation, and seven master-generals were soon created, either of the cavalry or infantry. When this important business had been amicably transacted, Valentinian and Valens embraced for the last time. The emperor of the west established his temporary residence at Milan; and the emperor of the east returned to Constantinople, to assume the dominion of fifty provinces, of whose language he was totally ignorant.‡

The tranquillity of the east was soon disturbed by rebellion; and the throne of Valens was threatened by the daring attempt of a rival, whose affinity to the emperor Julian§ was

dismissed on the payment of a small fine. * The loose assertions of a general disgrace (Zosimus, l. 4, p. 201,) are detected and refuted by Tillemont (tom. v, p. 21.) † Ammianus, 26, 5.

‡ Ammianus says, in general terms, *subagrestis ingenii, nec bellicis nec liberalibus studiis eruditus*. Ammian. 31, 14. The orator Themistius, with the genuine impertinence of a Greek, wished for the first time to speak the Latin language, the dialect of his sovereign, *τὴν διάλεκτον κρατοῦσαν*. Orat. 6, p. 71. § The uncertain degree of alliance, or consanguinity, is expressed by the words *ἀνίψιος*, cognatus, consobrinus. (See Valesius ad Ammian. 23, 3.) The mother of Procopius might be a sister of Basilina and Count Julian, the mother and uncle of the apostate. Ducange, *Fam. Byzantin.* p. 49.

his sole merit, and had been his only crime. Procopius had been hastily promoted from the obscure station of a tribune, and a notary, to the joint command of the army of Mesopotamia: the public opinion already named him as the successor of a prince who was destitute of natural heirs; and a vain rumour was propagated by his friends, or his enemies, that Julian, before the altar of the moon, at Carrhæ, had privately invested Procopius with the imperial purple.* He endeavoured, by his dutiful and submissive behaviour, to disarm the jealousy of Jovian; resigned, without a contest, his military command; and retired with his wife and family to cultivate the ample patrimony which he possessed in the province of Cappadocia. These useful and innocent occupations were interrupted by the appearance of an officer, with a band of soldiers, who, in the name of his new sovereigns, Valentinian and Valens, was dispatched to conduct the unfortunate Procopius either to a perpetual prison, or an ignominious death. His presence of mind procured him a longer respite, and a more splendid fate. Without presuming to dispute the royal mandate, he requested the indulgence of a few moments to embrace his weeping family; and, while the vigilance of his guards was relaxed by a plentiful entertainment, he dexterously escaped to the sea-coast of the Euxine, from whence he passed over to the country of Bosphorus. In that sequestered region he remained many months, exposed to the hardships of exile, of solitude, and of want; his melancholy temper brooding over his misfortunes, and his mind agitated by the just apprehension, that if any accident should discover his name, the faithless barbarians would violate, without much scruple, the laws of hospitality. In a moment of impatience and despair, Procopius embarked in a merchant vessel, which made sail for Constantinople; and boldly aspired to the rank of a sovereign, because he was not allowed to enjoy the security of a subject. At first he lurked in the villages of Bithynia, continually changing

* Ammian. 23, 3. 26, 6. He mentions the report with much hesitation; *susurravit obscurior fama; nemo enim dicti auctor exstitit verus*. It serves, however, to mark that Procopius was a Pagan. Yet his religion does not appear to have promoted, or obstructed, his pretensions. [During his short rebellion, Procopius struck coins, some of which have been preserved. None of them exhibit any Pagan emblems, while some have the Cross and the Labarum, with the Christian monogram. Eckhel. Num. Vet. vol. viii. p. 157.—Ed.]

his habitation, and his disguise.* By degrees he ventured into the capital, trusted his life and fortune to the fidelity of two friends, a senator and a eunuch, and conceived some hopes of success, from the intelligence which he obtained of the actual state of public affairs. The body of the people was infected with a spirit of discontent: they regretted the justice and the abilities of Sallust, who had been imprudently dismissed from the prefecture of the east. They despised the character of Valeus, which was rude without vigour, and feeble without mildness. They dreaded the influence of his father-in-law, the patrician Petronius, a cruel and rapacious minister, who rigorously exacted all the arrears of tribute that might remain unpaid since the reign of the emperor Aurelian. The circumstances were propitious to the designs of an usurper. The hostile measures of the Persians required the presence of Valens in Syria: from the Danube to the Euphrates the troops were in motion; and the capital was occasionally filled with the soldiers who passed, or repassed, the Thracian Bosphorus. Two cohorts of Gauls were persuaded to listen to the secret proposals of the conspirators; which were recommended by the promise of a liberal donative; and, as they still revered the memory of Julian, they easily consented to support the hereditary claim of his proscribed kinsman. At the dawn of day they were drawn up near the baths of Anastasia; and Procopius, clothed in a purple garment, more suitable to a player than to a monarch, appeared, as if he rose from the dead, in the midst of Constantinople. The soldiers, who were prepared for his reception, saluted their trembling prince with shouts of joy, and vows of fidelity. Their numbers were soon increased by a sturdy band of peasants, collected from the adjacent country; and Procopius, shielded by the arms of his adherents, was successively conducted to the tribunal, the senate, and the palace. During the first moments of his tumultuous reign, he was astonished and terrified by the gloomy silence of the people; who were either ignorant of the cause, or apprehensive of the event. But his military strength was superior to any actual resistance; the malecontents flocked to the standard of rebellion;

* One of his retreats was a country-house of Eunomius, the heretic. The master was absent, innocent, ignorant; yet he narrowly escaped a sentence of death, and was banished into the remote parts of Mauritania. (Philostorg. l. 9, c. 5. 8, and Godefroy's Dissertat. p. 369—378.)

the poor were excited by the hopes, and the rich were intimidated by the fear, of a general pillage; and the obstinate credulity of the multitude was once more deceived by the promised advantages of a revolution. The magistrates were seized; the prisons and arsenals broken open; the gates and the entrance of the harbour, were diligently occupied; and, in a few hours, Procopius became the absolute, though precarious, master of the imperial city. The usurper improved this unexpected success with some degree of courage and dexterity. He artfully propagated the rumours and opinions the most favourable to his interest; while he deluded the populace by giving audience to the frequent, but imaginary, ambassadors of distant nations. The large bodies of troops stationed in the cities of Thrace, and the fortresses of the lower Danube, were gradually involved in the guilt of rebellion; and the Gothic princes consented to supply the sovereign of Constantinople with the formidable strength of several thousand auxiliaries. His generals passed the Bosphorus, and subdued, without an effort, the unarmed, but wealthy provinces of Bithynia and Asia. After an honourable defence, the city and island of Cyzicus yielded to his power; the renowned legions of the Jovians and Herculians embraced the cause of the usurper, whom they were ordered to crush; and, as the veterans were continually augmented with new levies, he soon appeared at the head of an army, whose valour, as well as numbers, were not unequal to the greatness of the contest. The son of Hormisdas,* a youth of spirit and ability, condescended to draw his sword against the lawful emperor of the east; and the Persian prince was immediately invested with the ancient and extraordinary powers of a Roman proconsul. The alliance of Faustina, the widow of the emperor Constantius, who intrusted herself and her daughter to the hands of the usurper, added dignity and reputation to his cause. The princess Constantia, who was then about five years of age, accompanied in a litter the march of the army. She was shown to the multitude in the

* *Hormisdæ maturo juveni Hormisdæ regalis illius filio, potestatem procousulis detulit; et civilia, more veterum, et bella recturo.* Ammian. 26, 8. The Persian prince escaped with honour and safety, and was afterwards (A.D. 380) restored to the same extraordinary office of proconsul of Bithynia. (Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v, p. 204.) I am ignorant whether the race of Sassan was propagated. I find (A.D. 514) a pope Hormisdas; but he was a native of Frusino, in

arms of her adopted father; and as often as she passed through the ranks, the tenderness of the soldiers was inflamed into martial fury;* they recollected the glories of the house of Constantine, and they declared, with loyal acclamation, that they would shed the last drop of their blood in the defence of the royal infant.†

In the meanwhile, Valentinian was alarmed and perplexed by the doubtful intelligence of the revolt of the east. The difficulties of a German war forced him to confine his immediate care to the safety of his own dominions; and, as every channel of communication was stopped or corrupted, he listened with doubtful anxiety to the rumours which were industriously spread, that the defeat and death of Valens had left Procopius sole master of the eastern provinces. Valens was not dead; but, on the news of the rebellion, which he received at Cæsarea, he basely despaired of his life and fortune; proposed to negotiate with the usurper, and discovered his secret inclination to abdicate the imperial purple. The timid monarch was saved from disgrace and ruin by the firmness of his ministers, and their abilities soon decided in his favour the event of the civil war. In a season of tranquillity, Sallust had resigned without a murmur; but as soon as the public safety was attacked, he ambitiously solicited the pre-eminence of toil and danger; and the restoration of that virtuous minister to the prefecture of the east was the first step which indicated the repentance of Valens and satisfied the minds of the people. The reign of Procopius was apparently supported by powerful armies and obedient provinces. But many of the principal officers, military as well as civil, had been urged, either by motives of duty or interest, to withdraw themselves from the guilty scene; or to watch the moment of betraying and deserting the cause of the usurper. Lupicinus advanced, by hasty marches, to bring the legions of Syria to the aid of Valens. Arintheus, who, in strength, beauty, and valour, excelled all the heroes of the age,

Italy. (Pagi, Brev. Pontific. tom. i, p. 247.)

* The infant rebel was afterwards the wife of the emperor Gratian; but she died young and childless. See Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 48. 59.

† Sequimini culminis summi pro-aspiam, was the language of Procopius; who affected to despise the obscure birth, and fortuitous election, of the upstart Pannonian. Ammian. 26, 7.

attacked, with a small troop, a superior body of the rebels. When he beheld the faces of the soldiers who had served under his banner, he commanded them, with a loud voice, to seize and deliver up their pretended leader: and such was the ascendant of his genius, that this extraordinary order was instantly obeyed.* Arbetio, a respectable veteran of the great Constantine, who had been distinguished by the honours of the consulship, was persuaded to leave his retirement, and once more to conduct an army into the field. In the heat of action, calmly taking off his helmet he showed his grey hairs and venerable countenance; saluted the soldiers of Procopius by the endearing names of children and companions, and exhorted them no longer to support the desperate cause of a contemptible tyrant, but to follow their old commander, who had so often led them to honour and victory. In the two engagements of Thyatira† and Nacosia, the unfortunate Procopius was deserted by his troops, who were seduced by the instructions and example of their perfidious officers. After wandering some time among the woods and mountains of Phrygia, he was betrayed by his desponding followers, conducted to the imperial camp, and immediately beheaded. He suffered the ordinary fate of an unsuccessful usurper; but the acts of cruelty which were exercised by the conqueror, under the forms of legal justice, excited the pity and indignation of mankind.‡

* Et dedignatus hominem superare certamine despicabilem, auctoritatis et celsi fiduciâ corporis, ipsis hostibus jussit, suum vincere rectorem: atque ita turmarum antesignanus umbratilis comprehensus suorum manibus. The strength and beauty of Arintheus, the new Hercules, are celebrated by St. Basil; who supposes that God had created him as an inimitable model of the human species. The painters and sculptors could not express his figure: the historians appeared fabulous when they related his exploits. (Ammian. 26, and Vales. ad loc).

† The same field of battle is placed by Ammianus in Lycia, and by Zosimus at Thyatira; which are at the distance of one hundred and fifty miles from each other. But Thyatira alluitur *Lycos* (Plin. Hist. Natur. 5. 31. Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii, p. 79); and the transcribers might easily convert an obscure river into a well known province.

‡ The adventures, usurpation, and fall of Procopius, are related, in a regular series, by Ammianus (24, 6—10) and Zosimus (lib. 4, p. 203—210.) They often illustrate, and seldom contradict, each other. Themistius (Orat. 7, p. 91, 92) adds some base panegyric, and Eunapius (p. 83, 84) some malicious satire. [The death of Procopius is differently related by Socrates (Hist. Ecc. lib. 4,

Such, indeed, are the common and natural fruits of despotism and rebellion. But the inquisition into the crime of magic, which, under the reign of the two brothers, was so rigorously prosecuted both at Rome and Antioch, was interpreted as the fatal symptom, either of the displeasure of Heaven, or of the depravity of mankind.* Let us not hesitate to indulge a liberal pride, that, in the present age, the enlightened part of Europe has abolished† a cruel and odious prejudice, which reigned in every climate of the globe, and adhered to every system of religious opinions.‡ The nations and the seats of the Roman world, admitted, with equal credulity, and similar abhorrence, the reality of that infernal art,§ which was able to control the eternal order of the planets, and the voluntary operations of the human mind. They dreaded the mysterious power of spells and incantations, of potent herbs, and execrable rites, which could extinguish or recal life, inflame the passions of the soul, blast the works of creation, and extort from the reluctant dæmons the secrets of futurity. They believed, with the wildest inconsistency, that this preternatural dominion

c. 5.) It is there stated that his body was torn asunder by the revulsion of strong branches of trees, first forcibly drawn together, and then, after his limbs had been tied to them, allowed to rebound. Such acts of ferocious vengeance would disgrace any victory. There is a stage in civilization where man is more cruelly barbarous than he is in his wildest and most untutored savageness. The ingenuity of inventive torture seems to be a necessary part of the process by which the excesses of passion revolt the better feelings, and develop the permanent principles of humanity. This is the only consoling idea, that can still our shudder over many a blood-stained page of history.—Ed.] * Libanius de ulciscend. Julian. uoce, c. 9, p. 158, 159. The sophist deplors the public frenzy, but he does not (after their deaths) impeach the justice of the emperors. † The French and English lawyers, of the present age, allow the *theory*, and deny the *practice*, of witchcraft. (Denisart, Recueil de Décisions de Jurisprudence, au mot *Sorciers*, tom. iv, p. 553. Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. iv, p. 60.) As private reason always prevents, or outstrips, public wisdom, the president Montesquieu (*Esprit des Loix*, lib. 12, c. 5, 6), rejects the *existence* of magic. ‡ See *Œuvres de Bayle*, tom. iii, p. 567—559. The sceptic of Rotterdam exhibits, according to his custom, a strange medley of loose knowledge and lively wit.

§ The Pagans distinguished between good and bad magic, the *Theurgie* and the *Goetic*, (*Hist. de l'Académie*, &c. tom. vii, p. 25.) But they could not have defended this obscure distinction against the acute logic of Bayle. In the Jewish and Christian system, *all* dæmons are infernal spirits; and *all* commerce with them is idolatry, apostacy,

of the air, of earth, and of hell, was exercised from the vilest motives of malice or gain, by some wrinkled hags and itinerant sorcerers, who passed their obscure lives in penury and contempt.* The arts of magic were equally condemned by the public opinion and by the laws of Rome; but as they tended to gratify the most imperious passions of the heart of man, they were continually proscribed, and continually practised.† An imaginary cause is capable of producing the most serious and mischievous effects. The dark predictions of the death of an emperor, or the success of a conspiracy, were calculated only to stimulate the hopes of ambition, and to dissolve the ties of fidelity; and the intentional guilt of magic was aggravated by the actual crimes of treason and sacrilege.‡ Such vain terrors disturbed the peace of society, and the happiness of individuals: and the harmless flame, which insensibly melted a waxen image, might derive a powerful and pernicious energy from the affrighted fancy of the person whom it was maliciously designed to represent.§ From the infusion of those herbs which were supposed to possess a supernatural influence, it was an easy step to the use of more substantial

&c. which deserves death and damnation.

* The Canidia of Horace (Carm. lib. 5, od. 5, with Dacier's and Sanadon's illustrations) is a vulgar witch. The Erichtho of Lucan (Pharsal. 6. 430—830) is tedious, disgusting, but sometimes sublime. She chides the delay of the Furies; and threatens, with tremendous obscurity, to pronounce their real names; to reveal the true infernal countenance of Hecate; to invoke the secret powers that lie *below* hell, &c.

† Genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostrâ et vetabitur semper et retinebitur. Tacit. Hist. 1. 22. See Augustin. de Civitate Dei, lib. 8, c. 19, and the Theodosian Code, lib. 9, tit. 16, with Godefroy's Commentary.

‡ The persecution of Antioch was occasioned by a criminal consultation. The twenty-four letters of the alphabet were arranged round a magic tripod; and a dancing ring, which had been placed in the centre, pointed to the four first letters in the name of the future emperor, Θ. Ε. Ο. Δ. Theodorus (perhaps with many others who owned the fatal syllables), was executed. Theodosius succeeded. Lardner (Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv, p. 353—372), has copiously and fairly examined this dark transaction of the reign of Valens.

§ Limus ut hic durescit, et hæc ut cera liquescit
Uno eodemque igni ———.

Virgil. Bucolic. 8. 80.

Devovet absentes, simulacraque cerea figit.

Ovid. in Epist. Hyrsip. ad Jason. 91.

Such vain incantations could affect the mind, and increase the

poison; and the folly of mankind sometimes became the instrument and the mask of the most atrocious crimes. As soon as the zeal of informers was encouraged by the ministers of Valens and Valentinian, they could not refuse to listen to another charge, too frequently mingled in the scenes of domestic guilt; a charge of a softer and less malignant nature, for which the pious, though excessive, rigour of Constantine had recently decreed the punishment of death.* This deadly and incoherent mixture of treason and magic, of poison and adultery, afforded infinite gradations of guilt and innocence, of excuse and aggravation, which, in these proceedings, appear to have been confounded by the angry or corrupt passions of the judges. They easily discovered, that the degree of their industry and discernment was estimated by the imperial court according to the number of executions that were furnished from their respective tribunals. It was not without extreme reluctance that they pronounced a sentence of acquittal; but they eagerly admitted such evidence as was stained with perjury, or procured by torture, to prove the most improbable charges against the most respectable characters. The progress of the inquiry continually opened new subjects of criminal prosecution: the audacious informer, whose falsehood was detected, retired with impunity; but the wretched victim, who discovered his real or pretended accomplices, was seldom permitted to receive the price of his infamy. From the extremity of Italy and Asia, the young and the aged were dragged in chains to the tribunals of Rome and Antioch. Senators, matrons, and philosophers, expired in ignominious and cruel tortures. The soldiers, who were appointed to guard the prisons, declared, with a murmur of pity and indignation, that their numbers were insufficient to oppose the flight or resistance of the multitude of captives. The wealthiest families were ruined by fines and confiscations; the most innocent citizens trembled for their safety; and we may form some notion of the magnitude of the evil, from the extravagant assertion of an ancient writer, that, in the obnoxious provinces, the prisoners, the exiles, and the fugitives, formed the greatest part of the inhabitants.†

disease, of Germanicus. Tacit. *Annal.* 2. 69.

† See Heineccius *Antiquitat. Juris Roman.* tom. ii, p. 353 &c. C. d. Theodosian. lib. 9, tit. 7, with Godefroy's Commentary.

* See Heineccius *Antiquitat. Juris Roman.* tom. ii, p. 353 &c. C. d. Theodosian. lib. 9, tit. 7, with Godefroy's Commentary.

† The cruel persecution of

When Tacitus describes the deaths of the innocent and illustrious Romans, who were sacrificed to the cruelty of the first Cæsars, the art of the historian, or the merit of the sufferers, excites in our breasts the most lively sensations of terror, of admiration, and of pity. The coarse and undistinguishing pencil of Ammianus has delineated his bloody figures with tedious and disgusting accuracy. But as our attention is no longer engaged by the contrast of freedom and servitude, of recent greatness and of actual misery, we should turn with horror from the frequent executions which disgraced, both at Rome and Antioch, the reign of the two brothers.* Valens was of a timid,† and Valentinian of a choleric, disposition.‡ An anxious regard to his personal safety was the ruling principle of the administration of Valens. In the condition of a subject, he had kissed, with trembling awe, the hand of the oppressor; and when he

Rome and Antioch is described, and most probably exaggerated, by Ammianus (28, 1. 29, 1, 2) and Zosimus (lib. 4, p. 216—218.) The philosopher Maximus, with some justice, was involved in the charge of magic (Eunapius in Vit. Sophist. p. 88, 89); and young Chrysostom, who had accidentally found one of the proscribed books, gave himself up for lost. (Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v, p. 340.) [These proceedings were an indirect persecution of Paganism, and certainly hastened its final extinction. The Neo-Platonic extravagances had made the popular belief in magic subservient to the purposes of the ancient superstition; and had thus given rise to abuses which demanded the magistrate's correcting hand. But while repressing those excesses, the emperors involved in one common ruin with them, the philosophical influence to which, during Julian's short reign, the vigour of reanimated hope had been imparted, and which might still trouble the tranquillity of the throne. Its books were destroyed, and its professors proscribed. Aimed ostensibly only at these miserable delusions, the blow had a wider range, and fell with indiscriminating force on more legitimate studies. Philosophy, from that time, declined more rapidly, and even when its choicest Eclecticism found almost a last refuge in the lovely form and sheltering mind of Hypatia, the sanctuary was destroyed by the violence of hierarchial malice.—ED.]

* Consult the six last books of Ammianus, and more particularly the portraits of the two royal brothers (30, 8, 9, 31, 14.) Tillemont has collected (tom. v, p. 12—18, p. 127—133) from all antiquity their virtues and vices.

† The younger Victor asserts, that he was *valde timidus*: yet he behaved, as almost every man would do, with decent resolution at the head of an army. The same historian attempts to prove, that his anger was harmless. Ammianus observes with more candour and judgment, *incidentia crimina ad contemptam vel læsam principis amplitudinem trahens, in sanguinem sæviebat*.

‡ Cum esset ad acerbitem naturæ calore propensor . . . pœnas per ignes augebat et gladios. Ammian. 30, 8. See 27, 7.

ascended the throne, he reasonably expected that the same fears which had subdued his own mind would secure the patient submission of his people. The favourites of Valens obtained, by the privilege of rapine and confiscation, the wealth which his economy would have refused.* They urged, with persuasive eloquence, *that*, in all cases of treason, suspicion is equivalent to proof; *that* the power supposes the intention of mischief; *that* the intention is not less criminal than the act; and *that* a subject no longer deserves to live, if his life may threaten the safety or disturb the repose of his sovereign. The judgment of Valentinian was sometimes deceived, and his confidence abused; but he would have silenced the informers with a contemptuous smile, had they presumed to alarm his fortitude by the sound of danger. They praised his inflexible love of justice; and, in the pursuit of justice, the emperor was easily tempted to consider clemency as a weakness, and passion as a virtue. As long as he wrestled with his equals in the bold competition of an active and ambitious life, Valentinian was seldom injured, and never insulted, with impunity; if his prudence was arraigned, his spirit was applauded; and the proudest and most powerful generals were apprehensive of provoking the resentment of a fearless soldier. After he became master of the world, he unfortunately forgot, that where no resistance can be made no courage can be exerted; and instead of consulting the dictates of reason and magnanimity, he indulged the furious emotions of his temper, at a time when they were disgraceful to himself, and fatal to the defenceless objects of his displeasure. In the government of his household or of his empire, slight, or even imaginary offences, a hasty word, a casual omission, an involuntary delay, were chastised by a sentence of immediate death. The expressions which issued the most readily from the mouth of the emperor of the west were—"Strike off his head;—burn him alive;—let him be beaten with clubs till he expires!"† And his most

* I have transferred the reproach of avarice from Valens to his servants. Avarice more properly belongs to ministers than to kings; in whom that passion is commonly extinguished by absolute possession.

† He sometimes expressed a sentence of death with a tone of pleasantry.—"Abi, Comes, et muta ei caput, qui sibi mutari provinciam cupit." A boy, who had slipped too hastily a Spartan hound; an

favoured ministers soon understood that, by a rash attempt to dispute or suspend the execution of his sanguinary commands, they might involve themselves in the guilt and punishment of disobedience. The repeated gratification of this savage justice hardened the mind of Valentinian against pity and remorse; and the sallies of passion were confirmed by the habits of cruelty.* He could behold with calm satisfaction the convulsive agonies of torture and death; he reserved his friendship for those faithful servants whose temper was the most congenial to his own. The merit of Maximin, who had slaughtered the noblest families of Rome, was rewarded with the royal approbation, and the prefecture of Gaul. Two fierce and enormous bears, distinguished by the appellations of *Innocence* and *Mica Aurea*, could alone deserve to share the favour of Maximin. The cages of those trusty guards were always placed near the bed-chamber of Valentinian, who frequently amused his eyes with the grateful spectacle of seeing them tear and devour the bleeding limbs of the malefactors who were abandoned to their rage. Their diet and exercises were carefully inspected by the Roman emperor; and when *Innocence* had earned her discharge by a long course of meritorious service, the faithful animal was again restored to the freedom of her native woods.†

But in the calmer moments of reflection, when the mind of Valens was not agitated by fear, or that of Valentinian by rage, the tyrant resumed the sentiments, or at least the conduct, of the father of his country. The dispassionate judgment of the western emperor could clearly perceive, and accurately pursue, his own and the public interest; and the sovereign of the east, who imitated with equal docility the various examples which he received from his elder brother, was sometimes guided by the wisdom and virtue of the prefect Sallust. Both princes invariably retained, in the purple,

armourer who had made a polished cuirass that wanted some grains of the legitimate weight, &c. were the victims of his fury.

* The innocents of Milan were an agent and three apparitors, whom Valentinian condemned for signifying a legal summons. Ammianus (27, 7), strangely supposes, that all who had been unjustly executed were worshipped as martyrs by the Christians. His impartial silence does not allow us to believe that the great chamberlain Rhodanus was burnt alive for an act of oppression. (Chron. Paschal. p. 302).

† Ut bene meritam in sylvas jussit abire *Innoxiam*. Ammian. 29, 3.

the chaste and temperate simplicity which had adorned their private life; and, under their reign the pleasures of the court never cost the people a blush or a sigh. They gradually reformed many of the abuses of the times of Constantius; judiciously adopted and improved the designs of Julian and his successor; and displayed a style and spirit of legislation which might inspire posterity with the most favourable opinion of their character and government. It is not from the master of *Innocence*, that we should expect the tender regard for the welfare of his subjects, which prompted Valentinian to condemn the exposition of new-born infants;* and to establish fourteen skilful physicians, with stipends and privileges, in the fourteen quarters of Rome. The good sense of an illiterate soldier founded a useful and liberal institution for the education of youth and the support of declining science.† It was his intention that the arts of rhetoric and grammar should be taught in the Greek and Latin languages, in the metropolis of every province; and as the size and dignity of the school was usually proportioned to the importance of the city, the academies of Rome and Constantinople claimed a just and singular pre-eminence. The fragments of the literary edicts of Valentinian imperfectly represent the school of Constantinople, which was gradually improved by subsequent regulations. That school consisted of thirty-one professors in different branches of learning. One philosopher and two lawyers, five sophists and ten grammarians for the Greek; and three orators and ten grammarians for the Latin tongue; besides seven scribes, or, as they were then styled, antiquarians, whose laborious pens supplied the public library with fair and correct copies of

and Valesius ad locum.

* See the Code of Justinian, lib. 8, tit. 52, leg. 2. *Unusquisque sobolem suam nutrit. Quod si exponendam putaverit animadversioni quæ constituta est subiacet.* For the present I shall not interfere in the dispute between Noodt and Bynkershoek; how far, or how long this unnatural practice had been condemned or abolished by law, philosophy, and the more civilized state of society.

† These salutary institutions are explained in the Theodosian Code, lib. 13, tit. 3. *De Professoribus et Medicis*, and lib. 14, tit. 9, *De Studiis liberalibus Urbis Romæ*. Besides our usual guide (Godefroy), we may consult Giannone (*Istoria di Napoli*, tom. i, p. 105—111), who has treated the interesting subject with the zeal and curiosity of a man of letters, who studies his domestic history.

the classic writers. The rule of conduct which was prescribed to the students is the more curious, as it affords the first outlines of the form and discipline of a modern university. It was required, that they should bring proper certificates from the magistrates of their native province. Their names, professions, and places of abode, were regularly entered in a public register. The studious youth were severely prohibited from wasting their time in feasts, or in the theatre; and the term of their education was limited to the age of twenty. The prefect of the city was empowered to chastise the idle and refractory, by stripes or expulsion; and he was directed to make an annual report to the master of the offices, that the knowledge and abilities of the scholars might be usefully applied to the public service. The institution of Valentinian contributed to secure the benefits of peace and plenty; and the cities were guarded by the establishment of the *Defensors*,* freely elected as the tribunes and advocates of the people, to support their rights, and to expose their grievances, before the tribunals of the civil magistrates, or even at the foot of the imperial throne. The finances were diligently administered by two princes, who had been so long accustomed to the rigid economy of a private fortune; but in the receipt and application of the revenue, a discerning eye might observe some difference between the government of the east and of the west. Valens was persuaded, that royal liberality can be supplied only by public oppression, and his ambition never aspired to secure, by their actual distress, the future strength and prosperity of his people. Instead of increasing the weight of taxes, which, in the space of forty years, had been gradually doubled, he reduced, in the first years of his reign, one-fourth of the tribute of the east.† Valen-

* Cod. Theodos. lib. 1, tit. 11, with Godefroy's *Paratitlon*, which diligently gleans from the rest of the code.

† Three lines of Ammianus (31, 14) countenance a whole oration of Themistius (8. p. 101—120), full of adulation, pedantry, and common-place morality. The eloquent M. Thomas (tom. i, p. 366—396), has amused himself with celebrating the virtues and genius of Themistius, who was not unworthy of the age in which he lived. [Neander (Hist. vol. iii, p. 97), refers to Socrates and Sozomen, as his authorities for stating that Themistius addressed Valens "in terms very similar to those which he had used before Jovian," not only urging him to tolerate Paganism, but also "dissuading him from the persecution of Christians

tinian appears to have been less attentive and less anxious to relieve the burthens of his people. He might reform the abuses of the fiscal administration; but he exacted, without scruple, a very large share of the private property; as he was convinced that the revenues, which supported the luxury of individuals, would be much more advantageously employed for the defence and improvement of the state. The subjects of the east, who enjoyed the present benefit, applauded the indulgence of their prince. The solid, but less splendid, merit of Valentinian was felt and acknowledged by the subsequent generation.*

But the most honourable circumstance of the character of Valentinian, is the firm and temperate impartiality which he uniformly preserved in an age of religious contention. His strong sense, unenlightened, but uncorrupted, by study, declined, with respectful indifference, the subtle questions of theological debate. The government of the *earth* claimed his vigilance, and satisfied his ambition; and while he remembered that he was the disciple of the church, he never forgot that he was the sovereign of the clergy. Under the reign of an apostate, he had signalized his zeal for the honour of Christianity: he allowed to his subjects the privilege which he had assumed for himself; and they might accept, with gratitude and confidence, the general toleration which was granted by a prince, addicted to passion, but incapable of fear or of disguise.† The Pagans, the Jews, and all the various sects which acknowledged the divine authority of Christ, were protected by the laws from arbitrary power or popular insult; nor was any mode of worship prohibited by Valentinian, except those secret and

entertaining other opinions." No such discourse has come down to our times; but the two authors cited, use expressions which prove it to have been held. Socrates, 4, 32. Sozomen, 6, 36.—Ed.]

* Zosimus, lib. 4, p. 202. Ammian. 30, 9. His reformation of costly abuses might entitle him to the praise of, in provincialibus admodum parcus, tributorum ubique molliens sarcinas. By some, his frugality was styled avarice (Jerom. Chron. p. 186.) † *Totæ sunt leges a me in exordio imperii mei datæ; quibus unicuique quod animo imbibisset colendi libera facultas tributa est.* Cod. Theod. lib. 9, tit. 16, leg. 9. To this declaration of Valentinian, we may add the various testimonies of Ammianus (30, 9), Zosimus (lib. 4, p. 202), and Sozomen (lib. 6, c. 7, 21). Baronius would naturally blame such rational toleration. (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 370, No. 129—132; A.D. 374, No. 3, 4.)

criminal practices, which abused the name of religion for the dark purposes of vice and disorder. The art of magic, as it was more cruelly punished, was more strictly proscribed; but the emperor admitted a formal distinction to protect the ancient methods of divination, which were approved by the senate, and exercised by the Tuscan haruspices. He had condemned, with the consent of the most rational Pagans, the licence of nocturnal sacrifices; but he immediately admitted the petition of Prætextatus, proconsul of Achaia, who represented, that the life of the Greeks would become dreary and comfortless, if they were deprived of the invaluable blessing of the Eleusinian mysteries. Philosophy alone can boast (and perhaps it is no more than the boast of philosophy), that her gentle hand is able to eradicate from the human mind the latent and deadly principle of fanaticism. But this truce of twelve years, which was enforced by the wise and vigorous government of Valentinian, by suspending the repetition of mutual injuries, contributed to soften the manners, and abate the prejudices, of the religious factions.

The friend of toleration was unfortunately placed at a distance from the scene of the fiercest controversies. As soon as the Christians of the west had extricated themselves from the snares of the creed of Rimini, they happily relapsed into the slumber of orthodoxy; and the small remains of the Arian party that still subsisted at Sirmium or Milan, might be considered rather as objects of contempt than of resentment. But in the provinces of the east, from the Euxine to the extremity of Thebais, the strength and numbers of the hostile factions were more equally balanced; and this equality, instead of recommending the counsels of peace, served only to perpetuate the horrors of religious war. The monks and bishops supported their arguments by invectives; and their invectives were sometimes followed by blows. Athanasius still reigned at Alexandria; the thrones of Constantinople and Antioch were occupied by Arian prelates, and every episcopal vacancy was the occasion of a popular tumult. The Homoousians were fortified by the reconciliation of fifty-nine Macedonian, or Semi-Arian, bishops; but their secret reluctance to embrace the divinity of the Holy Ghost, clouded the splendour of the triumph; and the declaration

of Valens, who in the first years of his reign, had imitated the impartial conduct of his brother, was an important victory on the side of Arianism. The two brothers had passed their private life in the condition of catechumens; but the piety of Valens prompted him to solicit the sacrament of baptism, before he exposed his person to the dangers of a Gothic war. He naturally addressed himself to Eudoxius,* bishop of the imperial city; and if the ignorant monarch was instructed by that Arian pastor in the principles of heterodox theology, his misfortune, rather than his guilt, was the inevitable consequence of his erroneous choice. Whatever had been the determination of the emperor, he must have offended a numerous party of his Christian subjects; as the leaders both of the Homoousians and of the Arians believed, that, if they were not suffered to reign, they were most cruelly injured and oppressed. After he had taken this decisive step, it was extremely difficult for him to preserve either the virtue or the reputation of impartiality. He never aspired, like Constantius, to the fame of a profound theologian; but, as he had received with simplicity and respect the tenets of Eudoxius, Valens resigned his conscience to the direction of his ecclesiastical guides, and promoted, by the influence of his authority, the reunion of the *Athanasian heretics* to the body of the Catholic church. At first he pitied their blindness; by degrees he was provoked at their obstinacy; and he insensibly hated those sectaries to whom he was an object of hatred.† The feeble mind of Valens was always swayed by the persons with whom he familiarly conversed; and the exile or imprisonment of a private citizen are the favours the most readily granted in a despotic court. Such punishments were frequently inflicted on the leaders of the Homoousian party; and the misfortune of fourscore ecclesiasties of Constantinople, who, perhaps accidentally, were

* Eudoxius was of a mild and timid disposition. When he baptized Valens (A.D. 367), he must have been extremely old; since he had studied theology fifty-five years before, under Lucian, a learned and pious martyr. Philostorg. lib. 2, c. 14—16, lib. 4, c. 4, with Godfrey, p. 82, 206, and Tillemont, Mém. Ecclési. tom. v, p. 474—489, &c. [Eudoxius was bishop of Germanicia, A.D. 341, of Antioch, 358, and translated to Constantinople, 360. He was a diligent attendant on all the Arian synods. Clin. F. R. ii, 550, 559.—Ed.]

† Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. 25, p. 432) insults the persecuting spirit of the Arians, as an infallible symptom of error and heresy.

burnt on shipboard, was imputed to the cruel and premeditated malice of the emperor, and his Arian ministers. In every contest the Catholics (if we may anticipate that name) were obliged to pay the penalty of their own faults, and of those of their adversaries. In every election the claims of the Arian candidate obtained the preference; and if they were opposed by the majority of the people, he was usually supported by the authority of the civil magistrate, or even by the terrors of a military force. The enemies of Athanasius attempted to disturb the last years of his venerable age; and his temporary retreat to his father's sepulchre has been celebrated as a fifth exile. But the zeal of a great people, who instantly flew to arms, intimidated the prefect; and the archbishop was permitted to end his life in peace and in glory, after a reign of forty-seven years. The death of Athanasius was the signal of the persecution of Egypt; and the Pagan minister of Valens, who forcibly seated the worthless Lucius on the archiepiscopal throne, purchased the favour of the reigning party by the blood and sufferings of their Christian brethren. The free toleration of the heathen and Jewish worship was bitterly lamented, as a circumstance which aggravated the misery of the Catholics, and the guilt of the impious tyrant of the east.*

The triumph of the orthodox party has left a deep stain of persecution on the memory of Valens; and the character of a prince who derived his virtues, as well as his vices, from a feeble understanding and a pusillanimous temper, scarcely deserves the labour of an apology. Yet candour may discover some reasons to suspect that the ecclesiastical ministers of Valens often exceeded the orders, or even the intentions, of their master; and that the real measure of facts has been very liberally magnified by the vehement declamation and easy credulity of his antagonists.† 1. The silence of Valentinian may suggest a probable argument, that the partial severities which were exercised in the name and provinces of his colleague, amounted only to some obscure and inconsiderable deviations from the established system of religious toleration: and the judicious historian, who has praised the equal temper of the elder brother, has not thought himself

* This sketch of the ecclesiastical government of Valens is drawn from Socrates (lib. 4), Sozomen (lib. 6), Theodoret (lib. 4), and the immense compilations of Tillemont (particularly tom. vi, viii, and ix.)

† Dr. Jortin (Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv, p. 78) has

obliged to contrast the tranquillity of the west with the cruel persecution of the east.* 2. Whatever credit may be allowed to vague and distant reports, the character, or at least the behaviour, of Valens may be most distinctly seen in his personal transactions with the eloquent Basil, archbishop of Cæsarea, who had succeeded Athanasius in the management of the Trinitarian cause.† The circumstantial narrative has been composed by the friends and admirers of Basil; and as soon as we have stripped away a thick coat of rhetoric and miracle, we shall be astonished by the unexpected mildness of the Arian tyrant, who admired the firmness of his character, and was apprehensive, if he employed violence, of a general revolt in the province of Cappadocia. The archbishop, who asserted, with inflexible pride,‡ the truth of his opinions and the dignity of his rank, was left in the free possession of his conscience, and his throne. The emperor devoutly assisted at the solemn service of the cathedral; and, instead of a sentence of banishment, subscribed the donation of a valuable estate for the use of a hospital which Basil had lately founded in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea.§ 3. I am not able to discover that any law (such as Theodosius afterwards enacted against the Arians) was published by Valens against the Athanasian sectaries; and the edict which excited the most violent clamours, may not appear so extremely reprehensible. The emperor had

already conceived and intimated the same suspicion. * This reflection is so obvious and forcible, that Orosius (lib. 7, c. 32, 33) delays the persecution till after the death of Valentinian. Socrates, on the other hand, supposes (lib. 3, c. 32) that it was appeased by a philosophical oration, which Themistius pronounced in the year 374 (Orat. 12, p. 154), in Latin only. Such contradictions diminish the evidence, and reduce the terms, of the persecution of Valens.

† Tillemont, whom I follow and abridge, has extracted (Mém. Ecclési. tom. viii, p. 153—167) the most authentic circumstances from the Panegyrics of the two Gregories: the brother, and the friend, of Basil. The letters of Basil himself (Dupin, Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. ii, p. 155—180) do not present the image of a very lively persecution. ‡ Basilus Cæsariensis episcopus Cappadociæ clarus habetur qui multa continentia et ingenii bona uno superbia malo perdidit. This irreverent passage is perfectly in the style and character of St. Jerome. It does not appear in Scaliger's edition of his Chronicle; but Isaac Vossius found it in some old MSS. which had not been reformed by the monks.

§ This noble and charitable foundation (almost a new city) surpassed in merit, if not in greatness, the pyramids, or the walls of Babylon. It was principally intended for the reception of lepers. (Greg. Nazianzen,

observed, that several of his subjects, gratifying their lazy disposition under the pretence of religion, had associated themselves with the monks of Egypt; and he directed the count of the east to drag them from their solitude; and to compel those deserters of society to accept the fair alternative, of renouncing their temporal possessions, or of discharging the public duties of men and citizens.* The ministers of Valens seem to have extended the sense of this penal statute, since they claimed a right of enlisting the young and able-bodied monks in the imperial armies. A detachment of cavalry and infantry, consisting of three thousand men, marched from Alexandria into the adjacent desert of Nitria,† which was peopled by five thousand monks. The soldiers were conducted by Arian priests; and it is reported, that a considerable slaughter was made in the monasteries which disobeyed the commands of their sovereign.‡

The strict regulations which have been framed by the wisdom of modern legislators to restrain the wealth and avarice of the clergy, may be originally deduced from the example of the emperor Valentinian. His edict,§ addressed to Damasus, bishop of Rome, was publicly read in the churches of the city. He admonished the ecclesiastics and monks not to frequent the houses of widows and virgins; and menaced their disobedience with the animadversion of

Orat. 20, p. 439.) * Cod. Theodos. lib. 12, tit. 1, leg. 63. Godefroy (tom. iv, p. 409—413) performs the duty of a commentator and advocate. Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. viii. p. 808) *supposes* a second law to excuse his orthodox friends, who had misrepresented the edict of Valens, and suppressed the liberty of choice. † See D'Anville, *Description de l'Egypte*, p. 74. Hereafter I shall consider the monastic institutions.

‡ Socrates, lib. 4, c. 24, 25. Orosius, lib. 7, c. 33. Jerom in *Chron.* p. 189, and tom. ii, p. 212. The monks of Egypt performed many miracles, which prove the truth of their faith. Right, says Jortin (*Remarks*, vol. iv, p. 79), but what proves the truth of those miracles?

§ Cod. Theodos. lib. 16, tit. 2, leg. 20. Godefroy (tom. vi, p. 49) after the example of Baronius, impartially collects all that the fathers have said on the subject of this important law; whose spirit was long afterwards revived by the emperor Frederic II., Edward I. of England, and other Christian princes who reigned after the twelfth century.

[When readers will search for truth, and not merely to support preconceived opinion, they will discern, that from the second to the sixteenth century, almost the whole sum of history is made up of efforts to amass, to share, to engross, to despoil, or to defend, the wealth of the church, or of struggles consequent

the civil judge. The director was no longer permitted to receive any gift, or legacy, or inheritance, from the liberality of his spiritual daughter: every testament contrary to this edict was declared null and void; and the illegal donation was confiscated for the use of the treasury. By a subsequent regulation, it should seem, that the same provisions were extended to nuns and bishops; and that all persons of the ecclesiastical order were rendered incapable of receiving any testamentary gifts, and strictly confined to the natural and legal rights of inheritance. As the guardian of domestic happiness and virtue, Valentinian applied this severe remedy to the growing evil. In the capital of the empire, the females of noble and opulent houses possessed a very ample share of independent property: and many of those devout females had embraced the doctrines of Christianity, not only with the cold assent of the understanding, but with the warmth of affection, and perhaps with the eagerness of fashion. They sacrificed the pleasures of dress and luxury; and renounced, for the praise of chastity, the soft endearments of conjugal society. Some ecclesiastical, of real or apparent sanctity, was chosen to direct their timorous conscience, and to amuse the vacant tenderness of their heart; and the unbounded confidence, which they hastily bestowed, was often abused by knaves and enthusiasts; who hastened from the extremities of the east, to enjoy, on a splendid theatre, the privileges of the monastic profession. By their contempt of the world, they insensibly acquired its most desirable advantages; the lively attachment, perhaps, of a young and beautiful woman, the delicate plenty of an opulent household, and the respectful homage of the slaves, the freedmen, and the clients of a senatorial family. The immense fortunes of the Roman ladies were gradually consumed in lavish alms and expensive pilgrimages; and the artful monk, who had assigned himself the first, or possibly the sole, place, in the testament of his spiritual daughter, still presumed to declare, with the smooth face of hypocrisy, that he was only the instrument of charity, and the steward of the poor. The lucrative, but disgraceful, trade,* which was exercised by the clergy to defraud the

thercon.—ED.] * The expressions which I have used are temperate and feeble, if compared with the vehement invectives of Jerom (tom. i. p. 13, 45, 144, &c.). In his turn, he was reproached with the guilt which he imputed to his brother monks: and the *Sceleratus*, the *Versi-*

expectations of the natural heirs, had provoked the indignation of a superstitious age; and two of the most respectable of the Latin fathers very honestly confess, that the ignominious edict of Valentinian was just and necessary; and that the Christian priests had deserved to lose a privilege which was still enjoyed by comedians, charioteers, and the ministers of idols. But the wisdom and authority of the legislator are seldom victorious in a contest with the vigilant dexterity of private interest; and Jerome, or Ambrose, might patiently acquiesce in the justice of an ineffectual or salutary law. If the ecclesiastics were checked in the pursuit of personal emolument, they would exert a more laudable industry to increase the wealth of the church; and dignify their covetousness with the specious names of piety and patriotism.*

Damasus, bishop of Rome, who was constrained to stigmatize the avarice of his clergy by the publication of the law of Valentinian, had the good sense or the good fortune to engage in his service the zeal and abilities of the learned Jerome; and the grateful saint has celebrated the merit and purity of a very ambiguous character.† But the splendid vices of the church of Rome, under the reign of Valentinian and Damasus, have been curiously observed by the historian Ammianus, who delivers his impartial sense in these expressive words:—"The prefecture of Juventius was accompanied with peace and plenty; but the tranquillity of his government was soon disturbed by a bloody sedition of the distracted people. The ardour of Damasus and Ursinus, to seize the episcopal seat, surpassed the ordinary measure of human ambition. They contended with the rage of party; the quarrel was maintained by the wounds and death of their followers; and the prefect, unable to resist or to appease the tumult, was

pellis, was publicly accused as the lover of the widow Paula (tom. ii, p. 363). He undoubtedly possessed the affections, both of the mother and the daughter; but he declares, that he never abused his influence to any selfish or sensual purpose.

* *Pudet dicere, sacerdotes idolorum, mimi et aurigæ, et scorta, hæreditates capiunt: solis clericis ac monachis hæc lege prohibetur. Et non prohibetur a persecutoribus, sed a principibus Christianis. Nec de lege queror; sed doleo cur meruerimus hanc legem.* Jerom (tom. i, p. 13) discreetly insinuates the secret policy of his patron Damasus. † Three words of Jerome, *sancæ memoriæ Damasus* (tom. ii, p. 119), wash away all his stains, and

constrained, by superior violence, to retire into the suburbs. Damasus prevailed: the well-disputed victory remained on the side of his faction: one hundred and thirty-seven dead bodies* were found in the Basilica of Sicininus,† where the Christians hold their religious assemblies; and it was long before the angry minds of the people resumed their accustomed tranquillity. When I consider the splendour of the capital, I am not astonished that so valuable a prize should inflame the desires of ambitious men, and produce the fiercest and most obstinate contests. The successful candidate is secure that he will be enriched by the offerings of matrons;‡ that, as soon as his dress is composed with becoming care and elegance, he may proceed in his chariot through the streets of Rome;§ and that the sumptuousness of the imperial table will not equal the profuse and delicate entertainments provided by the taste, and at the expense, of the Roman pontiffs. How much more rationally," continues the honest Pagan, "would those pontiffs consult their true happiness, if, instead of alleging the greatness of the city as an excuse for their manners, they would imitate the exemplary life of some provincial bishops, whose temperance and sobriety, whose mean apparel and downcast looks, recommend their pure and modest virtue to the Deity, and his true worshippers."¶ The schism of Damasus

blind the devout eyes of Tillemont. (Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii, p. 386—424.)

* Jerom himself is forced to allow, *erudellissimæ interfectiones diversi sexus perpetratæ* (in Chron. p. 186). But an original *libel* or petition of two presbyters of the adverse party, has unaccountably escaped. They affirm, that the doors of the Basilica were burnt, and that the roof was untiled; that Damasus marched at the head of his own clergy, grave-diggers, charioteers, and hired gladiators; that none of *his* party were killed, but that one hundred and sixty dead bodies were found. This petition is published by the P. Sirmond, in the first volume of his works.

† The Basilica of Sicininus, or Liberius, is probably the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, on the Esquilino hill. Baronius, A.D. 367, No. 3, and Donatus, *Roma Antiqua et Nova*, lib. 4, c. 3, p. 462. [Neander (*Hist.* vol. iii, p. 314) says, that the opponent of Damasus was called Ursinus or Ursinius. The scene of this furious onslaught was probably the church, in which he officiated and named after him, so that the Basilica *Sicinini* may be a mistake or abbreviation of *Ursinini*.—Ed.]

‡ The enemies of Damasus styled him *Auriscalpius Matronarum*, the ladies' ear-scratcher. § Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* 32, p. 526) describes the pride and luxury of the prelates who reigned in the imperial cities; their gilt ear, fiery steeds, numerous train, &c. The crowd gave way as to a wild beast.

¶ Ammian. 27, 3. *Perpetuo Numini, terisque ejus cultoribus.* The

and Ursinus was extinguished by the exile of the latter; and the wisdom of the prefect Prætextatus* restored the tranquillity of the city. Prætextatus was a philosophic Pagan, a man of learning, of taste, and politeness; who disguised a reproach in the form of a jest, when he assured Damasus, that if he could obtain the bishopric of Rome, he himself would immediately embrace the Christian religion.† This lively picture of the wealth and luxury of the popes in the fourth century, becomes the more curious as it represents the intermediate degree between the humble poverty of the apostolic fisherman, and the royal state of a temporal prince, whose dominions extend from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po.

When the suffrage of the generals and of the army committed the sceptre of the Roman empire to the hands of Valentinian, his reputation in arms, his military skill and experience, and his rigid attachment to the forms as well as spirit of ancient discipline, were the principal motives of their judicious choice. The eagerness of the troops, who pressed him to nominate his colleague, was justified by the dangerous situation of public affairs; and Valentinian himself was conscious that the abilities of the most active mind were unequal to the defence of the distant frontiers of an invaded monarchy. As soon as the death of Julian had relieved the barbarians from the terror of his name, the most sanguine hopes of rapine and conquest excited the

incomparable piancy of a Polytheist! [This passage in Ammianus was referred to in a former note (c. 23) as exhibiting some of the traits, by which the Christian hierarchy excited Julian's hatred. The schism of Damasus and Ursinus was a continuation of that which originated in the banishment of Liberius, related by Gibbon before (c. 21) when he refers to other ancient writers, who describe this disgraceful contest for episcopal power.—ED.] * Ammianus who makes a fair report of his prefecture (27, 9), styles him præclaræ indolis gravitatisque senator. (22, 7, and Vales. ad loc.) A curious inscription (Gruter MCIL. No. 2) records, in two columns, his religious and civil honours. In one line he was pontiff of the Sun, and of Vesta, Augur, Quindecemvir, Hierophant, &c. &c. In the other, 1. Quæstor candidatus, more probably titular. 2. Prætor. 3. Corrector of Tuscany and Umbria. 4. Consular of Lusitania. 5. Proconsul of Achaia. 6. Prefect of Rome. 7. Prætorian prefect of Italy. 8. Of Illyricum. 9. Consul elect; but he died before the beginning of the year 355. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v, p. 241, 736. † Facite me Romanæ urbis episcopum; et ero protinus Christianus (Jerome, tom. ii. p. 165.) It is more than probable, that Damasus would not have purchased his conversion

nations of the east, of the north, and of the south. Their inroads were often vexatious, and sometimes formidable; but, during the twelve years of the reign of Valentinian, his firmness and vigilance protected his own dominions; and his powerful genius seemed to inspire and direct the feeble councils of his brother. Perhaps the method of annals would more forcibly express the urgent and divided cares of the two emperors; but the attention of the reader, likewise, would be distracted by a tedious and desultory narrative. A separate view of the five great theatres of war: I. Germany; II. Britain; III. Africa; IV. The East; and V. The Danube; will impress a more distinct image of the military state of the empire under the reigns of Valentinian and Valens.

I. The ambassadors of the Allemanni had been offended by the harsh and haughty behaviour of Ursacius, master of the offices,* who, by an act of unseasonable parsimony, had diminished the value, as well as the quantity, of the presents, to which they were entitled, either from custom or treaty, on the accession of a new emperor. They expressed, and they communicated to their countrymen, their strong sense of the national affront. The irascible minds of the chiefs were exasperated by the suspicion of contempt; and the martial youth crowded to their standard. Before Valentinian could pass the Alps, the villages of Gaul were in flames; before his general Dagalaiphus could encounter the Allemanni, they had secured the captives and the spoil in the forests of Germany. In the beginning of the ensuing year, the military force of the whole nation, in deep and solid columns, broke through the barrier of the Rhine, during the severity of a northern winter. Two Roman counts were defeated and mortally wounded; and the standard of the Heruli and Batavians fell into the hands of the conquerors, who displayed, with insulting shouts and menaces, the trophy of their victory. The standard was recovered; but the Batavians had not redeemed the shame of their disgrace and flight in the eyes of their severe judge. It was the opinion of Valentinian, that his soldiers must learn to fear their commander, before they could cease to fear the enemy. The troops were solemnly assembled; and

at such a price.

* Ammian. 26, 5.

Valesius adds a long and good note on the master of the offices.

the trembling Batavians were enclosed within the circle of the imperial army. Valentinian then ascended his tribunal; and, as if he disdained to punish cowardice with death, he inflicted a stain of indelible ignominy on the officers, whose misconduct and pusillanimity were found to be the first occasion of the defeat. The Batavians were degraded from their rank, stripped of their arms, and condemned to be sold for slaves to the highest bidder. At this tremendous sentence the troops fell prostrate on the ground, deprecated the indignation of their sovereign, and protested, that, if he would indulge them in another trial, they would approve themselves not unworthy of the name of Romans, and of his soldiers. Valentinian, with affected reluctance, yielded to their entreaties; the Batavians resumed their arms; and, with their arms the invincible resolution of wiping away their disgrace in the blood of the Allemanni.* The principal command was declined by Dagalaiphus; and that experienced general, who had represented, perhaps with too much prudence, the extreme difficulties of the undertaking, had the mortification, before the end of the campaign, of seeing his rival Jovinus convert those difficulties into a decisive advantage over the scattered forces of the barbarians. At the head of a well-disciplined army of cavalry, infantry, and light troops, Jovinus advanced, with cautious and rapid steps, to Scarponna,† in the territory of Metz, where he surprised a large division of the Allemanni, before they had time to run to their arms; and flushed his soldiers with the confidence of an easy and bloodless victory. Another division, or rather army, of the enemy, after the cruel and wanton devastation of the adjacent country, reposed themselves on the shady banks of the Moselle. Jovinus, who had viewed the ground with the eye of a general, made his silent approach through a deep and woody vale, till he could distinctly perceive the indolent security of the Germans. Some were bathing their huge limbs in the river; others were combing their long and flaxen hair;

* Ammian. 27, 1, Zosimus, lib. 4, p. 208. The disgrace of the Batavians is suppressed by the contemporary soldier, from a regard for military honour, which could not affect a Greek rhetorician of the succeeding age.

† See D'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 587. The name of the Moselle, which is not specified by Ammianus, is clearly understood by Mascon. (Hist. of the ancient Germans, 7, 2.)

others again were swallowing large draughts of rich and delicious wine. On a sudden they heard the sound of the Roman trumpet; they saw the enemy in their camp. Astonishment produced disorder; disorder was followed by flight and dismay; and the confused multitude of the bravest warriors was pierced by the swords and javelins of the legionaries and auxiliaries. The fugitives escaped to the third and most considerable camp, in the Catalaunian plains, near Chalons in Champagne: the straggling detachments were hastily recalled to their standard; and the barbarian chiefs, alarmed and admonished by the fate of their companions, prepared to encounter, in a decisive battle, the victorious forces of the lieutenant of Valentinian. The bloody and obstinate conflict lasted a whole summer's day, with equal valour, and with alternate success. The Romans at length prevailed, with the loss of about twelve hundred men. Six thousand of the Allemanni were slain, four thousand were wounded; and the brave Jovinus, after chasing the flying remnant of their host as far as the banks of the Rhine, returned to Paris, to receive the applause of his sovereign, and the ensigns of the consulship for the ensuing year.* The triumph of the Romans was indeed sullied by their treatment of the captive king, whom they hung on a gibbet without the knowledge of their indignant general. This disgraceful act of cruelty, which might be imputed to the fury of the troops, was followed by the deliberate murder of Withicab, the son of Vadomair; a German prince, of a weak and sickly constitution, but of a daring and formidable spirit. The domestic assassin was instigated and protected by the Romans;† and the violation of the laws of humanity and justice betrayed their secret apprehension of the weakness of the declining empire. The use of the dagger is seldom adopted in public councils, as long as they retain any confidence in the power of the sword.

While the Allemanni appeared to be humbled by their recent calamities, the pride of Valentinian was mortified by the unexpected surprisal of Moguntiacum or Mentz, the principal city of the Upper Germany. In the unsuspecting

* The battles are described by Ammianus (27, 2), and by Zosimus (lib. 4, p. 209); who supposes Valentinian to have been present. . . .

† *Studio solicitante nostrorum, occubuit.* Ammian. 27, 10.

moment of a Christian festival, Rondo, a bold and artful chieftain, who had long meditated his attempt, suddenly passed the Rhine, entered the defenceless town, and retired with a multitude of captives of either sex. Valentinian resolved to execute severe vengeance on the whole body of the nation. Count Sebastian, with the bands of Italy and Illyricum, was ordered to invade their country, most probably on the side of Rætia. The emperor in person, accompanied by his son Gratian, passed the Rhine at the head of a formidable army, which was supported on both flanks by Jovinus and Severus, the two masters-general of the cavalry and infantry of the west. The Allemanni, unable to prevent the devastation of their villages, fixed their camp on a lofty, and almost inaccessible, mountain in the modern duchy of Wirtemberg, and resolutely expected the approach of the Romans. The life of Valentinian was exposed to imminent danger, by the intrepid curiosity with which he persisted to explore some secret and unguarded path. A troop of barbarians suddenly rose from their ambuscade; and the emperor, who vigorously spurred his horse down a steep and slippery descent, was obliged to leave behind him his armour-bearer, and his helmet, magnificently enriched with gold and precious stones. At the signal of the general assault, the Roman troops encompassed and ascended the mountain of Solicinium on three different sides. Every step which they gained increased their ardour, and abated the resistance of the enemy; and after their united forces had occupied the summit of the hill, they impetuously urged the barbarians down the northern descent, where Count Sebastian was posted to intercept their retreat.* After this signal victory, Valentinian returned to his winter-quarters at Treves, where he indulged the

* Different opinions respecting the scene of this battle are mentioned in Dean Milman's note; among them is that of Häfelin, who in the *Memoirs of the Palatine-Electoral Academy*, fixed it at Schwetzingen. It is inconceivable how any one, conversant with the record and acquainted with the country, can have formed such an idea. Most travellers, who have visited what once was the Palatinate of the Rhine, have seen the gardens of Schwetzingen and know their situation in the midst of the wide plain between Heidelberg and Mannheim. So far from having a mountain corresponding with Solicinium, as described by the historian, there is not one of any kind within a distance of several miles. In the immediate vicinity of Heidelberg there are

public joy by the exhibition of splendid and triumphal games.* But the wise monarch, instead of aspiring to the conquest of Germany, confined his attention to the important and laborious defence of the Gallic frontier, against an enemy, whose strength was renewed by a stream of daring volunteers, which incessantly flowed from the most distant tribes of the north.† The banks of the Rhine, from its source to the straits of the ocean, were closely planted with

such, and in the neighbouring Berg-Strasse.—Ep. * The expedition of Valentinian is related by Ammianus (27, 10), and celebrated by Ausonius (Mosell. 421, &c.), who foolishly supposes that the Romans were ignorant of the sources of the Danube. † Immanis enim natio, jam inde ab ineunabulis primis varietate casuum immutata; ita sapius adolescit, ut fuisse longis sæculis æstimetur intacta. Ammian. 28, 5. The count de Buat (Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. iv, p. 370) ascribes the fecundity of the Allemanni to their easy adoption of strangers. [It is unnecessary to transcribe here M. Guizot's quotation of the causes assigned for the populousness of

ancient Germany by Mr. Malthus, in his Essay on the Principles of Population (vol. i, p. 145). The passage can easily be referred to by any English reader, to whom it is not already familiar. Yet it must be observed that the numbers of these "host impelling host" migrations, appear to have been unduly magnified. On this subject some very sensible observations may be found in Mallet's Northern Antiquities (c. 8, p. 159, edit. Bohn). So also it is a very erroneous idea, that these swarms were all sent forth from Scandinavia or the North Baltic regions. (See Notes to c. 10.) The last mentioned writer, though a believer in this hypothesis, admits (p. 163) that it "can be very ill reconciled, either with what history informs us of the manners, customs, and principles of the ancient Scandinavians, or with the soundest notions of policy as to what makes the true prosperity of a people." The fable was invented by Cassiodorus in his history of Rebus Geticis, preserved or epitomized by Jornandes. To gratify the then masters of Italy, and soothe what little pride was still left in his compatriots, by ascribing a more dignified origin to the conquerors of Rome, he constructed out of unsound materials and the fictions of imagination, a tale (Cassiod. Variar. 9, 25. Jornandes, c. 4) unknown to Procopius, who wrote at the same time, or a few years later, and who could only say that the Goths came from beyond the Danube. (De Bell. Vand. lib. 8, c. 2.) The mere fact that the races who were said to have migrated from Scandinavia, called it an island and named it Scanzia, exposes the delusion, and shows how the author had studied Ptolemy. The order in which the barbarian tribes made their appearance, proves how they were set in motion. The knowledge of the spoils that tempted them, as it was carried gradually northward, attracted adventurers in regular succession from higher latitudes. First, the bordering and central Germans alone, made occasional inroads. Then remoter nations leagued with them to share the prey. Hearing of this, the Saxons emerged from the Elbe and Eyder, in their light coelen, to plunder defenceless shores. These were followed by

strong castles and convenient towers; new works and new arms were invented by the ingenuity of a prince who was skilled in the mechanical arts; and his numerous levies of Roman and Barbarian youth were severely trained in all the exercises of war. The progress of the work, which was sometimes opposed by modest representations, and sometimes by hostile attempts, secured the tranquillity of Gaul during the nine subsequent years of the administration of Valentinian.*

That prudent emperor, who diligently practised the wise maxims of Diocletian, was studious to foment and excite the intestine divisions of the tribes of Germany. About the middle of the fourth century, the countries, perhaps of Lusace and Thuringia, on either side of the Elbe, were occupied by the vague dominion of the BURGUNDIANS, a warlike and numerous people of the Vandal race,† whose obscure name insensibly swelled into a powerful kingdom, and has finally settled on a flourishing province: The most remarkable circumstance in the ancient manners of the Burgundians, appears to have been the difference of their civil and ecclesiastical constitution. The appellation of *Hendinos* was given to the king or general, and the title of *Sinistus* to the high priest of the nation. The person of the priest was sacred, and his dignity perpetual; but the temporal government was held by a very precarious tenure. If the events of war accused the courage or conduct of the king, he was immediately deposed; and the injustice of his subjects made him responsible for the fertility of the earth, and the regularity of the seasons, which seemed to fall more properly within the sacerdotal department.‡ The disputed

the Engelanders or Angli, who dwelt beyond the Eyder, and then came the Jutes from the upper extremity of the peninsula. The Danes were induced, by the success of their southern and western neighbours, to imitate the example; and, last of all, the Northmen or Normans left their Scandinavian homes for the "prostrate south." When those who furnished the meagre annals of a benighted and perturbed age, heard that the buccaneers of their time all came from the north, they concluded that all who had preceded them were natives of the same lands; and their chronicles evince how fable and invention filled the unavoidable gaps of ignorance.—ED.]

* Ammian. 28, 2. Zosimus, lib. 4, p. 214. The younger Victor mentions the mechanical genius of Valentinian, *nova arma meditari; fingere terrâ seu limo simulacra.* † *Bellicosos et pubis immensæ viribus affluentes; et ideo metuendos finitimis universis.* Ammian. 28, 5.

‡ I am always apt to suspect historians and travellers of improving

possession of some salt pits* engaged the Allemanni and the Burgundians in frequent contests: the latter were easily tempted, by the secret solicitations and liberal offers of the emperor; and their fabulous descent from the Roman soldiers, who had formerly been left to garrison the fortresses of Drusus, was admitted with mutual credulity, as it was conducive to mutual interest.† An army of four-score thousand Burgundians soon appeared on the banks of the Rhine, and impatiently required the support and subsidies which Valentinian had promised; but they were

extraordinary facts into general laws. Ammianus ascribes a similar custom to Egypt; and the Chinese have imputed it to the Tatsin, or Roman empire (De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii, part 1, p. 79).

* *Salinarum finiumque causâ Allemannis sæpe jurgabant.* Ammian. 28, 5. Possibly they disputed the possession of the *Sala*, a river which produced salt, and which had been the object of ancient contention. Tacit. *Annal.* 13. 57, and Lipsius *ad loc.* [The scene of these contests appears to have been nearer to the Rhine. There are salt pits belonging to the Elector of Hesse, in this very district, at Naunheim, between Gießen and Frankfort-on-Maine. The war, mentioned by Tacitus in the passage here referred to, occurred during the reign of Nero; more than three hundred years earlier, and was between the Catti or Hessians and the Hermanduri, who occupied the banks of the Maine (Cellarius, l. 2, c. 5, p. 387). The cause of quarrel was a river that produced salt, and this is the stream which Lipsius and Cellarius also supposed to be the *Sala*. But the situation accords precisely with Naunheim, and it is probable that the copious springs which now yield a large revenue, not being then collected in pans, formed a rill or brook, which was dignified by the name of river. In the time of Valentinian, they were evidently used with greater skill, for they had become *salinæ*, or salt-works, the possession of which was coveted, especially by inland tribes, who had not the opportunity of extracting so useful a commodity from the brine of the ocean, as then generally practised. (T. Liv. lib. 1, c. 38. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* lib. 30, c. 7.) By the ever-shifting changes of barbarian occupation, the Allemanni and Burgundians were brought to the ground on which the Catti and Hermanduri had before fought for the same prize. The salt-springs of Halle, which now run under the bed of the Saale (Malte-Brun, vol. vii, p. 46), are in the neighbourhood of the Elbe, and too remote from what was then the Roman frontier, to have been the object of either of the struggles recorded by the Latin historians.—ED.]

† *Jam inde temporibus prisca sobolem se esse Romanam Burgundii sciunt:* and the vague tradition gradually assumed a more regular form. (Oros. lib. 7, c. 32.) It is annihilated by the decisive authority of Pliny, who composed the history of Drusus, and served in Germany (Plin. *Secund. Epist.* 3. 5), within sixty years after the death of that hero. *Germanorum genera quinque; Vindili, quorum pars Burgundiones, &c.* (Hist. *Natur.* 4. 28). [Verstegan, credulous and untrustworthy in matters of history, may, nevertheless, afford useful etymological hints. In his *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (p. 15), he makes the Latin

amused with excuses and delays, till at length, after a fruitless expectation, they were compelled to retire. The arms and fortifications of the Gallic frontier checked the fury of their just resentment; and their massacre of the captives served to embitter the hereditary feud of the Burgundians and the Allemanni. The inconstancy of a wise prince may, perhaps, be explained by some alteration of circumstances; and perhaps it was the original design of Valentinian to intimidate rather than to destroy, as the balance of power would have been equally overturned by the extirpation of either of the German nations. Among the princes of the Allemanni, Macrianus, who, with a Roman name, had assumed the arts of a soldier and a statesman, deserved his hatred and esteem. The emperor himself, with a light and unencumbered band, condescended to pass the Rhine; marched fifty miles into the country, and would infallibly have seized the object of his pursuit, if his judicious measures had not been defeated by the impatience of the troops. Macrianus was afterwards admitted to the honour of a personal conference with the emperor; and the favours which he received fixed him, till the hour of his death, a steady and sincere friend of the republic.*

Burgundii or *Burgundiones*, to represent the German *Burgwohner*, dwellers in inclosed or fenced places. Probably they were not at first a distinct tribe. In the sixty years that followed the death of Drusus, some descendants of his soldiers by German mothers, may have induced others among the natives to join with them in imitating the defensive works erected by the Roman garrisons. These may have received or assumed the name which Pliny heard, and so he gave it a Latin form, as that of a regular people. From this beginning may have arisen the "warlike and numerous nation," whose patronymic, if blotted out from modern maps, will long be fondly cherished by wine-drinkers. They are celebrated in the *Nibelungenlied*, which some have interpreted to be a history of their wars. Niebuhr treats it as nothing more than one of those early lays in which historical characters are introduced, but which have no pretension to the authority of annals, or any "chronological position." Lectures, vol. i. p. 29. 85. 214.—Ed.]

* The wars and negotiations relative to the Burgundians and Allemanni, are distinctly related by Ammianus Marcellinus (28, 5. 29, 4. 30, 3). Orosius (lib. 7, c. 32), and the Chronicles of Jerome and Cassiodorus, fix some dates, and add some circumstances. [Clinton, (F. R. i, 470—476) corrects Jerome and his transcriber Cassiodorus, and fixes the following dates. In 368, the Allemanni plunder Mentz and are routed by Valentinian; in 369, he fortifies the Rhine; in 370, seeks the aid of the Burgundii; in 371, passes the Rhine, penetrates as far as *Mattiaca Aquæ* (Wiesbaden) and in the same year returns to Treves.—Ed.]

The land was covered by the fortifications of Valentinian; but the sea-coast of Gaul and Britain was exposed to the depredations of the Saxons. That celebrated name, in which we have a dear and domestic interest, escaped the notice of Tacitus; and in the maps of Ptolemy, it faintly marks the narrow neck of the Cimbric peninsula, and three small islands towards the mouth of the Elbe.* This con-

* 'Ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνχένα τῆς Κιμβρικῆς χερσονήσου Σάξονες. At the northern extremity of the peninsula (the Cimbric promontory of Pliny, 4. 27), Ptolemy fixes the remnant of the *Cimbri*. He fills the interval between the *Saxons* and the *Cimbri* with six obscure tribes, who were united, as early as the sixth century, under the national appellation of *Danes*. See Claver. German. Antiq. lib. 3, c. 21—23. [The errors of the ancients, with respect to the Cimbric Chersonesus, have been already noticed. Of no part of Europe were their notions more confused or contradictory. They appear never to have penetrated into it by land, for no amber was cast on its shores to attract merchants, and the Roman armies never crossed the Elbe. (Strabo, lib. 7. Cellarius, lib. 2, c. 5.) Their nautical surveys of its coasts were extremely imperfect. But their vessels must have rounded its utmost extremity, although they did not pass the Sound; otherwise they could not have known the *Kymmer* there, and perhaps a small remnant of the early Celtic population by whom the name had been given. Besides this "parva civitas," Tacitus places in the entire peninsula none but *Fosi*, a people known to no other writer but himself. Combining subsequent well-known facts, with names that still remain there, we may rest assured that with the small exception on its remotest point, the whole of that neck of land had at that time no inhabitants but Goths. The northernmost division of them used their generic appellation in the provincialized form of *Juten* (the *j* being sounded as a hard *y* or slightly guttural *g*), so that the modern *Jutland* is only another *Gothland*. The middle and most contracted part of the territory, where the northern and east seas approach nearest to each other, was called the *Engeland*, or narrow land, whence its occupants were designated *Englander*, *Engeland-Sachsen*, *Angles*, and eventually became *Englishmen*. A portion of their original seat, between the *Schley* and the *Baltic*, is still known as *Angeln* (Maké Brun, vol. ix, p. 17); they established the kingdom of East *Anglia*, where the British *Iceni* had before ruled, in another narrow land between the sea and the *Metaris* (the *Wash*), which then extended as far as *Cambridge*; and half the island, which they assisted in conquering, received from them the now honoured name of *Eng-land*. Below these dwelt the *Saxons*, who, though not named by Tacitus, are supposed by early geographers (Cellarius, lib. 2, c. 5. 59), to be the people whom he mentions, through some wrong information, as *Fosi*, and situated beyond the *Elbe* (Germ. 36). Some have supposed them to be the descendants of a colony sent out by the *Sacæ*, a nomade tribe mentioned by Herodotus, Strabo, Ptolemy, and other ancient writers, as possessing in conjunction with the *Massagetæ*, beyond the *Caspian* sea, the forests and caves of *Mount Imaus*. This

tracted territory, the present duchy of Sleswig, or perhaps of Holstein, was incapable of pouring forth the inexhaustible swarms of Saxons, who reigned over the ocean, who filled the British island with their language, their laws, and is a possible, but of course undecidable hypothesis. Verstegan (p. 23), fortified by the respectable authority of Justus Lipsius, derives their name from the short, crooked swords, which were their principal weapon, and were called *Seaxen*. Adelung in his admirable *Wörterbuch* (vol. iii, p. 1559), notices this etymology, but prefers that from *Sass*, a seat; by which, however, it does not appear how one tribe could be distinguished from another, since all were equally *sitters* in their respective localities. His objection, that the plural of *Sachs* is *Sächsen* and not *Sachsen*, has no weight when applied to a grammarless race; and he admits that in the time of Charlemagne, when this people was at the summit of its power, the word was used in the form of *Sahs*. Their early history was so obscure, that Witikind, abbot of Corvey, made them come from Britain into Germany. (Niehuhr's Lectures, i, 102, Bohn's edit.) Even Malte-Brun gives two contradictory accounts of them. In one (vii, 267), he says that they descended from the Catti and Suevi, who held the interior and south of Germany; and in the other (ix, 17), calls them a confederation between the Elbe and Oder. They are first mentioned by Ptolemy (lib. 2, c. 11), who places them in the southern part of the peninsula, now Holstein, and all subsequent history confirms his account. Thence in time they overspread the whole north of Germany, from the mouth of the Elbe to the Vistula, where the circles of Upper and Lower Saxony still preserve the memory of their reign and show its extent. It was not necessary therefore, that Gibbon should call in auxiliaries from the Danish isles and Sweden, to compose the "innumerable swarms" that, under the designation of Saxons, "reigned over the ocean." Nor is there any evidence of such formidable numbers having ever gone forth at one time. When Hengist and Horsa came first to our shores, they had with them only three ships. (Chron. Saxon, 309. Bohn's edit.) Fifty years afterwards (ib. 311), Cerdic, and Cynric his son, brought with them only "vyf scyppol of Saxons" to found the kingdom of Wessex; and the reinforcement which strengthened their power nineteen years later, was contained in three ships (ib. 311). Thus we see how the ranks of successful adventurers were gradually recruited; and it was not till the following century that the celebrity of their Saxon precursors induced the more distant Danes to engage in similar enterprises. In their first move, these may have possessed themselves of vacant spaces in the peninsula; but their name did not originate there—they brought it with them from their island homes. Its derivation is so uncertain, that faneiful chroniclers had recourse to a king Dan, as shadowy as the Brute of Britain. Junius thought Denmark only a slight alteration of Tanne-mark, or the Firmarches. But considering the nature of their residence, and the habits of the people, the name seems to have a nearer relation to an early term that denoted wide, maritime tracts of sand-hills, and is now preserved in the German *dünen*, the Dutch *duynen*, and our *downs*; in some of our eastern counties, formerly most infested by these sea-rovers, it has the form of

their colonies; and who so long defended the liberty of the north against the arms of Charlemagne.*

The solution of this difficulty is easily derived from the similar manners and loose constitution of the tribes of Germany, which were blended with each other by the slightest accidents of war or friendship. The situation of the native Saxons disposed them to embrace the hazardous professions of fishermen and pirates; and the success of their first adventures would naturally excite the emulation of their bravest countrymen, who were impatient of the gloomy solitude of their woods and mountains. Every tide might float down the Elbe whole fleets of canoes, filled with hardy and intrepid associates, who aspired to behold the unbounded prospect of the ocean, and to taste the wealth and luxury of unknown worlds. It should seem probable, however, that the most numerous auxiliaries of the Saxons were furnished by the nations who dwelt along the shores of the Baltic. They possessed arms and ships, the art of navigation, and the habits of naval war; but the difficulty of issuing through the northern columns of Hercules† (which, during several months of the year, are obstructed with ice), confined their skill and courage within the limits of a spacious lake. The rumour of the successful armaments which sailed from the mouth of the Elbe, would soon provoke them to cross the narrow isthmus of Sleswig, and to launch their vessels on the great sea. The various troops of pirates and adventurers, who fought under the same standard, were insensibly united in a permanent society, at first of rapine, and afterwards of government. A military confederation was gradually moulded into a national body, by the gentle operation of marriage and consanguinity; and the adjacent tribes, who solicited the alliance, accepted the name and laws of the Saxons. If the fact

dents or dances. This is a more correct and distinct view of the succession of freebooters, who first by their piracies harassed the sea-coasts of Gaul and Britain, and finally became their permanent possessors.—Ed.] * M. d'Anville (*Etablissement des Etats de l'Europe*, &c. p. 19—26,) has marked the extensive limits of the Saxony of Charlemagne.

† The fleet of Drusus had failed in their attempt to pass, or even to approach, the *Sound* (styled, from an obvious resemblance, the columns of Hercules), and the naval enterprise was never resumed. (Tacit. de Moribus German. c. 34.) The knowledge which the Romans acquired of the naval powers of the Baltic (c. 44, 45) was obtained by their land journeys in search of amber.

were not established by the most unquestionable evidence, we should appear to abuse the credulity of our readers, by the description of the vessels in which the Saxon pirates ventured to sport in the waves of the German Ocean, the British Channel, and the Bay of Biscay. The keel of their large flat-bottomed boats was framed of light timber; but the sides and upper works consisted only of wicker, with a covering of strong hides.* In the course of their slow and distant navigations, they must always have been exposed to the danger, and very frequently to the misfortune, of shipwreck; and the naval annals of the Saxons were undoubtedly filled with the accounts of the losses which they sustained on the coasts of Britain and Gaul. But the daring spirit of the pirates braved the perils, both of the sea and of the shore: their skill was confirmed by the habits of enterprise; the meanest of their mariners was alike capable of handling an oar, of rearing a sail, or of conducting a vessel; and the Saxons rejoiced in the appearance of a tempest, which concealed their design, and dispersed the fleets of the enemy.† After they had acquired an accurate knowledge of the maritime provinces of the west, they extended the scene of their depredations, and the most sequestered places had no reason to presume on their

* *Quin et Armoricus piratam Saxona tractus
Sperabat; cui pelle salem sulcare Britannum
Ludus; et assuto glaucum mare findere lembo.*

Sidon. in Panegy. Avit. 369.

The genius of Cæsar imitated, for a particular service, these rude, but light, vessels, which were likewise used by the natives of Britain. (Comment. de Bell. Civil. 1, 51, and Guichardt, *Nouveaux Mémoires Militaires*, tom. ii, p. 41, 42.) The British vessels would now astonish the genius of Cæsar. [These boats were called in Anglo-Saxon *ceolen*, and in monkish Latin *ciuli*, from which (the *c* being pronounced as *k*) we have derived our word *keel*. On our eastern coast it is still applied to small sailing vessels. The light traders from the port of Hull have the name of Humber *keels*, and it is given also to the river craft on that side of our island. Gibbon himself would feel no less astonishment than he supposes for the genius of Cæsar, could he witness the wonderful advance of nautical science, in the comparatively short interval between his and the present times. A modern caricaturist has represented the Roman conqueror as conveying his legions to the shores of Britain in steam vessels. Little did the ambitious hero anticipate the ridicule to be reflected on the great realities of his days, by the far greater realities accomplished by the successors of those whom he invaded.—ED.] † The best original account of the Saxon pirates may be found in Sidonius Apollinaris (lib. 8, epist. 6, p. 223, edit. Sir-

security. The Saxon boats drew so little water, that they could easily proceed fourscore or a hundred miles up the great rivers; their weight was so inconsiderable, that they were transported on wagons from one river to another; and the pirates who had entered the mouth of the Seine, or of the Rhine, might descend, with the rapid stream of the Rhone, into the Mediterranean. Under the reign of Valentinian, the maritime provinces of Gaul were afflicted by the Saxons; a military count was stationed for the defence of the sea-coast, or Armorican limit; and that officer, who found his strength or his abilities unequal to the task, implored the assistance of Severus, master-general of the infantry. The Saxons, surrounded and out-numbered, were forced to relinquish their spoil, and to yield a select band of their tall and robust youth to serve in the imperial armies. They stipulated only a safe and honourable retreat; and the condition was readily granted by the Roman general, who meditated an act of perfidy,* imprudent as it was inhuman, while a Saxon remained alive and in arms, to revenge the fate of his countrymen. The premature eagerness of the infantry, who were secretly posted in a deep valley, betrayed the ambuscade; and they would, perhaps, have fallen the victims of their own treachery, if a large body of cuirassiers, alarmed by the noise of the combat, had not hastily advanced to extricate their companions, and to overwhelm the undaunted valour of the Saxons. Some of the prisoners were saved from the edge of the sword to shed their blood in the amphitheatre: and the orator Symmachus complains, that twenty-nine of those desperate savages, by strangling themselves with their own hands, had disappointed the amusement of the public. Yet the polite and philosophic citizens of Rome were impressed with the deepest horror when they were informed, that the Saxons consecrated to the gods the tithe of their *human* spoil; and that they ascertained by lot the objects of the barbarous sacrifice.†

mond), and the best commentary in the Abbé du Bos (*Hist. Critique de la Monarchie Française*, &c., tom. i, lib. 1, cap. 16, p. 148—155. See likewise, p. 77, 78). * Ammian. (28, 5) justifies this breach of faith to pirates and robbers; and Orosius (lib. 7, c. 32) more clearly expresses their real guilt; *virtute atque agilitate terribiles*.

† Symmachus (lib. 2, epist. 46) still presumes to mention the sacred names of Socrates and philosophy. Sidonius, bishop of Clermont, might condemn (lib. 8, epist. 6) with *less* inconsistency, the human sacrifices

II. The fabulous colonies of Egyptians and Trojans, of Scandinavians and Spaniards, which flattered the pride, and amused the credulity of our rude ancestors, have insensibly vanished in the light of science and philosophy.* The present age is satisfied with the simple and rational opinion, that the islands of Great Britain and Ireland were gradually peopled from the adjacent continent of Gaul. From the coast of Kent to the extremity of Caithness and Ulster, the memory of a Celtic origin was distinctly preserved in the perpetual resemblance of language, of religion, and of manners; and the peculiar characters of the British tribes might be naturally ascribed to the influence of accidental and local circumstances.† The Roman province was reduced to the state of civilized and peaceful servitude; the rights of savage freedom were contracted to the narrow limits of Caledonia. The inhabitants of that northern region were divided, as early as the reign of Constantine, between the two great tribes of the Scots and of the Picts,‡

of the Saxons. * In the beginning of the last century, the learned Camden was obliged to undermine with respectful scepticism, the romance of *Brutus* the Trojan; who is now buried in silent oblivion, with *Scota*, the daughter of Pharaoh, and her numerous progeny. Yet I am informed, that some champions of the *Milesian colony* may still be found among the original natives of Ireland. A people dissatisfied with their present condition, grasp at any visions of their past or future glory. † Tacitus, or rather his father-in-law, Agricola, might remark the German or Spanish complexion of some British tribes. But it was their sober, deliberate opinion—"In universum tamen aestimanti Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas . . . sermo haud multum diversus" (in Vit. Agric. c. 11). Cæsar had observed their common religion (Comment. de Bello Gallico, 6, 13); and in his time the emigration from the Belgic Gaul was a recent, or at least an historical, event (v. 10). Camden, the British Strabo, has modestly ascertained our genuine antiquities. (Britannia, vol. i, Introduction, p. 2—31. [Even in our most Saxon districts, some of the earliest monuments of nature, such as rivers and the meetings of their streams, bear names so radically Celtic, as to leave no doubt respecting the preoccupants of the land by whom they were affixed. The same prevails so widely in other countries, that it was held by Cluverius and Pelloutier to corroborate the ancient writers who made the Celtic and the Gothic races to be one. Bishop Percy, in his preface to Mallet's Northern Antiquities (p. 3—5) has pointed out their error and some of its causes. But he has not shewn with sufficient clearness, how the race which first peopled Europe naturally attached to such objects names that became familiar to their successors, and have been so transmitted to after times.—Ed.] ‡ In the dark and doubtful paths of Caledonian antiquity, I have chosen for my guides two learned and ingenious Highlanders, whom their birth and educa-

who have since experienced a very different fortune. The power, and almost the memory of the Picts, have been extinguished by their successful rivals; and the Scots, after maintaining for ages the dignity of an independent kingdom, have multiplied, by an equal and voluntary union, the honours of the English name. The hand of nature had contributed to mark the ancient distinction of the Scots and Picts. The former were the men of the hills, and the latter those of the plain. The eastern coast of Caledonia may be considered as a level and fertile country, which, even in a rude state of tillage, was capable of producing a considerable quantity of corn; and the epithet of *cruitnich*, or wheat-eaters, expressed the contempt or envy of the carnivorous Highlander. The cultivation of the earth might introduce a more accurate separation of property, and the habits of a sedentary life; but the love of arms and rapine was still the ruling passion of the Picts; and their warriors, who stripped themselves for a day of battle, were distinguished, in the eyes of the Romans, by the strange fashion of painting their naked bodies with gaudy colours and fantastic figures. The western part of Caledonia irregularly rises into wild and barren hills, which scarcely repay the toil of the husbandman, and are most profitably used for the pasture of cattle. The Highlanders were condemned to the occupations of shepherds and hunters; and as they seldom were fixed to any permanent habitation, they acquired the expressive name of *Scots*, which, in the Celtic tongue, is said to be equivalent to that of *vanderers*, or *vagrants*. The inhabitants of a barren land were urged to seek a fresh supply of food in the waters. The deep lakes and bays which intersect their country are plentifully stored with fish; and they gradually ventured to cast their nets in the waves of the ocean. The vicinity of the Hebrides, so profusely scattered along the western coast of Scotland, tempted their curiosity, and improved their skill; and they acquired, by slow degrees, the art, or rather the habit, of fishing had peculiarly qualified for that office. See Critical Dissertations on the Origin, Antiquities, &c., of the Caledonians, by Dr. John Macpherson, London, 1768, in 4to., and Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, by James Macpherson, Esq., London, 1773, in 4to., third edition. Dr. Macpherson was a minister in the Isle of Skye: and it is a circumstance honourable for the present age, that a work, replete with erudition and criticism, should have been composed

managing their boats in a tempestuous sea, and of steering their nocturnal course by the light of the well-known stars. The two bold headlands of Caledonia almost touch the shores of a spacious island, which obtained, from its luxuriant vegetation, the epithet of *Green*; and has preserved, with a slight alteration, the name of Erin, or Ierne, or Ireland.* It is *probable*, that in some remote period of antiquity, the fertile plains of Ulster received a colony of hungry Scots; and that the strangers of the north, who had dared to encounter the arms of the legions; spread their conquests over the savage and unwarlike natives of a solitary island. It is *certain* that, in the declining age of the Roman empire, Caledonia, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, were inhabited by the Scots; and that the kindred tribes, who were often associated in military enterprise, were deeply affected by the various accidents of their mutual fortunes. They long cherished the lively tradition of their common name and origin; and the missionaries of the Isle of Saints, who diffused the light of Christianity over North Britain, established the vain opinion, that their Irish countrymen were the natural as well as spiritual fathers of the Scottish race. The loose and obscure tradition has been preserved by the venerable Bede, who scattered some rays of light over the darkness of the eighth century. On this slight foundation, a huge superstructure of fable was gradually reared by the bards and the monks; two orders of men who equally abused the privilege of fiction. The Scottish nation, with mistaken pride, adopted their Irish genealogy; and the annals of a long line of imaginary

in the most remote of the Hebrides. * Gibbon has forgotten here the true derivation of the name of Ireland, to which he alluded in the beginning of his first chapter (vol. i, p. 5). Erin does not signify *Green*. The learned authorities, of which, in his preceding note, he adopts one and in his next disputes the other, however opposed in many points, concur in making it denote *The Western Isle*. It can have been given only by Celts, who saw its headlands from the east, and when these took it there with them, they most probably found it uninhabited, and no "savage and unwarlike natives" to conquer. Irish antiquaries rely too fondly on a few relics, that attest the early visits of ancient travellers, and on some transient gleams of light from monastic cells in a dark period, and thence infer for their country a former state of general civilization and enlightenment. Could they establish the fact, it would be the severest condemnation that could possibly be pronounced, of the priest-government, under which they must since have degenerated to

kings have been adorned by the fancy of Boethius, and the classic elegance of Buchanan.*

Six years after the death of Constantine, the destructive inroads of the Scots and Picts required the presence of his youngest son, who reigned in the western empire. Constantius visited his British dominions; but we may form some estimate of the importance of his achievements, by the language of panegyric, which celebrates only his triumph over the elements; or, in other words, the good fortune of a safe and easy passage from the port of Boulogne to the harbour of Sandwich.† The calamities which the afflicted provincials continued to experience, from foreign war and domestic tyranny, were aggravated by the feeble and corrupt administration of the eunuchs of Constantius; and the transient relief which they might obtain from the virtues of Julian, was soon lost by the absence and death of their benefactor. The sums of gold and silver which had been painfully collected, or liberally transmitted, for the payment of the troops, were intercepted by the avarice of the commanders; discharges, or, at least, exemptions, from the military service, were publicly sold; the distress of the soldiers, who were injuriously deprived of their legal and

their present condition.—ED. * The Irish descent of the Scots has been revived, in the last moments of its decay, and strenuously supported, by the Rev. Mr. Whitaker. (*Hist. of Manchester*, vol. i, p. 430, 431, and *Genuine History of the Britons* asserted, &c., p. 154—293.) Yet he acknowledges, 1. *That* the Scots of Ammianus Marcellinus (A.D. 340) were already settled in Caledonia; and that the Roman authors do not afford any hints of their emigration from another country. 2. *That all* the accounts of such emigrations which have been asserted, or received, by Irish bards, Scotch historians, or English antiquaries (Buchanan, Camden, Usher, Stillingfleet, &c.) are totally fabulous. 3. *That three* of the Irish tribes which are mentioned by Ptolemy (A.D. 150) were of Caledonian extraction. 4. *That a younger branch of Caledonian princes, of the house of Fingal, acquired and possessed the monarchy of Ireland.* After these concessions the remaining difference between Mr. Whitaker and his adversaries is minute and obscure. The *genuine history* which he produces of a Fergus, the cousin of Ossian, who was transplanted (A.D. 320) from Ireland to Caledonia, is built on a conjectural supplement to the Erse poetry, and the feeble evidence of Richard of Cirencester, a monk of the fourteenth century. The lively spirit of the learned and ingenious antiquarian has tempted him to forget the nature of a question, which he so *vehemently* debates, and so *absolutely* decides. † *Hymne tumentis ac sævientis undas calcastis Oceani sub remis vestris; . . . insperatam imperatoris faciem Britannus expavit.* Julius Firmicus Maternus de *Errorre Profano*. Relig. p. 464, edit. Gronov. ad *calcem* Minuc. Fel. See Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv.

scanty subsistence, provoked them to frequent desertion; the nerves of discipline were relaxed, and the highways were infested with robbers.* The oppression of the good, and the impunity of the wicked, equally contributed to diffuse through the island a spirit of discontent and revolt; and every ambitious subject, every desperate exile, might entertain a reasonable hope of subverting the weak and distracted government of Britain. The hostile tribes of the north, who detested the pride and power of the king of the world, suspended their domestic feuds; and the barbarians of the land and sea, the Scots, the Picts, and the Saxons, spread themselves, with rapid and irresistible fury, from the wall of Antoninus to the shores of Kent. Every production of art and nature, every object of convenience or luxury, which they were incapable of creating by labour, or procuring by trade, was accumulated in the rich and fruitful province of Britain.† A philosopher may deplore the eternal discord of the human race; but he will confess, that the desire of spoil is a more rational provocation than the vanity of conquest. From the age of Constantine to the Plantagenets, this rapacious spirit continued to instigate the poor and hardy Caledonians; but the same people, whose generous humanity seems to inspire the songs of Ossian, was disgraced by a savage ignorance of the virtues of peace, and of the laws of war. Their southern neighbours have felt, and perhaps exaggerated, the cruel depredations of the Scots and Picts;‡ and a valiant tribe of

p. 336). [The site of Rutupiaë, which Gibbon has here rendered "the harbour of Sandwich," is marked by the Roman remains at Richborough. This important station was the landing-place of emperors and armies, and commanded the southern entrance of the channel between the Isle of Thanet and the mainland. *Ruithin*, the passage island, was the British name of Thanet. (See Nennius, *Hist. Brit.* p. 397. edit. Bohn.) This shows it to have been the *Riduna* of Antoninus (*Itin. Marit.*), which D'Anville (*Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule*, p. 354) mistakes for Aurigni (Alderney), and Baxter (*Gloss. Ant. Brit.* p. 202) for Rathlin, on the north coast of Ireland.—Ed.]

* Libanius, *Orat. Parent.* c. 39, p. 264. This curious passage has escaped the diligence of our British antiquaries.

† The Caledonians praised and coveted the gold, the steeds, the lights, &c., of the *stranger*. See Dr. Blair's *Dissertations on Ossian*, vol. ii, p. 343, and Mr. Macpherson's *Introduction*, p. 242—286.

‡ Lord Lyttelton has circumstantially related (*History of Henry II.* vol. i, p. 182), and Sir David Dalrymple as slightly mentioned (*Annals of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 69) a barbarous inroad of the Scots, at a time (A.D.

Caledonia, the Attacotti,* the enemies, and afterwards the soldiers of Valentinian, are accused, by an eye-witness, of delighting in the taste of human flesh. When they hunted the woods for prey, it is said, that they attacked the shepherd rather than his flock; and that they curiously selected the most delicate and brawny parts, both of males and females, which they prepared for their horrid repasts.† If, in the neighbourhood of the commercial and literary town of Glasgow, a race of cannibals has really existed, we may contemplate, in the period of the Scottish history, the opposite extremes of savage and civilized life. Such reflections tend to enlarge the circle of our ideas; and to encourage the pleasing hope, that New Zealand may produce, in some future age, the Hume of the southern hemisphere.

Every messenger who escaped across the British channel, conveyed the most melancholy and alarming tidings to the ears of Valentinian; and the emperor was soon informed that the two military commanders of the province had been surprised and cut off by the barbarians. Severus, count of the domestics, was hastily dispatched, and as suddenly recalled, by the court of Treves. The representations of Jovinus served only to indicate the greatness of the evil; and, after a long and serious consultation, the defence, or rather the recovery, of Britain, was intrusted to the abilities of the brave Theodosius. The exploits of that general, the father of a line of emperors, have been celebrated, with peculiar complacency, by the writers of the age; but his real merit deserved their applause; and his nomination was received by the army and province, as a sure presage of approaching victory. He seized the favourable moment of navigation, and securely landed the numerous and veteran bands of the Heruli and Batavians, the Jovians and the

1137) when law, religion, and society, must have softened their primitive manners. * *Attacotti bellicosa hominum natio*. Ammian. 27, 8. Camden (Introduct. p. 152) has restored their true name in the text of Jerome. The bands of Attacotti, which Jerome had seen in Gaul, were afterwards stationed in Italy and Illyricum. (Notitia. s. 8, 39, 40.) † *Cum ipse adolescentulus in Gallia viderim Attacottos (or Scotos) gentem Britannicam humanis vesci carnibus; et cum per silvas porcorum greges, et armentorum pecundique reperiant, pastorum nates et feminarum papillas solere abscindere; et has solas ciborum delicias arbitrari*. Such is the evidence of Jerome (tom. ii, p. 75), whose voracity I find no reason to question. [When Jerome is writing of

Victors. In his march from Sandwich to London, Theodosius defeated several parties of the barbarians, released a multitude of captives, and, after distributing to his soldiers a small portion of the spoil, established the fame of disinterested justice, by the restitution of the remainder to the rightful proprietors. The citizens of London, who had almost despaired of their safety, threw open their gates; and as soon as Theodosius had obtained from the court of Treves the important aid of a military lieutenant and a civil governor, he executed, with wisdom and vigour, the laborious task of the deliverance of Britain. The vagrant soldiers were recalled to their standard; an edict of amnesty dispelled the public apprehensions; and his cheerful example alleviated the rigour of martial discipline. The scattered and desultory warfare of the barbarians, who infested the land and sea, deprived him of the glory of a signal victory; but the prudent spirit and consummate art of the Roman general were displayed in the operations of two campaigns, which successively rescued every part of the province from the hands of a cruel and rapacious enemy. The splendour of the cities, and the security of the fortifications, were diligently restored by the paternal care of Theodosius, who, with a strong hand, confined the trembling Caledonians to the northern angle of the island; and perpetuated, by the name and settlement of the new province of *Valentia*, the glories of the reign of Valentinian.* The voice of poetry and panegyric may add, perhaps with some degree of truth, that the unknown regions of Thule were stained with the blood of the Picts; that the oars of Theodosius dashed the waves of the Hyperborean ocean; and that the distant Orkneys were the scene of his naval victory over the Saxon pirates.†

Heretics or pagans he is not to be trusted. Without better authority it is incredible that the practice here described by him should have been tolerated in a Roman province.—Ed.]

* Ammianus has concisely represented (20, 1. 26, 4. 27, 8. 28, 3,) the whole series of the British war.

† Horrescit ratibus impervia Thule.
Ille nec falso nomine Pictos
Edomuit. Scotumque vago mucrone secutus
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.

Claudian, in 3 Cons. Honorii. ver. 53, &c.

— Maduerunt Saxone fuso

Orcaes: incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule.

Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

n 4 Cons. Hon. ver. 31, &c.

left the province with a fair, as well as splendid reputation; and was immediately promoted to the rank of master-general of the cavalry, by a prince who could applaud, without envy, the merit of his servants. In the important station of the Upper Danube, the conqueror of Britain checked and defeated the armies of the Allemanni, before he was chosen to suppress the revolt of Africa.

III. The prince who refuses to be the judge, instructs his people to consider him as the accomplice, of his ministers. The military command of Africa had been long exercised by count Romanus, and his abilities were not inadequate to his station: but, as sordid interest was the sole motive of his conduct, he acted, on most occasions, as if he had been the enemy of the province, and the friend of the Barbarians of the desert. The three flourishing cities of Oea, Leptis, and Sabrata, which, under the name of Tripoli, had long constituted a federal union,* were obliged, for the first time, to shut their gates against a hostile invasion; several of their most honourable citizens were surprised and massacred; the villages, and even the suburbs, were pillaged; and the vines and fruit-trees of that rich territory were extirpated by the malicious savages of Getulia. The unhappy provincials implored the protection of Romanus; but they soon found that their military governor was not less cruel and rapacious than the Barbarians. As they were incapable of furnishing the four thousand camels, and the exorbitant present, which he required before he would march to the assistance of Tripoli, his demand was equivalent to a refusal, and he might justly be accused as the author of the public calamity. In the annual assembly of the three cities, they nominated two deputies, to lay at the feet of Valentinian the customary offering of a gold victory; and to accompany this tribute, of duty, rather than of gratitude, with their humble complaint, that they were ruined by the enemy, and betrayed by their

See likewise Pacatus (in Panegy. Vet. 12, 5.) But it is not easy to appreciate the intrinsic value of flattery and metaphor. Compare the *British* victories of Bolanus (Statius, Silv. 5. 2.) with his real character. (Tacit. in Vit. Agric. c. 16.)

* Ammianus frequently mentions their concilium annuum, legitimum, &c. Leptis and Sabrata are long since ruined; but the city of Oea, the native country of Apuleius, still flourishes under the provincial denomination of *Tripoli*. See Cellarius (Geograph. Antiqua, tom. ii, part 2, p. 81), D'Anville (Geographie Ancienne, tom. iii, p. 71, 72), and Marmol (Afrique, tom. ii, p. 562).

governor. If the severity of Valentinian had been rightly directed, it would have fallen on the guilty head of Romanus. But the count, long exercised in the arts of corruption, had dispatched a swift and trusty messenger to secure the venal friendship of Remigius, master of the offices. The wisdom of the imperial council was deceived by artifice; and their honest indignation was cooled by delay. - At length, when the repetition of complaint had been justified by the repetition of public misfortunes, the notary Palladius was sent from the court of Treves, to examine the state of Africa, and the conduct of Romanus. The rigid impartiality of Palladius was easily disarmed: he was tempted to reserve for himself a part of the public treasure, which he brought with him for the payment of the troops; and from the moment that he was conscious of his own guilt, he could no longer refuse to attest the innocence and merit of the count. The charge of the Tripolitans was declared to be false and frivolous; and Palladius himself was sent back from Treves to Africa, with a special commission to discover and prosecute the authors of this impious conspiracy against the representatives of the sovereign. His inquiries were managed with so much dexterity and success, that he compelled the citizens of Leptis, who had sustained a recent siege of eight days, to contradict the truth of their own decrees, and to censure the behaviour of their own deputies. A bloody sentence was pronounced, without hesitation, by the rash and headstrong cruelty of Valentinian. The president of Tripoli, who had presumed to pity the distress of the province, was publicly executed at Utica; four distinguished citizens were put to death, as the accomplices of the imaginary fraud; and the tongues of two others were cut out, by the express order of the emperor. Romanus, elated by impunity, and irritated by resistance, was still continued in the military command; till the Africans were provoked by his avarice, to join the rebellious standard of Firmus, the Moor.*

His father Nabal was one of the richest and most powerful of the Moorish princes who acknowledged the supremacy of Rome. But as he left, either by his wives or concubines, a very numerous posterity, the wealthy inheritance was eagerly disputed; and Zamma, one of his sons, was slain in

* Ammian. 18, 6. Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, v, 25. 676) has discussed the chronological difficulties of the history of Count Romanus.

a domestic quarrel by his brother Firmus. The implacable zeal with which Romanus prosecuted the legal revenge of this murder, could be ascribed only to a motive of avarice, or personal hatred; but on this occasion his claims were just; his influence was weighty; and Firmus clearly understood, that he must either present his neck to the executioner, or appeal from the sentence of the imperial consistory, to his sword and to the people.* He was received as the deliverer of his country; and, as soon as it appeared that Romanus was formidable only to a submissive province, the tyrant of Africa became the object of universal contempt. The ruin of Cæsarea, which was plundered and burnt by the licentious barbarians, convinced the refractory cities of the danger of resistance: the power of Firmus was established, at least in the provinces of Mauritania and Numidia; and it seemed to be his only doubt, whether he should assume the diadem of a Moorish king, or the purple of a Roman emperor. But the imprudent and unhappy Africans soon discovered that, in this rash insurrection, they had not sufficiently consulted their own strength or the abilities of their leader. Before he could procure any certain intelligence, that the emperor of the west had fixed the choice of a general, or that a fleet of transports was collected at the mouth of the Rhone, he was suddenly informed that the great Theodosius, with a small band of veterans, had landed near Igilgilis, or Gigeri, on the African coast; and the timid usurper sank under the ascendant of virtue and military genius. Though Firmus possessed arms and treasures, his despair of victory immediately reduced him to the use of those arts which, in the same country, and in a similar situation, had formerly been practised by the crafty Jugurtha. He attempted to deceive, by an apparent submission, the vigilance of the Roman general: to seduce the fidelity of his troops; and to protract the duration of the war, by successively engaging the independent tribes of Africa to espouse his quarrel, or to protect his flight. Theodosius imitated the example, and obtained the success, of his predecessor Metellus. When Firmus, in the cha-

* The chronology of Ammianus is loose and obscure: and Orosius (l. 7, c. 33, p. 551, edit. Havercamp) seems to place the revolt of Firmus after the death of Valentinian and Valens. Tillemont (*Hist. des Emp. tom. v p. 691*.) endeavours to pick his way. The patient

racter of a suppliant, accused his own rashness, and humbly solicited the clemency of the emperor, the lieutenant of Valentinian received and dismissed him with a friendly embrace; but he diligently required the useful and substantial pledges of a sincere repentance; nor could he be persuaded, by the assurances of peace, to suspend for an instant the operations of an active war. A dark conspiracy was detected by the penetration of Theodosius; and he satisfied, without much reluctance, the public indignation, which he had secretly excited. Several of the guilty accomplices of Firmus were abandoned, according to ancient custom, to the tumult of a military execution; many more, by the amputation of both their hands, continued to exhibit an instructive spectacle of horror; the hatred of the rebels was accompanied with fear; and the fear of the Roman soldiers was mingled with respectful admiration. Amidst the boundless plains of Getulia, and the innumerable valleys of mount Atlas, it was impossible to prevent the escape of Firmus: and if the usurper could have tired the patience of his antagonist, he would have secured his person in the depth of some remote solitude, and expected the hopes of a future revolution. He was subdued by the perseverance of Theodosius, who had formed an inflexible determination that the war should end only by the death of the tyrant; and that every nation of Africa, which presumed to support his cause, should be involved in his ruin. At the head of a small body of troops, which seldom exceeded three thousand five hundred men, the Roman general advanced with a steady prudence, devoid of rashness or of fear, into the heart of a country, where he was sometimes attacked by armies of twenty thousand Moors. The boldness of his charge dismayed the irregular barbarians; they were disconcerted by his seasonable and orderly retreats; they were continually baffled by the unknown resources of the military art; and they felt and confessed the just superiority which was assumed by the leader of a civilized nation. When Theodosius entered the extensive dominions of Igmazen, king of the Isafilenses, the haughty savage required, in words of

and sure-footed mule of the Alps may be trusted in the most slippery paths. [The revolt of Firmus is fixed to 372, because Theodosius was employed in Germany in 371, and Rémigius perished in 373. *Cin. F. R. i, 479.*—ED.]

defiance, his name, and the object of his expedition. "I am," replied the stern and disdainful count, "I am the general of Valentinian, the lord of the world; who has sent me hither to pursue and punish a desperate robber. Deliver him instantly into my hands; and be assured that, if thou dost not obey the commands of my invincible sovereign, thou, and the people over whom thou reignest, shall be utterly extirpated." As soon as Igmazen was satisfied that his enemy had strength and resolution to execute the fatal menace, he consented to purchase a necessary peace by the sacrifice of a guilty fugitive. The guards that were placed to secure the person of Firmus, deprived him of the hopes of escape; and the Moorish tyrant, after wine had extinguished the sense of danger, disappointed the insulting triumph of the Romans, by strangling himself in the night. His dead body, the only present which Igmazen could offer to the conqueror, was carelessly thrown upon a camel; and Theodosius, leading back his victorious troops to Sitifi, was saluted by the warmest acclamations of joy and loyalty.*

Africa had been lost by the vices of Romanus; it was restored by the virtues of Theodosius; and our curiosity may be usefully directed to the inquiry of the respective treatment which the two generals received from the imperial court. The authority of count Romanus had been suspended by the master-general of the cavalry; and he was committed to safe and honourable custody till the end of the war. His crimes were proved by the most authentic evidence; and the public expected, with some impatience, the decree of severe justice. But the partial and powerful favour of Mellobaudes encouraged him to challenge his legal judges, to obtain repeated delays for the purpose of procuring a crowd of friendly witnesses, and, finally, to cover his guilty conduct by the additional guilt of fraud and forgery. About the same time, the restorer of Britain and Africa, on a vague suspicion that his name and services were superior to the rank of a subject, was ignominiously beheaded at Carthage. Valentinian no longer reigned; and the death of Theodosius, as well as the impunity of Romanus, may justly be imputed to the arts of the minis-

* Ammian. 29, 5. The text of this long chapter (fifteen quarto pages) is broken and corrupted; and the narrative is perplexed by the want of chronological and geographical landmarks.

ters, who abused the confidence, and deceived the inexperienced youth, of his sons.*

If the geographical accuracy of Ammianus had been fortunately bestowed on the British exploits of Theodosius, we should have traced, with eager curiosity, the distinct and domestic footsteps of his march. But the tedious enumeration of the unknown and uninteresting tribes of Africa may be reduced to the general remark, that they were all of the swarthy race of the Moors; that they inhabited the back settlements of the Mauritanian and Numidian provinces, the country, as they have since been termed by the Arabs, of dates and of locusts;† and that, as the Roman power declined in Africa, the boundary of civilized manners and cultivated land was insensibly contracted. Beyond the utmost limits of the Moors, the vast and inhospitable desert of the south extends above a thousand miles to the banks of the Niger. The ancients, who had a very faint and imperfect knowledge of the great peninsula of Africa, were sometimes tempted to believe, that the torrid zone must ever remain destitute of inhabitants;‡ and they sometimes amused their fancy by filling the vacant space with headless men, or rather monsters;§ with horned and cloven-footed satyrs;¶ with fabulous centaurs;** and with human pigmies,

* Ammianus, 28, 4. Orosius, l. 7, c. 33, p. 551, 552. Jerome, in Chron. p. 187.

† Leo Africanus (in the *Viaggi di Ramusio*, tom. i, fol. 78—83,) has traced a curious picture of the people and the country; which are more minutely described in the *Afrique de Marmol*, tom. iii, p. 1—54.

‡ This uninhabitable zone was gradually reduced, by the improvements of ancient geography, from forty-five to twenty-four, or even sixteen, degrees of latitude. See a learned and judicious note of Dr. Robertson, *Hist. of America*, vol. i, p. 426.

§ *Intra, si credere libet, vix jam homines et magis semiferi . . . Blemmyes, Satyri, &c.* Pomponius Mela, l. 4. p. 26, edit. Voss. in 8vo. Pliny philosophically explains (6. 36,) the irregularities of nature, which he had credulously admitted. (5. 8.)

¶ If the satyr was the orang-outang, the great human ape (Buffon, *Hist. Nat.* tom. xiv, p. 43, &c.), one of that species might actually be shewn alive in Alexandria in the reign of Constantine. Yet some difficulty will still remain about the conversation which St. Anthony held with one of these pious savages in the desert of Thebais. (Jerom. in *Vit. Paul. Eremit.* tom. i, p. 238.)

** St. Anthony likewise met one of these monsters; whose existence was seriously asserted by the emperor Claudius. The public laughed; but his prefect of Egypt had the address to send an artful preparation, the embalmed corpse of an *hippocentaur*; which was preserved almost a century afterwards in the imperial palace. See Pliny.

who waged a bold and doubtful warfare against the cranes.* Carthage would have trembled at the strange intelligence, that the countries, on either side of the equator, were filled with innumerable nations, who differed only in their colour from the ordinary appearance of the human species; and the subjects of the Roman empire might have anxiously expected that the swarms of barbarians which issued from the north, would soon be encountered from the south by new swarms of barbarians, equally fierce, and equally formidable. These gloomy terrors would indeed have been dispelled by a more intimate acquaintance with the character of their African enemies. The inaction of the negroes does not seem to be the effect either of their virtue or of their pusillanimity. They indulge, like the rest of mankind, their passions and appetites; and the adjacent tribes are engaged in frequent acts of hostility.† But their rude ignorance has never invented any effectual weapons of defence, or of destruction; they appear incapable of forming any extensive plans of government, or conquest; and the obvious inferiority of their mental faculties has been discovered and abused by the nations of the temperate zone. Sixty thousand blacks are annually embarked from the coast of Guinea, never to return to their native country; but they are embarked in chains;‡ and this constant emigration, which, in the space of two centuries, might have furnished armies to overrun the globe, accuses the guilt of Europe and the weakness of Africa.

IV. The ignominious treaty which saved the army of Jovian, had been faithfully executed on the side of the Romans; and as they had solemnly renounced the sovereignty and alliance of Armenia and Iberia, those tributary kingdoms were exposed, without protection, to the arms of

(Hist. Natur. 7. 3,) and the judicious observations of Freret. (*Mémoires de l'Acad. tom. vii, p. 321, &c.*) * The fable of the pigmies is as old as Homer (*Iliad, 3. 6*). The pigmies of India and Ethiopia were (trispithami) twenty-seven inches high. Every spring their cavalry (mounted on rams and goats) marched in battle array, to destroy the cranes' eggs, aliter (says Pliny) *futuris gregibus non resisti*. Their houses were built of mud, feathers, and egg-shells. See Pliny (6, 35, 7, 2, and Strabo. l. 2, p. 121.) † The third and fourth volumes of the valuable *Histoire des Voyages* describe the present state of the negroes. The nations of the sea-coast have been polished by European commerce; and those of the inland country have been improved by Moorish colonies. ‡ *Histoire Philosophique et*

the Persian monarch.* Sapor entered the Armenian territories at the head of a formidable host of cuirassiers, of archers, and of mercenary foot; but it was the invariable practice of Sapor to mix war and negotiation, and to consider falsehood and perjury as the most powerful instruments of regal policy. He affected to praise the prudent and moderate conduct of the king of Armenia; and the unsuspecting Tiranus was persuaded, by the repeated assurances of insidious friendship, to deliver his person into the hands of a faithless and cruel enemy. In the midst of a splendid entertainment, he was bound in chains of silver, as an honour due to the blood of the Arsacides; and, after a short confinement in the Tower of Oblivion at Ecbatana, he was released from the miseries of life, either by his own dagger, or by that of an assassin. The kingdom of Armenia was reduced to the state of a Persian province; the administration was shared between a distinguished satrap and a favourite eunuch; and Sapor marched, without delay, to subdue the martial spirit of the Iberians. Sauromaces, who reigned in that country by the permission of the emperors, was expelled by a superior force; and, as an insult on the majesty of Rome, the king of kings placed a diadem on the head of his abject vassal Aspacuras. The city of Artogerassa† was the only place of Armenia which presumed to resist the effort of his arms. The treasure deposited in that strong fortress tempted the avarice of Sapor; but the danger of Olympias, the wife or widow of the Armenian king, excited the public compassion, and animated the desperate valour of her subjects and soldiers. The Persians were surprised and repulsed under the walls of Artogerassa, by a bold and well-concerted sally of the besieged. But the forces of Sapor were continually renewed and increased; the hopeless courage of the garrison was exhausted; the strength of the walls yielded to the assault; and the proud conqueror, after wasting the rebellious city with fire and sword, led away captive an unfortunate queen; who, in a more auspicious hour, had been the destined bride of the

Politique, &c., tom. iv, p. 192.

* The evidence of Ammianus is original and decisive (27, 12). Moses of Chorene (l. 3, c. 17, p. 249, and c. 34, p. 269,) and Procopius (de Bell. Persico, l. 1, c. 5, p. 17, edit. Louvre) have been consulted; but those historians, who confound distinct facts, repeat the same events, and introduce strange stories, must be used with diffidence and caution.

† Perhaps Artagera, or Ardis; under whose walls Caius, the grandson of Augustus, war

son of Constantine.* Yet if Sapor already triumphed in the easy conquest of two dependent kingdoms, he soon felt that a country is unsubdued, as long as the minds of the people are actuated by a hostile and contumacious spirit. The satraps, whom he was obliged to trust, embraced the first opportunity of regaining the affection of their countrymen, and of signalizing their immortal hatred to the Persian name. Since the conversion of the Armenians and Iberians, those nations considered the Christians as the favourites, and the Magians as the adversaries, of the supreme Being; the influence of the clergy, over a superstitious people, was uniformly exerted in the cause of Rome; and as long as the successors of Constantine disputed with those of Artaxerxes the sovereignty of the intermediate provinces, the religious connection always threw a decisive advantage into the scale of the empire. A numerous and active party acknowledged Para, the son of Tiranus, as the lawful sovereign of Armenia; and his title to the throne was deeply rooted in the hereditary succession of five hundred years. By the unanimous consent of the Iberians, the country was equally divided between the rival princes; and Aspacuras, who owed his diadem to the choice of Sapor, was obliged to declare, that his regard for his children, who were detained as hostages by the tyrant, was the only consideration which prevented him from openly renouncing the alliance of Persia. The emperor Valens, who respected the obligations of the treaty, and who was apprehensive of involving the east in a dangerous war, ventured, with slow and cautious measures, to support the Roman party in the kingdoms of Iberia and Armenia. Twelve legions established the authority of Sauromaces on the banks of the Cyrus. The Euphrates was protected by the valour of Arintheus. A powerful army, under the command of count Trajan, and of Vadomair, king of the Allemanni, fixed their camp on the confines of Armenia. But they were strictly enjoined not to commit the first hostilities, which might be understood as a breach of the treaty; and such was the implicit obedience of the Roman general, that they retreated with exemplary patience, under a shower of Persian arrows,

wounded. This fortress was situate above Amida, near one of the sources of the Tigris. See D'Anville, *Géographie Ancienne*, tom. ii, p. 106. * Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v, p. 701.) proves from chronology, that Olympias must have been the mother of Valens.

till they had clearly acquired a just title to an honourable and legitimate victory. Yet these appearances of war insensibly subsided in a vain and tedious negotiation. The contending parties supported their claims by mutual reproaches of perfidy and ambition; and it should seem that the original treaty was expressed in very obscure terms, since they were reduced to the necessity of making their inconclusive appeal to the partial testimony of the generals of the two nations, who had assisted at the negotiations.* The invasion of the Goths and Huns, which soon afterwards shook the foundations of the Roman empire, exposed the provinces of Asia to the arms of Sapor. But the declining age, and perhaps the infirmities of the monarch, suggested new maxims of tranquillity and moderation. His death, which happened in the full maturity of a reign of seventy years, changed in a moment the court and councils of Persia: and their attention was most probably engaged by domestic troubles, and the distant efforts of a Carmanian war.† The remembrance of ancient injuries was lost in the enjoyment of peace. The kingdoms of Armenia and Iberia were permitted, by the mutual, though tacit, consent of both empires, to resume their doubtful neutrality. In the first years of the reign of Theodosius, a Persian embassy arrived at Constantinople, to excuse the unjustifiable measures of the former reign; and to offer, as the tribute of friendship, or even of respect, a splendid present of gems, of silk, and of Indian elephants.‡

In the general picture of the affairs of the east under the reign of Valens, the adventures of Para form one of the most striking and singular objects. The noble youth, by the persuasion of his mother Olympias, had escaped through the Persian host that besieged Artogerassa, and implored

* Ammianus (27, 12, 29, 1, 30, 1, 2,) has described the events, without the dates, of the Persian war. Moses of Chorene (*Hist. Armen.* l. 3, c. 28, p. 261; c. 31, p. 266; c. 35, p. 271, affords some additional facts; but it is extremely difficult to separate truth from fable.

† Artaxerxes was the successor and brother (*the cousin-german*) of the great Sapor; and the guardian of his son Sapor III. (*Agathias*, l. 4, p. 136, edit. Louvre.) See the *Universal History*, vol. xi, p. 86. 161. The authors of that unequal work have compiled the Sassanian dynasty with erudition and diligence; but it is a preposterous arrangement to divide the Roman and Oriental accounts into two distinct Histories. ‡ Pacatus in *Panegy. Vet.* 12, 22, and *Orosius*, l. 7, c. 34. *Ictumque tum fœdus est, quo universus Oriens usque ad nunc (A.D. 416) tranquillissime fruitur.*

the protection of the emperor of the east. By his timid councils, Para was alternately supported and recalled, and restored and betrayed. The hopes of the Armenians were sometimes raised by the presence of their natural sovereign; and the ministers of Valens were satisfied that they preserved the integrity of the public faith, if their vassal was not suffered to assume the diadem and title of king. But they soon repented of their own rashness. They were confounded by the reproaches and threats of the Persian monarch. They found reason to distrust the cruel and inconstant temper of Para himself; who sacrificed, to the slightest suspicions, the lives of his most faithful servants; and held a secret and disgraceful correspondence with the assassin of his father and the enemy of his country. Under the specious pretence of consulting with the emperor on the subject of their common interest, Para was persuaded to descend from the mountains of Armenia, where his party was in arms, and to trust his independence and safety to the discretion of a perfidious court. The king of Armenia, for such he appeared in his own eyes and in those of his nation; was received with due honours by the governors of the provinces through which he passed; but when he arrived at Tarsus in Cilicia, his progress was stopped under various pretences; his motions were watched with respectful vigilance; and he gradually discovered that he was a prisoner in the hands of the Romans. Para suppressed his indignation, dissembled his fears, and, after secretly preparing his escape, mounted on horseback with three hundred of his faithful followers. The officer stationed at the door of his apartment immediately communicated his flight to the consular of Cilicia, who overtook him in the suburbs, and endeavoured, without success, to dissuade him from prosecuting his rash and dangerous design. A legion was ordered to pursue the royal fugitive; but the pursuit of infantry could not be very alarming to a body of light cavalry; and upon the first cloud of arrows that was discharged into the air, they retreated with precipitation to the gates of Tarsus. After an incessant march of two days and two nights, Para and his Armenians reached the banks of the Euphrates; but the passage of the river, which they were obliged to swim, was attended with some delay and some loss. The country was alarmed; and the two roads, which were only separated

by an interval of three miles, had been occupied by a thousand archers on horseback, under the command of a count and a tribune. Para must have yielded to superior force, if the accidental arrival of a friendly traveller had not revealed the danger, and the means of escape. A dark and almost impervious path securely conveyed the Armenian troop through the thicket; and Para had left behind him the count and the tribune, while they patiently expected his approach along the public highways. They returned to the imperial court to excuse their want of diligence or success; and seriously alleged, that the king of Armenia, who was a skilful magician, had transformed himself and his followers, and passed before their eyes under a borrowed shape. After his return to his native kingdom, Para still continued to profess himself the friend and ally of the Romans; but the Romans had injured him too deeply ever to forgive, and the secret sentence of his death was signed in the council of Valens. The execution of the bloody deed was committed to the subtle prudence of count Trajan; and he had the merit of insinuating himself into the confidence of the credulous prince, that he might find an opportunity of stabbing him to the heart. Para was invited to a Roman banquet, which had been prepared with all the pomp and sensuality of the east: the hall resounded with cheerful music; and the company was already heated with wine; when the count retired for an instant, drew his sword, and gave the signal of the murder. A robust and desperate barbarian instantly rushed on the king of Armenia; and though he bravely defended his life with the first weapon that chance offered to his hand, the table of the imperial general was stained with the royal blood of a guest and an ally. Such were the weak and wicked maxims of the Roman administration, that to attain a doubtful object of political interest, the laws of nations, and the sacred rights of hospitality, were inhumanly violated in the face of the world.*

V. During a peaceful interval of thirty years, the Romans secured their frontiers, and the Goths extended their dominions. The victories of the great Hermanric,† king of

* See in Ammianus (30, 1,) the adventures of Para. Moses of Chorene calls him Tiridates; and tells a long, and not improbable, story of his son Gnelus; who afterwards made himself popular in Armenia, and provoked the jealousy of the reigning king. (l. 3, c. 31, &c., p. 253, &c.) † The concise account of the reign and conquests

the Ostrogoths, and the most noble of the race of the Amali, have been compared, by the enthusiasm of his countrymen, to the exploits of Alexander; with this singular, and almost incredible, difference, that the martial spirit of the Gothic hero, instead of being supported by the vigour of youth, was displayed with glory and success in the extreme period of human life; between the age of fourscore and one hundred and ten years. The independent tribes were persuaded, or compelled, to acknowledge the king of the Ostrogoths as the sovereign of the Gothic nation; the chiefs of the Visigoths, or Thervingi, renounced the royal title, and assumed the more humble appellation of *judges*; and among those judges, Athanaric, Fritigern, and Alavivus were the most illustrious, by their personal merit, as well as by their vicinity to the Roman provinces. These domestic conquests, which increased the military power of Hermanric, enlarged his ambitious designs. He invaded the adjacent countries of the north; and twelve considerable nations, whose names and limits cannot be accurately defined, successively yielded to the superiority of the Gothic arms.* The Heruli, who inhabited the marshy lands near the lake Mæotis, were renowned for their strength and agility; and the assistance of their light infantry was eagerly solicited, and highly esteemed, in all the wars of the barbarians. But the active spirit of the Heruli was subdued by the slow and steady perseverance of

of Hermanric, seems to be one of the valuable fragments which Jornandes (c. 28) borrowed from the Gothic histories of Aethelric, or Cassiodorus. [Niebuhr (Lectures, vol. iii, p. 317) says; "Whether Hermanric belongs to the time in which Jornandes places him, is a question hard to answer. I, for my part, believe him to be much earlier; but an historical person he is." These doubts appear to have been caused by the manner in which Hermanric's "memory has been handed down in the Heldenbuch and Icelandic Sagas." It is difficult to understand why Niebuhr thus questions or neglects the testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus, a contemporary writer, whom he himself soon afterwards (p. 323) describes, as "particularly honest and high-minded; and what an historian ought always to be, a man of experience, having himself served as a soldier." Looking to this alone, without the other authorities consulted by Gibbon, we cannot suspect his narrative to be otherwise than perfectly accurate. The facts furnished by Ammianus were probably borrowed and embellished by Cassiodorus, and accordingly repeated by his abridger Jornandes.—Ed.]

* M. de Buat (Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vi, p. 311—329) investigates, with more industry than success, the nations subdued by the arms of Hermanric. He denies the existence of the *Vasinobrunca* on account of the immoderate length of their name. Yet the French

the Goths; and after a bloody action, in which the king was slain; the remains of that warlike tribe became a useful accession to the camp of Hermanric. He then marched against the Venedi, unskilled in the use of arms, and formidable only by their numbers, which filled the wide extent of the plains of modern Poland. The victorious Goths, who were not inferior in numbers, prevailed in the contest, by the decisive advantages of exercise and discipline. After the submission of the Venedi, the conqueror advanced, without resistance, as far as the confines of the *Æstii*;* an ancient people, whose name is still preserved in the province of Esthonia. Those distant inhabitants of the Baltic coast were supported by the labours of agriculture, enriched by the trade of amber, and consecrated by the peculiar worship of the mother of the gods. But the scarcity of iron obliged the *Æstian* warriors to content themselves with wooden clubs; and the reduction of that wealthy country is ascribed to the prudence, rather than to the arms of Hermanric. His dominions, which extended from the Danube to the Baltic, included the native seats, and the recent acquisitions, of the Goths; and he reigned over the greatest part of Germany and Scythia with the authority of a conqueror, and sometimes with the cruelty of a tyrant. But he reigned over a part of the globe incapable of perpetuating and adorning the glory of its heroes. The name of Hermanric is almost buried in oblivion; his exploits are imperfectly known; and the Romans themselves appeared unconscious of the progress of an aspiring power, which threatened the liberty of the north, and the peace of the empire.†

The Goths had contracted an hereditary attachment for the imperial house of Constantine, of whose power and liberality they had received so many signal proofs. They respected the public peace: and if a hostile band sometimes presumed to pass the Roman limit, their irregular conduct was candidly ascribed to the ungovernable spirit of the barbarian youth. Their contempt for two new and obscure princes, who had been raised to the throne by a popular

envoy to Ratisbon or Dresden, must have traversed the country of the *Mediomatrici*. * The edition of Grotius (Jornandes, p. 642) exhibits the name of *Æstri*. But reason and the Ambrosian MS. have restored the *Æstii*, whose manners and situations are expressed by the pencil of Tacitus (Germania, c. 45). † Ammianus (31, 3) observes, in general terms: *Ermenrichi . . . nobilissimi regis, et, per multa*

election, inspired the Goths with bolder hopes; and, while they agitated some design of marching their confederate force under the national standard,* they were easily tempted to embrace the party of Procopius; and to foment, by their dangerous aid, the civil discord of the Romans. The public treaty might stipulate no more than ten thousand auxiliaries; but the design was so zealously adopted by the chiefs of the Visigoths, that the army which passed the Danube amounted to the number of thirty thousand men.† They marched with the proud confidence, that their invincible valour would decide the fate of the Roman empire; and the provinces of Thrace groaned under the weight of the barbarians, who displayed the insolence of masters, and the licentiousness of enemies. But the intemperance which gratified their appetites, retarded their progress; and before the Goths could receive any certain intelligence of the defeat and death of Procopius, they perceived, by the hostile state of the country, that the civil and military powers were resumed by his successful rival. A chain of posts and fortifications, skilfully disposed by Valens, or the generals of Valens, resisted their march, prevented their retreat, and intercepted their subsistence. The fierceness of the barbarians was tamed and suspended by hunger; they indignantly threw down their arms at the feet of the conqueror, who offered them food and chains: the numerous captives were distributed in all the cities of the east; and the provincials, who were soon familiarized with their savage appearance, ventured by degrees to measure their own strength with these formidable adversaries, whose name had so long been the object of their terror. The king of Seythia (and Hermanric alone could deserve so lofty a title) was grieved and exasperated by this national calamity. His ambassadors loudly complained, at the court of Valens, of the infraction of the ancient and solemn alliance, which had so long subsisted between the Romans and the Goths. They alleged, that they had fulfilled the duty of allies, by assisting the kinsman and suc-

variaque fortiter facta, vicinis gentibus formidati, &c. * Valens

. . . . docetur relationibus Ducum, gentem Gothorum, eâ tempestate intactam ideoque sævissimam, conspirantem in unum, ad pervadend. parari collimitia Thraciarum. Ammian. 26, 6. † M. de Bunt (Hist.

des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vi, p. 332) has curiously ascertained the real number of these auxiliaries. The three thousand of Ammianus, and the ten thousand of Zosimus, were only the first divisions

cessor of the emperor Julian; they required the immediate restitution of the noble captives; and they urged a very singular claim, that the Gothic generals, marching in arms, and in hostile array, were entitled to the sacred character and privileges of ambassadors. The decent, but peremptory, refusal of these extravagant demands; was signified to the barbarians by Victor, master-general of the cavalry; who expressed, with force and dignity, the just complaints of the emperor of the east.* The negotiation was interrupted; and the manly exhortations of Valentinian encouraged his timid brother to vindicate the insulted majesty of the empire.†

The splendour and magnitude of this Gothic war are celebrated by a contemporary historian;‡ but the events scarcely deserve the attention of posterity except as the preliminary steps of the approaching decline and fall of the empire. Instead of leading the nations of Germany and Scythia to the banks of the Danube, or even to the gates of Constantinople, the aged monarch of the Goths resigned to the brave Athanaric the danger and glory of a defensive war, against an enemy who wielded with a feeble hand the powers of a mighty state. A bridge of boats was established upon the Danube; the presence of Valens animated his troops; and his ignorance of the art of war was compensated by personal bravery, and a wise deference to the advice of Victor and Arintheus, his masters-general of the cavalry and infantry. The operations of the campaign were conducted by their skill and experience; but they found it impossible to drive the Visigoths from their strong posts in the mountains; and the devastation of the plains obliged the Romans themselves to repass the Danube on the approach of winter. The incessant rains, which swelled the waters of the river, pro-

of the Gothic army. * The march, and subsequent negotiation, are described in the Fragments of Eunapius. (Excerpt. Legat. p. 18, edit. Louvre.) The provincials, who afterwards became familiar with the barbarians, found that their strength was more apparent than real. They were tall of stature; but their legs were clumsy, and their shoulders were narrow.

† Valens enim, ut consulto placuerat fratri, cujus regebatur arbitrio, arma concussit in Gothos ratione justâ permotus. Ammianus (27, 4) then proceeds to describe, not the country of the Goths, but the peaceful and obedient province of Thrace, which was not affected by the war. ‡ Eunapius, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 18, 19. The Greek sophist must have considered as *one* and the same war, the whole series of Gothic history till the victories and peace of Theodosius

duced a tacit suspension of arms, and confined the emperor Valens, during the whole course of the ensuing summer, to his camp of Marcianopolis. The third year of the war was more favourable to the Romans, and more pernicious to the Goths. The interruption of trade deprived the barbarians of the objects of luxury, which they already confounded with the necessaries of life; and the desolation of a very extensive tract of country threatened them with the horrors of famine. Athanaric was provoked, or compelled, to risk a battle, which he lost in the plains; and the pursuit was rendered more bloody by the cruel precaution of the victorious generals, who had promised a large reward for the head of every Goth that was brought into the imperial camp. The submission of the barbarians appeased the resentment of Valens and his council; the emperor listened with satisfaction to the flattering and eloquent remonstrance of the senate of Constantinople, which assumed, for the first time, a share in the public deliberations; and the same generals, Victor and Arintheus, who had successfully directed the conduct of the war, were empowered to regulate the conditions of peace. The freedom of trade, which the Goths had hitherto enjoyed, was restricted to two cities on the Danube; the rashness of their leaders was severely punished by the suppression of their pensions and subsidies; and the exception, which was stipulated in favour of Athanaric alone, was more advantageous than honourable to the judge of the Visigoths. Athanaric, who, on this occasion, appears to have consulted his private interest, without expecting the orders of his sovereign, supported his own dignity, and that of his tribe, in the personal interview which was proposed by the ministers of Valens. He persisted in his declaration, that it was impossible for him, without incurring the guilt of perjury, ever to set his foot on the territory of the empire; and it is more than probable, that his regard for the sanctity of an oath was confirmed by the recent and fatal examples of Roman treachery. The Danube, which separated the dominions of the two independent nations, was chosen for the scene of the conference. The emperor of the east, and the judge of the Visigoths, accompanied by an equal number of armed followers, advanced in their respective barges to the middle of the stream. After the ratification of the treaty, and the delivery of hostages, Valens returned in triumph to

Constantinople; and the Goths remained in a state of tranquillity about six years; till they were violently impelled against the Roman empire, by an innumerable host of Scythians, who appeared to issue from the frozen regions of the north.*

The emperor of the west, who had resigned to his brother the command of the Lower Danube, reserved for his immediate care the defence of the Rhætian and Illyrian provinces, which spread so many hundred miles along the greatest of the European rivers. The active policy of Valentinian was continually employed in adding new fortifications to the security of the frontier: but the abuse of this policy provoked the just resentment of the barbarians. The Quadi complained, that the ground for an intended fortress had been marked out on their territories; and their complaints were urged with so much reason and moderation, that Equitius, master-general of Illyricum, consented to suspend the prosecution of the work, till he should be more clearly informed of the will of his sovereign. This fair occasion of injuring a rival, and of advancing the fortune of his son, was eagerly embraced by the inhuman Maximin, the prefect, or rather tyrant, of Gaul. The passions of Valentinian were impatient of control; and he credulously listened to the assurances of his favourite, that if the government of Valeria, and the direction of the work, were intrusted to the zeal of his son Marcellinus, the emperor should no longer be importuned with the audacious remonstrances of the barbarians. The subjects of Rome, and the natives of Germany, were insulted by the arrogance of a young and worthless minister, who considered his rapid elevation as a proof and reward of his superior merit. He affected, however, to receive the modest application of Gabinus, king of the Quadi, with some attention and regard: but this artful civility concealed a dark and bloody design, and the credulous prince was persuaded to accept the pressing invitation of Marcellinus. I am at a loss how to vary the narra-

* The Gothic war is described by Ammianus, (27, 5.) Zosimus, (l. 4, p. 211—214) and Themistius (Orat. 10, p. 129—141). The orator Themistius was sent from the senate of Constantinople to congratulate the victorious emperor; and his servile eloquence compares Valens on the Danube, to Achilles in the Scamander. Jornandes forgets a war peculiar to the Visi-Goths, and injurious to the Gothic name. (Mascon's Hist. of the Germans, 7, 2.)

tive of similar crimes; or how to relate, that in the course of the same year, but in remote parts of the empire, the inhospitable table of two imperial generals was stained with the royal blood of two guests and allies, inhumanly murdered by their order, and in their presence. The fate of Gabinus, and of Para, was the same; but the cruel death of their sovereign was resented in a very different manner by the servile temper of the Armenians, and the free and daring spirit of the Germans. The Quadi were much declined from that formidable power which, in the time of Marcus Antoninus, had spread terror to the gates of Rome. But they still possessed arms and courage; their courage was animated by despair, and they obtained the usual reinforcement of the cavalry of the Sarmatian allies. So improvident was the assassin Marcellinus, that he chose the moment when the bravest veterans had been drawn away to suppress the revolt of Firmus; and the whole province was exposed, with a very feeble defence, to the rage of the exasperated barbarians. They invaded Pannonia in the season of harvest; unmercifully destroyed every object of plunder which they could not easily transport; and either disregarded, or demolished, the empty fortifications. The princess Constantia, the daughter of the emperor Constantius, and the grand-daughter of the great Constantine, very narrowly escaped. That royal maid, who had innocently supported the revolt of Procopius, was now the destined wife of the heir of the western empire. She traversed the peaceful province with a splendid and unarmed train. Her person was saved from danger, and the republic from disgrace, by the active zeal of Messala, governor of the province. As soon as he was informed that the village, where she stopped only to dine, was almost encompassed by the barbarians, he hastily placed her in his own chariot, and drove full speed till he reached the gates of Sirmium, which were at the distance of six-and-twenty miles. Even Sirmium might not have been secure, if the Quadi and Sarmatians had diligently advanced during the general consternation of the magistrates and people. Their delay, allowed Probus, the prætorian prefect, sufficient time to recover his own spirits, and to revive the courage of the citizens. He skillfully directed their strenuous efforts to repair and strengthen the decayed fortifications, and pro-

cured the seasonable and effectual assistance of a company of archers, to protect the capital of the Illyrian provinces. Disappointed in their attempts against the walls of Sirmium, the indignant barbarians turned their arms against the master-general of the frontier, to whom they unjustly attributed the murder of their king. Equitius could bring into the field no more than two legions; but they contained the veteran strength of the Mœsian and Pannonian bands. The obstinacy with which they disputed the vain honours of rank and precedence was the cause of their destruction; and while they acted with separate forces and divided councils, they were surprised and slaughtered by the active vigour of the Sarmatian horse. The success of this invasion provoked the emulation of the bordering tribes; and the province of Mœsia would infallibly have been lost, if young Theodosius, the duke, or military commander of the frontier, had not signalized, in the defeat of the public enemy, an intrepid genius worthy of his illustrious father, and of his future greatness.*

The mind of Valentinian, who then resided at Treves, was deeply affected by the calamities of Illyricum; but the lateness of the season suspended the execution of his designs till the ensuing spring. He marched in person, with a considerable part of the forces of Gaul, from the banks of the Moselle: and to the suppliant ambassadors of the Sarmatians, who met him on the way, he returned a doubtful answer—that as soon as he reached the scene of action he should examine and pronounce. When he arrived at Sirmium, he gave audience to the deputies of the Illyrian provinces, who loudly congratulated their own felicity under the auspicious government of Probus, his prætorian prefect.† Valentinian, who was flattered by these

* Ammianus (29, 6,) and Zosimus (l. 4, p. 219—220,) carefully mark the origin and progress of the Quadic and Sarmatian war.

† Ammianus (30, 5), who acknowledges the merit, has censured, with becoming asperity, the oppressive administration of Petronius Probus. When Jerome translated, and continued, the Chronicle of Eusebius, (A.D. 380, see Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xii, p. 53. 626,) he expressed the truth, or at least the public opinion of his country, in the following words:—"Probus P. P. Illyrici iniquissimis tributorum exactionibus, ante provincias quas regebat, quam a Barbaris vastarentur, erasit." (*Chron. edit. Scaliger*, p. 187. *Animadversa* p. 259.) The saint afterwards formed an intimate and tender friendship with

demonstrations of their loyalty and gratitude, imprudently asked the deputy of Epirus, a Cynic philosopher of intrepid sincerity,* whether he was freely sent by the wishes of the province? "With tears and groans am I sent (replied Iphicles) by a reluctant people." The emperor paused; but the impunity of his ministers established the pernicious maxim, that they might oppress his subjects without injuring his service. A strict inquiry into their conduct would have relieved the public discontent. The severe condemnation of the murder of Gabinius was the only measure which could restore the confidence of the Germans, and vindicate the honour of the Roman name. But the haughty monarch was incapable of the magnanimity which dares to acknowledge a fault. He forgot the provocation, remembered only the injury, and advanced into the country of the Quadi with an insatiate thirst of blood and revenge. The extreme devastation, and promiscuous massacre of a savage war, were justified, in the eyes of the emperor, and perhaps in those of the world, by the cruel equity of retaliation:† and such was the discipline of the Romans and the consternation of the enemy, that Valentinian repassed the Danube without the loss of a single man. As he had resolved to complete the destruction of the Quadi by a second campaign, he fixed his winter-quarters at Bregctio, on the Danube, near the Hungarian city of Presburg. While the operations of war were suspended by the severity of the weather, the Quadi made an humble attempt to deprecate the wrath of their conqueror; and, at the earnest persuasion of Equitius, their ambassadors were introduced into the imperial council. They approached the throne with bended bodies and dejected countenances; and, without daring to complain of the murder of their king, they affirmed, with solemn oaths, that the late invasion was the crime of some irregular robbers, which the public council of the nation condemned and abhorred. The

the widow of Probus; and the name of Count Equitius, with less propriety, but without much injustice, has been substituted in the text.

* Julian (Orat. 6, p. 198,) represents his friend Iphicles as a man of virtue and merit, who had made himself ridiculous and unhappy, by adopting the extravagant dress and manners of the Cynics.

† Ammian. 30, 5. Jerome, who exaggerates the misfortune of Valentinian, refuses him even this last consolation of revenge. *Genitali vastato solo, et nullam patriam derelinquens* (tom. i, p. 26).

answer of the emperor left them but little to hope from his clemency or compassion. He reviled, in the most intemperate language, their baseness, their ingratitude, their insolence. His eyes, his voice, his colour, his gestures, expressed the violence of his ungoverned fury; and while his whole frame was agitated with convulsive passion, a large blood-vessel suddenly burst in his body; and Valentinian fell speechless into the arms of his attendants. Their pious care immediately concealed his situation from the crowd; but, in a few minutes, the emperor of the west expired in an agony of pain, retaining his senses till the last; and struggling, without success, to declare his intentions to the generals and ministers who surrounded the royal couch. Valentinian was about fifty-four years of age; and he wanted only one hundred days to accomplish the twelve years of his reign.*

The polygamy of Valentinian is seriously attested by an ecclesiastical historian.† “The empress Severa,” I relate the fable, “admitted into her familiar society the lovely Justina, the daughter of an Italian governor; her admiration of those naked charms which she had often seen in the bath, was expressed with such lavish and imprudent praise, that the emperor was tempted to introduce a second wife into his bed; and his public edict extended to all the subjects of the empire, the same domestic privilege which he had assumed for himself.” But we may be assured, from the evidence of reason, as well as history, that the two marriages of Valentinian, with Severa and with Justina, were *successively* contracted; and that he used the ancient permission of divorce, which was still allowed by the laws, though it was condemned by the church. Severa was the mother of Gratian, who seemed to unite every claim which could entitle him to the undoubted succession of the western

* See, on the death of Valentinian, Ammianus (30, 6), Zosimus, (l. 4, p. 221), Victor (in Epitom.), Socrates, (l. 4, c. 31,) and Jerome (in Chron. p. 187, and tom. i, p. 26. ad Heliodor). There is much variety of circumstances among them; and Ammianus is so eloquent, that he writes nonsense. † Socrates (l. 4, c. 31,) is the only original witness of this foolish story, so repugnant to the laws and manners of the Romans, that it scarcely deserves the formal and elaborate dissertation of M. Bonamy (Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xxx, p. 394—405.) Yet I would preserve the natural circumstances of the bath; instead of following Zosimus, who represents Justina as an old woman, the

empire. He was the eldest son of a monarch, whose glorious reign had confirmed the free and honourable choice of his fellow-soldiers. Before he had attained the ninth year of his age, the royal youth received from the hands of his indulgent father the purple robe and diadem, with the title of Augustus: the election was solemnly ratified by the consent and applause of the armies of Gaul;* and the name of Gratian was added to the names of Valentinian and Valens, in all the legal transactions of the Roman government. By his marriage with the grand-daughter of Constantine, the son of Valentinian acquired all the hereditary rights of the Flavian family; which, in a series of three imperial generations, were sanctified by time, religion, and the reverence of the people. At the death of his father, the royal youth was in the seventeenth year of his age; and his virtues already justified the favourable opinion of the army and people. But Gratian resided, without apprehension, in the palace of Treves; whilst, at the distance of many hundred miles, Valentinian suddenly expired in the camp of Bregetio. The passions, which had been so long suppressed by the presence of a master, immediately revived in the imperial council; and the ambitious design of reigning in the name of an infant, was artfully executed by Mellobaudes and Equitius, who commanded the detachment of the Illyrian and Italian bands. They contrived the most honourable pretences to remove the popular leaders, and the troops of Gaul, who might have asserted the claims of the lawful successor: they suggested the necessity of extinguishing the hopes of foreign and domestic enemies, by a bold and decisive measure. The empress Justina, who had been left in a palace about one hundred miles from Bregetio, was respectfully invited to appear in the camp with the son of the deceased emperor. On the sixth day after the death of Valentinian, the infant prince of the same name, who was only four years old, was shewn, in the arms of his mother, to the legions; and solemnly invested, by military acclamation, with the titles and ensigns of supreme power. The impending dangers of a civil war were seasonably prevented by the wise and moderate conduct of the

widow of Magnentius. [The polygamy and edict of Valentinian are treated as fables, even by Baronius. According to Eckhel (*Num. Vet.* p. 149), Severa was "*repudiata vel mortua*," before the second marriage—ED.]

* Ammianus (27. 6.) describes the form of

emperor Gratian. He cheerfully accepted the choice of the army; declared, that he should always consider the son of Justina as a brother, not as a rival; and advised the empress, with her son Valentinian, to fix their residence at Milan, in the fair and peaceful province of Italy; while he assumed the more arduous command of the countries beyond the Alps. Gratian dissembled his resentment till he could safely punish, or disgrace, the authors of the conspiracy; and though he uniformly behaved with tenderness and regard to his infant colleague, he gradually confounded, in the administration of the western empire, the office of a guardian with the authority of a sovereign. The government of the Roman world was exercised in the united names of Valens and his two nephews; but the feeble emperor of the east, who succeeded to the rank of his elder brother, never obtained any weight or influence in the councils of the west.*

CHAPTER XXVI.—MANNERS OF THE PASTORAL NATIONS.—PROGRESS OF THE HUNS, FROM CHINA TO EUROPE.—FLIGHT OF THE GOTHs.—THEY PASS THE DANUBE.—GOTHIC WAR.—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF VALENS.—GRATIAN INVESTS THEODOSIUS WITH THE EASTERN EMPIRE.—HIS CHARACTER AND SUCCESS.—PEACE AND SETTLEMENT OF THE GOTHs.

IN the second year of the reign of Valentinian and Valens, on the morning of the twenty-first day of July, the greatest part of the Roman world was shaken by a violent and destructive earthquake. The impression was communicated to the waters; the shores of the Mediterranean were left dry, by the sudden retreat of the sea; great quantities of fish were caught with the hand; large vessels were stranded on the mud, and a curious spectator† amused his eye, or rather his fancy, by contemplating the various appearance of valleys and mountains, which had never, since

this military election, and *august* investiture. Valentinian does not appear to have consulted, or even informed, the senate of Rome.

* Ammianus, 30, 10. Zosimus, lib. 4, p. 222, 223. Tillemont has proved (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v, p. 707—709) that Gratian reigned in Italy, Africa, and Illyricum. I have endeavoured to express his authority over his brother's dominions, as he used it, in an ambiguous style. † Such is the bad taste of Ammianus (26, 10) that it is not easy to distinguish his facts from his metaphors. Yet he positively affirms, that he saw the rotten carcase of a ship, *ad secundum lapidem*,

the formation of the globe, been exposed to the sun. But the tide soon returned, with the weight of an immense and irresistible deluge, which was severely felt on the coasts of Sicily, of Dalmatia, of Greece, and of Egypt; large boats were transported, and lodged on the roofs of houses, or at the distance of two miles from the shore; the people, with their habitations, were swept away by the waters; and the city of Alexandria annually commemorated the fatal day, on which fifty thousand persons had lost their lives in the inundation. This calamity, the report of which was magnified from one province to another, astonished and terrified the subjects of Rome; and their affrighted imagination enlarged the real extent of a momentary evil. They recollected the preceding earthquakes, which had subverted the cities of Palestine and Bithynia; they considered these alarming strokes as the prelude only of still more dreadful calamities, and their fearful vanity was disposed to confound the symptoms of a declining empire and a sinking world.* It was the fashion of the times to attribute every remarkable event to the particular will of the Deity; the alterations of nature were connected, by an invisible chain, with the moral and metaphysical opinions of the human mind; and the most sagacious divines could distinguish, according to the colour of their respective prejudices, that the establishment of heresy tended to produce an earthquake; or that a deluge was the inevitable consequence of the progress of sin and error. Without presuming to discuss the truth or propriety of these lofty speculations, the historian may content himself with an observation, which seems to be justified by experience, that man has much more to fear from the passions of his fellow-creatures, than from the convulsions of the elements.† The mischievous effects of an

at Methone, or Modon, in Peloponnesus.

* The earthquakes and inundations are variously described by Libanius (*Orat. de ulciscendâ Juliani nece*, c. 10, in Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc.* tom. vii, p. 158, with a learned note of Olearius), Zosimus (*lib. 4*, p. 221), Sozomen (*lib. 6*, c. 2), Cedrenus (p. 310, 314), and Jerome (in *Chron.* p. 186, and tom. i, p. 259, in *Vit. Hilarion*). Epidaurus must have been overwhelmed, had not the prudent citizens placed St. Hilarion, an Egyptian monk, on the beach. He made the sign of the cross; the mountain wave stopped, bowed, and returned. † Dicaarchus, the peripatetic, composed a formal treatise, to prove this obvious truth; which is not the most honourable to the human species (*Cicero de Officiis*, 2, 5.) [To impress it on the understanding, blend it with character, and so reform action, is the province and duty of religion. But this influence has,

earthquake or deluge, a hurricane or the irruption of a volcano, bear a very inconsiderable proportion to the ordinary calamities of war, as they are now moderated by the prudence or humanity of the princes of Europe, who amuse their own leisure, and exercise the courage of their subjects, in the practice of the military art. But the laws and manners of modern nations protect the safety and freedom of the vanquished soldier; and the peaceful citizen has seldom reason to complain, that his life, or even his fortune, is exposed to the rage of war. In the disastrous period of the fall of the Roman empire, which may justly be dated from the reign of Valens, the happiness and security of each individual were personally attacked; and the arts and labours of ages were rudely defaced by the barbarians of Scythia and Germany. The invasion of the Huns precipitated on the provinces of the west the Gothic nation, which advanced, in less than forty years, from the Danube to the Atlantic, and opened a way, by the success of their arms, to the inroads of so many hostile tribes, more savage than themselves. The original principle of motion was concealed in the remote countries of the north; and the curious observation of the pastoral life of the Scythians* or

unfortunately, been so mixed up with worldly interests and ambitions, that hitherto, through such corruptions, it has served rather to aggravate than repress the evil.—Ed.] * The original Scythians of Herodotus (lib. 4, c. 47—57, 99—101) were confined by the Danube and the Palus Mæotis, within a square of four thousand stadia (four hundred miles). See D'Anville, *Mém. de l'Académie*, tom. xxxv, p. 573—591. Diodorus Siculus (tom. i, lib. 2, p. 155, edit. Wesseling) has marked the gradual progress of the name and nation. [When the early Greeks became acquainted with their barbarian northern neighbours, they found there a people who called themselves *Guten* or *Gooten*. We are interested in the name, and in tracing its origin. In the slow development of human speech, one race breathed forth its sense of activity and power, in terms which we have shaped into *go* and *good* and *God*. Some etymologists, who deny the affinity of these terms, have yet to learn, that the primeval inflections of voice were not so nicely varied, that later diffuence may be held to disprove original congruity. Of these terms, our ancestors employed the second, in their form of *Guten*, to denote themselves, only meaning thereby to convey to others their own consciousness of individual prowess and collective strength. This self-bestowed appellation, not understood by the Greeks, who heard it, and having no written symbol, was corrupted into *Kuten* and *Skuthai*, and thence the lands where these people were discovered, were denominated *Skuthia*. The name spread widely, as knowledge became more extensive. It attached permanently to that tract of country; and whatever wandering races might in succession be its temporary tenants,

Tartars,* will illustrate the latent cause of these destructive emigrations.

were all indiscriminately called, as we now use the word, Scythians. The *Guten*, as they multiplied and strayed towards the west, divided, as we have seen, into various tribes. Many retained their common designation, and carried it in opposite directions throughout Europe. Others distinguished themselves by epithets, descriptive of personal features, or social habits, or local peculiarities. Emerged from their ancient nursery, they appeared on the theatre of historic action, under these several denominations, sometimes warring with each other, sometimes with their Celtic forerunners and Slavonian pursuers, and at last formidably contending with the power of Rome. One of the most eminent among these was the Suevi, whose name, radically connected with the German *Schweben* and *Schweifen*, denoted the *Swift*. But the greater part of these early distinctions were merged in the designations which confederated tribes assumed, such as the *Allmannen*, the *Garmannen*, the *Deuten* or *Teutons*, and the *Franken*. From the two first of these are formed the terms by which the inhabitants of Germany are at this day known to us and to the French; and from the third that of *Deutschen*, by which they are known to themselves. Adelung, in his *Wörterbuech* (vol. iii, p. 1335) derives this from *Deut*, which signified of old, a near relation or friend, "*einen nahen Verwandten oder Freund*," and was used by the Goths as *thiod*, and by the Anglo-Saxons as *thod*, to denote, first a fraternity, and then a people. Hence the *Deuten*, whom the Romans called *Teutones*, meant "*die alliirten*," the allied or leagued, and a confederation of before separate tribes might for a time appropriate the name to themselves, to be relinquished when their union ceased. How the necessity for co-operation maintained it at last among themselves, though only occasionally mentioned by the Latin writers, is evident in the perpetuity which it has secured. It is remarkable, that the multitudinous host, by which Rome was threatened (A.U.C. 640), was made up of two such combinations. In a former note it has been shown, that the Cimbri were such a league of Celtic tribes; and now we see that the *Teutones*, who joined them, were a similar Gothic gathering. This accords with Plutarch, who (tom. i, p. 411) represents them as a *mixture of races*, and with Eutropius, who (lib. 5) calls them a *conspiracy* to extinguish the Roman power. Ancient writers, regarding the Goths, wherever found, as one and the same separate nation, and not as different sections of one great race, imagined for them a strange course of wandering, and devised a conjectural system of ethnics, by which they bewildered themselves and have misled others. We can only make our way through their contradictions and confusions, by the light of modern languages; and it was not until after Gibbon's time, that the Gothic ray of this light began to shine. He would not otherwise have so erred, as to use, as he says in his next note, "indifferently the appellations of *Scythians* or *Tartars*." It is not because at distant periods they are met with in the same regions, in the same stage of progress, and with the same habits, that two races so perfectly distinct from each other, may be so confounded.—Ed.]

* The *Tatars*, or *Tartars*, were a primitive tribe, the rivals, and

The different characters that mark the civilized nations of the globe, may be ascribed to the use, and the abuse, of reason; which so variously shapes, and so artificially composes, the manners and opinions of a European, or a Chinese. But the operation of instinct is more sure and simple than that of reason: it is much easier to ascertain the appetites of a quadruped than the speculations of a philosopher; and the savage tribes of mankind, as they approach nearer to the condition of animals, preserve a stronger resemblance to themselves and to each other. The uniform stability of their manners is the natural consequence of the imperfection of their faculties. Reduced to a similar situation, their wants, their desires, their enjoyments, still continue the same; and the influence of food or climate, which, in a more improved state of society, is suspended, or subdued, by so many moral causes, most powerfully contributes to form, and to maintain, the national character of barbarians. In every age, the immense plains of Scythia or Tartary have been inhabited by vagrant tribes of hunters and shepherds, whose indolence refuses to cultivate the earth, and whose restless spirit disdains the confinement of a sedentary life. In every age, the Scythians and Tartars have been renowned for their invincible courage and rapid conquests. The thrones of Asia have been repeatedly overturned by the shepherds of the north; and their arms have spread terror and devastation over the most fertile and warlike countries of Europe.* On this occasion, as well as on many others, the sober historian is forcibly awakened from a pleasing vision; and is compelled, with some reluctance, to confess, that the pastoral manners, which have been adorned with the fairest attributes of peace and innocence, are much

at length the subjects, of the Moguls. In the victorious armies of Zinghis Khan and his successors, the Tartars formed the vanguard; and the name, which first reached the ears of foreigners, was applied to the whole nation. (Freret, in the *Hist. de l'Académie*, tom. xviii, p. 60.) In speaking of all, or any, of the northern shepherds of Europe or Asia, I indifferently use the appellations of *Scythians*, or *Tartars*.

* *Imperium Asiæ ter quæsivere; ipsi perpetuo ab alieno imperio, aut invicti, aut intacti mansere.* Since the time of Justin (2, 2) they have multiplied this account. Voltaire, in a few words (tom. x, c. 64. *Hist. Générale*, c. 156) has abridged the Tartar conquests:

Oft o'er the trembling nations from afar,
Has Scythia breathed the living cloud of war.

better adapted to the fierce and cruel habits of a military life. To illustrate this observation, I shall now proceed to consider a nation of shepherds and of warriors, in the three important articles of, I. Their diet; II. Their habitations; and, III. Their exercises. The narratives of antiquity are justified by the experience of modern times;* and the banks of the Borysthenes, of the Volga, or of the Selinga, will indifferently present the same uniform spectacle of similar and native manners.†

I. The corn, or even the rice, which constitutes the ordinary and wholesome food of a civilized people, can be obtained only by the patient toil of the husbandman. Some of the happy savages who dwell between the tropics are plentifully nourished by the liberality of nature; but in the climates of the north, a nation of shepherds is reduced to their flocks and herds. The skilful practitioners of the medical art will determine (if they are able to determine) how far the temper of the human mind may be affected by the use of animal or of vegetable food; and whether the common association of carnivorous and cruel, deserves to be considered in any other light than that of an innocent, perhaps a salutary, prejudice of humanity.‡ Yet if it be true, that the sentiment of compassion is imperceptibly weakened by the sight and practice of domestic cruelty, we may observe that the horrid objects which are disguised by the arts of European refine-

* The fourth book of Herodotus affords a curious, though imperfect, portrait of the Scythians. Among the moderns, who describe the uniform scene, the Khan of Khowaresm, Abulghazi Bahadur, expresses his native feelings; and his Genealogical History of the *Tatars* has been copiously illustrated by the French and English editors. Carplia, Ascelin, and Rubruquis (in the *Hist. des Voyages*, tom. vii) represent the Moguls of the fourteenth century. To these guides I have added Gerbillon, and the other Jesuits (*Description de la Chine*, par Du Halde, tom. iv), who accurately surveyed the Chinese Tartary; and that honest and intelligent traveller, Bell of Antermomy (two volumes in 4to., Glasgow, 1763).

† The Uzbecks are the most altered from their primitive manners; 1. by the profession of the Mahometan religion; and 2. by the possession of the cities and harvests of the great Bucharia. ‡ Il est certain que les grands mangeurs de viande sont en général cruels et féroces plus que les autres hommes. Cette observation est de tous lieux, et de tous les tems: la barbarie Angloise est connue, &c. (Emile de Rousseau, tom. i, p. 274.) Whatever we may think of the general observation, we shall not easily allow the truth of his example. The goodnatured complaints of Plutarch, and the pathetic lamentations of Ovid, seduce our reason, by exciting our sensibility.

ment, are exhibited in their naked and most disgusting simplicity, in the tent of a Tartarian shepherd. The ox, or the sheep, are slaughtered by the same hand from which they were accustomed to receive their daily food; and the bleeding limbs are served, with very little preparation, on the table of their unfeeling murderer. In the military profession, and especially in the conduct of a numerous army, the exclusive use of animal food appears to be productive of the most solid advantages. Corn is a bulky and perishable commodity: and the large magazines, which are indispensably necessary for the subsistence of our troops, must be slowly transported by the labour of men or horses. But the flocks and herds which accompany the march of the Tartars, afford a sure and increasing supply of flesh and milk: in the far greater part of the uncultivated waste, the vegetation of the grass is quick and luxuriant; and there are few places so extremely barren, that the hardy cattle of the north cannot find some tolerable pasture. The supply is multiplied and prolonged, by the undistinguishing appetite, and patient abstinence, of the Tartars. They indifferently feed on the flesh of those animals that have been killed for the table, or have died of disease. Horse-flesh, which in every age and country has been proscribed by the civilized nations of Europe and Asia, they devour with peculiar greediness; and this singular taste facilitates the success of their military operations. The active cavalry of Scythia is always followed, in their most distant and rapid incursions, by an adequate number of spare horses, which may be occasionally used, either to redouble the speed, or to satisfy the hunger, of the barbarians. Many are the resources of courage and poverty. When the forage round a camp of Tartars is almost consumed, they slaughter the greatest part of their cattle, and preserve their flesh, either smoked or dried in the sun. On the sudden emergency of a hasty march, they provide themselves with a sufficient quantity of little balls of cheese, or rather of hard curd, which they occasionally dissolve in water; and this unsubstantial diet will support, for many days, the life, and even the spirits, of the patient warrior. But this extraordinary abstinence, which the Stoic would approve, and the hermit might envy, is commonly succeeded by the most voracious indulgence of appetite. The wines of a happier climate are

the most grateful present, or the most valuable commodity, that can be offered to the Tartars; and the only example of their industry seems to consist in the art of extracting from mare's milk a fermented liquor, which possesses a very strong power of intoxication. Like the animals of prey, the savages, both of the old and new world, experience the alternate vicissitudes of famine and plenty; and their stomach is inured to sustain, without much inconvenience, the opposite extremes of hunger and of intemperance.

II. In the ages of rustic and martial simplicity, a people of soldiers and husbandmen are dispersed over the face of an extensive and cultivated country; and some time must elapse before the warlike youth of Greece or Italy could be assembled under the same standard, either to defend their own confines, or to invade the territories of the adjacent tribes. The progress of manufactures and commerce insensibly collects a large multitude within the walls of a city; but these citizens are no longer soldiers; and the arts which adorn and improve the state of civil society, corrupt the habits of the military life. The pastoral manners of the Scythians seem to unite the different advantages of simplicity and refinement. The individuals of the same tribe are constantly assembled, but they are assembled in a camp; and the native spirit of these dauntless shepherds is animated by mutual support and emulation. The houses of the Tartars are no more than small tents, of an oval form, which afford a cold and dirty habitation for the promiscuous youth of both sexes. The palaces of the rich consist of wooden huts, of such a size that they may be conveniently fixed on large wagons, and drawn by a team perhaps of twenty or thirty oxen. The flocks and herds, after grazing all day in the adjacent pastures, retire, on the approach of night, within the protection of the camp. The necessity of preventing the most mischievous confusion, in such a perpetual concourse of men and animals, must gradually introduce, in the distribution, the order, and the guard, of the encampment, the rudiments of the military art. As soon as the forage of a certain district is consumed, the tribe, or rather army, of shepherds, makes a regular march to some fresh pastures; and thus acquires in the ordinary occupations of the pastoral life, the practical knowledge of one of the most important and difficult operations

of war. The choice of stations is regulated by the difference of the seasons: in the summer, the Tartars advance towards the north, and pitch their tents on the banks of a river, or, at least, in the neighbourhood of a running stream. But in the winter they return to the south, and shelter their camp behind some convenient eminence, against the winds which are chilled in their passage over the bleak and icy regions of Siberia. These manners are admirably adapted to diffuse, among the wandering tribes, the spirit of emigration and conquest. The connection between the people and their territory is of so frail a texture, that it may be broken by the slightest accident. The camp, and not the soil, is the native country of the genuine Tartar. Within the precincts of that camp, his family, his companions, his property, are always included; and in the most distant marches he is still surrounded by the objects which are dear, or valuable, or familiar, in his eyes. The thirst of rapine, the fear or the resentment of injury, the impatience of servitude, have, in every age, been sufficient causes to urge the tribes of Scythia boldly to advance into some unknown countries, where they might hope to find a more plentiful subsistence, or a less formidable enemy. The revolutions of the north have frequently determined the fate of the south; and in the conflict of hostile nations, the victor and the vanquished have alternately drove, and been driven, from the confines of China to those of Germany.* These great emigrations, which have been sometimes executed with almost incredible diligence, were rendered more easy by the peculiar nature of the climate. It is well known that the cold of Tartary is much, more severe than in the midst of the temperate zone might reasonably be expected: this uncommon rigour is attributed to the height of the plains, which rise, especially towards the east, more than half a mile above the level of the sea; and to the quantity of saltpetre, with which the soil is deeply impregnated.† In the winter season, the

* These Tartar emigrations have been discovered by M. de Guignes (*Histoire des Huns*, tom. i, 2), a skilful and laborious interpreter of the Chinese language; who has thus laid open new and important scenes in the history of mankind.

† A plain in the Chinese Tartary, only eighty leagues from the great wall, was found by the missionaries to be three thousand geometrical paces above the level of the sea. Montesquieu, who has used, and abused, the relations of

broad and rapid rivers, that discharge their waters into the Euxine, the Caspian, or the Icy Sea, are strongly frozen; the fields are covered with a bed of snow; and the fugitive or victorious tribes may securely traverse, with their families, their wagons, and their cattle, the smooth and hard surface of an immense plain.

III. The pastoral life, compared with the labours of agriculture and manufactures, is undoubtedly a life of idleness; and as the most honourable shepherds of the Tartar race devolve on their captives the domestic management of the cattle, their own leisure is seldom disturbed by any servile and assiduous cares. But this leisure, instead of being devoted to the soft enjoyments of love and harmony, is usefully spent in the violent and sanguinary exercise of the chase. The plains of Tartary are filled with a strong and serviceable breed of horses, which are easily trained for the purposes of war and hunting: The Scythians of every age have been celebrated as bold and skilful riders: and constant practice had seated them so firmly on horseback, that they were supposed by strangers to perform the ordinary duties of civil life, to eat, to drink, and even to sleep, without dismounting from their steeds. They excel in the dexterous management of the lance: the long Tartar bow is drawn with a nervous arm, and the weighty arrow is directed to its object with unerring aim, and irresistible force. These arrows are often pointed against the harmless animals of the desert, which increase and multiply in the absence of their most formidable enemy, the hare, the goat, the roebuck, the fallow-deer, the stag, the elk, and the antelope. The vigour and patience both of the men and horses are continually exercised by the fatigues of the chase; and the plentiful supply of game contributes to the subsistence, and even luxury, of a Tartar camp. But the exploits of the hunters of Scythia are not confined to the destruction of timid or innoxious beasts; they boldly encounter the angry wild-boar when he turns against his pursuers, excite the sluggish courage of the bear, and provoke the fury of the tiger, as he slumbers in the thicket. Where there is danger, there may be glory: and the mode

travellers, deduces the revolutions of Asia from this important circumstance, that heat and cold, weakness and strength, touch each other without any temperate zone. (*Esprit des Loix*, lib. 17, c. 3.)

of hunting which opens the fairest field to the exertions of valour, may justly be considered as the image and as the school of war. The general hunting-matches, the pride and delight of the Tartar princes, compose an instructive exercise for their numerous cavalry. A circle is drawn, of many miles in circumference, to encompass the game of an extensive district, and the troops that form the circle regularly advance towards a common centre; where the captive animals, surrounded on every side, are abandoned to the darts of the hunters. In this march, which frequently continues many days, the cavalry are obliged to climb the hills, to swim the rivers, and to wind through the valleys, without interrupting the prescribed order of their gradual progress. They acquire the habit of directing their eye and their steps to a remote object; of preserving their intervals; of suspending or accelerating their pace, according to the motions of the troops on their right and left; and of watching and repeating the signals of their leaders. Their leaders study, in this practical school, the most important lesson of the military art; the prompt and accurate judgment of ground, of distance, and of time. To employ against a human enemy the same patience and valour, the same skill and discipline, is the only alteration which is required in real war; and the amusements of the chase serve as a prelude to the conquest of an empire.*

The political society of the ancient Germans has the appearance of a voluntary alliance of independent warriors. The tribes of Scythia, distinguished by the modern appellation of *Hordes*, assume the form of a numerous and increasing family; which, in the course of successive generations, has been propagated from the same original stock. The meanest and most ignorant of the Tartars preserve, with conscious pride, the inestimable treasure of their genealogy; and whatever distinctions of rank may have been introduced by the unequal distribution of pastoral wealth, they mutually respect themselves, and each other, as the descendants

* Petit de la Croix (*Vie de Gengiscan*, l. 3, c. 7,) represents the full glory and extent of the Mogul chase. The Jesuits, Gerbillon and Verbiest, followed the emperor Kamhi when he hunted in Tartary. (Du Halde, *Déscription de la Chine*, tom. iv, p. 81. 290, &c. folio edit.) His grandson, Kienlong, who unites the Tartar discipline with the laws and learning of China, describes (*Eloge de Moukden*, p. 273—

of the first founder of the tribe. The custom, which still prevails, of adopting the bravest and most faithful of the captives, may countenance the very probable suspicion, that this extensive consanguinity is, in a great measure, legal and fictitious. But the useful prejudice, which has obtained the sanction of time and opinion, produces the effects of truth; the haughty barbarians yield a cheerful and voluntary obedience to the head of their blood; and their chief, or *mursa*, as the representative of their great father, exercises the authority of a judge in peace, and of a leader in war. In the original state of the pastoral world, each of the *mursas* (if we may continue to use a modern appellation) acted as the independent chief of a large and separate family; and the limits of their peculiar territories were gradually fixed by superior force, or mutual consent. But the constant operation of various and permanent causes contributed to unite the vagrant hordes into national communities, under the command of a supreme head. The weak were desirous of support, and the strong were ambitious of dominion; the power which is the result of union oppressed and collected the divided forces of the adjacent tribes; and, as the vanquished were freely admitted to share the advantages of victory, the most valiant chiefs hastened to range themselves and their followers under the formidable standard of a confederate nation. The most successful of the Tartar princes assumed the military command, to which he was entitled by the superiority either of merit or of power. He was raised to the throne by the acclamations of his equals; and the title of *Khan* expresses, in the language of the north of Asia, the full extent of the regal dignity. The right of hereditary succession was long confined to the blood of the founder of the monarchy; and at this moment all the khans who reign from Crimea to the wall of China, are the lineal descendants of the renowned Zingis.* But, as it is the indispensable duty of a Tartar sovereign to lead his warlike subjects into the field, the

285), as a poet, the pleasures which he had often enjoyed as a sportsman.

* See the second volume of the *Genealogical History* of the Tartars, and the list of the khans, at the end of the life of Gengis or Zingis. Under the reign of Timur, or Tamerlane, one of his subjects, a descendant of Zingis still bore the regal appellation of Khan; and the conqueror of Asia contented himself with the title of *emir*, or sultan. Abulghazi, part 5, c. 4. D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque*,

claims of an infant are often disregarded; and some royal kinsman, distinguished by his age and valour, is intrusted with the sword and sceptre of his predecessor. Two distinct and regular taxes are levied on the tribes, to support the dignity of their national monarch, and of their peculiar chief; and each of those contributions amounts to the tithe both of their property and of their spoil. A Tartar sovereign enjoys the tenth part of the wealth of his people; and as his own domestic riches of flocks and herds increase in a much larger proportion, he is able plentifully to maintain the rustic splendour of his court, to reward the most deserving or the most favoured of his followers, and to obtain, from the gentle influence of corruption, the obedience which might be sometimes refused to the stern mandates of authority. The manners of his subjects, accustomed, like himself, to blood and rapine, might excuse, in their eyes, such partial acts of tyranny as would excite the horror of a civilized people; but the power of a despot has never been acknowledged in the deserts of Scythia. The immediate jurisdiction of the ~~then is confined~~ is confined within the limits of his own tribe; and the exercise of his royal prerogative has been moderated by the ancient institution of a national council. The Coroultai,* or Diet of the Tartars, was regularly held in the spring and autumn, in the midst of a plain; where the princes of the reigning family, and the ~~princes~~ ^{chiefs} of the respective tribes, might conveniently assemble on horseback, with their martial and numerous trains; and the ambitious monarch who reviewed the strength, must consult the inclination, of an armed people. The rudiments of a feudal government may be discovered in the constitution of the Scythian or Tartar nations; but the perpetual conflict of those hostile nations has sometimes terminated in the establishment of a powerful and despotic empire. The victor, enriched by the tribute, and fortified by the arms, of dependent kings, has spread his conquests over Europe or Asia; the successful shepherds of the north have submitted to the confinement of arts, of laws, and of cities; and the introduction of luxury, after destroying the

Oriente, p. 178. * See the diets of the ancient Huns (De Guignes; tom. ii, p. 26) and a curious description of those of Zingis. (Vie de Gengiscan, l. 1, c. 6; l. 4, c. 11.) Such assemblies are frequently mentioned in the Persian history of Timur; though they served only to

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freedom of the people, has undermined the foundations of the throne.*

The memory of past events cannot long be preserved, in the frequent and remote emigrations of illiterate barbarians. The modern Tartars are ignorant of the conquests of their ancestors;† and our knowledge of the history of the Scythians is derived from their intercourse with the learned and civilized nations of the south, the Greeks, the Persians, and the Chinese. The Greeks, who navigated the Euxine, and planted their colonies along the sea-coast, made the gradual and imperfect discovery of Scythia, from the Danube and the confines of Thrace, as far as the frozen Mæotis, the seat of eternal winter, and mount Caucasus, which, in the language of poetry, was described as the utmost boundary of the earth. They celebrated with simple credulity the virtues of the pastoral life:‡ they entertained a more rational apprehension of the strength and numbers of the warlike barbarians,§ who contemptuously baffled the immense armament of Darius, the son of Hystaspes.¶ The Persian monarchs had extended their western conquests to the banks of the Danube, and the limits of European Scythia. The eastern provinces of their empire were exposed to the Scythians of Asia; the wild inhabitants of the plains beyond the Oxus and the Jaxartes, two mighty rivers, which direct their course towards the Caspian sea. The long and memorable quarrel of Iran and Touran is still the theme of history or romance; the famous, perhaps the fabulous, valour of the Persian heroes, Rustan and Asfendiar, was signalized in the defence of their country against the

* Montesquieu labours to explain a difference, which has not existed, between the liberty of the Arabs, and the perpetual slavery of the Tartars. (Eſprit des Loix, l. 17, c. 5; l. 18, c. 19, &c.)
 † Abulghazi Khan, in the two first parts of his Genealogical History, relates the miserable fables and traditions of the Uzbek Tartars concerning the times which preceded the reign of Zingis.
 ‡ In the thirteenth book of the Iliad; Jupiter turns away his eyes from the bloody fields of Troy to the plains of Thrace and Scythia. He would not, by changing the prospect, behold a more peaceful or innocent scene.
 § Thucydides, l. 2, c. 97.
 ¶ See the fourth book of Herodotus. When Darius advanced into the Moldavian desert, between the Danube and the Niester, the king of the Scythians sent him a mouse, a frog, a bird, and five arrows; a

Afrasiabs of the north,* and the invincible spirit of the same barbarians resisted, on the same ground, the victorious arms of Cyrus and Alexander.† In the eyes of the Greeks and Persians, the real geography of Scythia was bounded, on the east, by the mountains of Imaus, or Caf; and their distant prospect of the extreme and inaccessible parts of Asia was clouded by ignorance and perplexed by fiction. But those inaccessible regions are the ancient residence of a powerful and civilized nation,‡ which ascends, by a probable tradition, above forty centuries;§ and which is able to verify a series of near two thousand years,¶ by the perpetual testimony of accurate

tremendous allegory.

* These wars and heroes may be found under their respective *titles*, in the Bibliothèque Orientale of D'Herbelot. They have been celebrated in an epic poem of sixty thousand rhymed couplets, by Ferdusi, the Homer of Persia. See the history of Nadir Shah, p. 145. 165. The public must lament that Mr. Jones has suspended the pursuit of Oriental learning.

† The Caspian sea, with its rivers, and adjacent tribes, are laboriously illustrated in the Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre, which compares the true geography and the errors produced by the vanity or ignorance of the Greeks.

‡ The original seat of the nation appears to have been in the north-west of China, in the provinces of Chensi and Chansi. Under the two first dynasties, the principal town was still a moveable camp; the villages were thinly scattered; more land was employed in pasture than in tillage; the exercise of hunting was ordained to clear the country from wild beasts; Petcheli (where Pekin stands) was a desert; and the southern provinces were peopled with Indian savages. The dynasty of the Han (before Christ 206) gave the empire its actual form and extent. [The mountainous range of Central Asia and the Mongolian and Tartar steppes, are beautifully described in Humboldt's Views of Nature, p. 3—5. edit. Bohn.—Ed.]

§ The era of the Chinese monarchy has been variously fixed, from 2952 to 2132 years before Christ; and the year 2637 has been chosen for the lawful epoch, by the authority of the present emperor. The difference arises from the uncertain duration of the two first dynasties; and the vacant space that lies beyond them, as far as the real or fabulous times of Fohi or Hoangti. Sematsien dates his authentic chronology from the year 841: the thirty-six eclipses of Confucius (thirty-one of which have been verified) were observed between the years 722 and 480 before Christ. The *historical period* of China does not ascend above the Greek Olympiads.

¶ After several ages of anarchy and despotism, the dynasty of the Han (before Christ 206) was the era of the revival of learning. The fragments of ancient literature were restored; the characters were improved and fixed; and the future preservation of books was secured by the useful inventions of ink, paper, and the art of printing. Ninety-

and contemporary historians. The annals of China* illustrate the state and revolutions of the pastoral tribes, which may still be distinguished by the vague appellation of Scythians, or Tartars; the vassals, the enemies, and sometimes the conquerors of a great empire, whose policy has uniformly opposed the blind and impetuous valour of the barbarians of the north. From the mouth of the Danube to the sea of Japan, the whole longitude of Scythia is about one hundred and ten degrees, which, in that parallel, are equal to more than five thousand miles. The latitude of these extensive deserts cannot be so easily, or so accurately, measured; but from the fortieth degree, which touches the wall of China, we may securely advance above a thousand miles to the northward, till our progress is stopped by the excessive cold of Siberia. In that dreary climate, instead of the animated picture of a Tartar camp, the smoke that issues from the earth, or rather from the snow, betrays the subterraneous dwellings of the Tongouses and the Samoiedes; the want of horses and oxen is imperfectly supplied by the use of reindeer, and of large dogs; and the conquerors of the earth insensibly degenerate into a race of deformed and diminutive savages, who tremble at the sound of arms.†

The Huns, who under the reign of Valens threatened the empire of Rome, had been formidable, in a much earlier period, to the empire of China.‡ Their ancient, perhaps

seven years before Christ, Sematsien published the first history of China. His labours were illustrated and continued by a series of one hundred and eighty historians. The substance of their works is still extant; and the most considerable of them are now deposited in the king of France's library.

* China has been illustrated by the labours of the French; of the missionaries at Pekin, and Messrs. Freret and De Guignes at Paris. The substance of the three preceding notes is extracted from the *Chou-king*, with the preface and notes of M. de Guignes, Paris, 1770; the *Tong-Kien-Kang-Mou*, translated by P. de Mailla, under the name of *Hist. Générale de la Chine*, tom. i, p. 99—200; the *Mémoires sur la Chine*, Paris, 1776, &c. tom. i, p. 1—323; tom. ii, p. 5—364; the *Histoire des Huns*, tom. i, p. 4—131; tom. v, p. 345—362: and the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. x, p. 377—402; tom. xv, p. 495—564; tom. xviii, p. 175—295; tom. xxvi, p. 164—238.

† See the *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, tom. xviii, and the *Genealogical History*, vol. ii, p. 620—664.

‡ M. de Guignes (tom. ii, p. 1—121) has given the original history of the ancient Hiong-nou, or Huns. The Chinese geography of their

their original seat. was an extensive, though dry and barren tract of country, immediately on the north side of the great wall. Their place is at present occupied by the forty-nine hordes or banners of the Mongous, a pastoral nation, which consists of about two hundred thousand families.* But the valour of the Huns had extended the narrow limits of their dominions; and their rustic chiefs, who assumed the appellation of *Tanjou*, gradually became the conquerors, and the sovereigns, of a formidable empire. Towards the east, their victorious arms were stopped only by the ocean; and the tribes which are thinly scattered between the Amoor and the extreme peninsula of Corea, adhered, with reluctance, to the standard of the Huns. On the west, near the head of the Irtish, in the valleys of Imaus, they found a more ample space, and more numerous enemies. One of the lieutenants of the *Tanjou* subdued in a single expedition twenty-six nations; the *Igours*,† distinguished above the Tartar race by the use of letters, were in the number of his

country (tom. i, part 2, p. 55—63) seems to comprise a part of their conquests. [Gibbon has here made an able and judicious use of the best materials at his command, for composing the history of the Huns. But later researches have overthrown his work, by demolishing the hypothesis of M. de Guignes, on which it is constructed. Those who destroyed are not, however, exactly agreed on what ought to replace the wreck. Most of them regard the Huns as a "powerful nomadic people of Mongolian race, quite distinct from the southern Asiatics and the Europeans, and they make their appearance like the other nations of the table-lands of Upper Asia." (Niebuhr's Lectures, vol. iii, p. 317. 330.) Humboldt, in his "Views of Nature," (p. 5) seems to adopt the theory of M. de Guignes and its eloquent exposition by Gibbon; but afterwards (p. 81) inclines to the opinion of Klaproth, who derives the Huns from "a Finnish race of the Uralian mountains, which race has been variously intermixed with Germans, Turks, and Samoides." The inquiry is too remotely connected with the subject of this history, to demand the sacrifice of labour and space for a lengthened note. It is enough for us to know, that the Huns, like all their predecessors, came from the same regions, where, restricted in their wandering courses by the ocean on every side but the west, they poured out their hordes in that direction upon Europe. If they have not been much misrepresented by historians, their descendants must have greatly improved by their mixture with other races. —Ed.] * See in Du Halde (tom. iv, p. 18—65), a circumstantial description, with a correct map, of the country of the Mongous.

† The *Igours*, or *Vigours*, were divided into three branches; hunters, shepherds, and husbandmen; and the last class was despised by the

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vassals; and, by the strange connection of human events, the flight of one of those vagrant tribes recalled the victorious Parthians from the invasion of Syria.* On the side of the north, the ocean was assigned as the limit of the power of the Huns. Without enemies to resist their progress, or witnesses to contradict their vanity, they might securely achieve a real or imaginary conquest of the frozen regions of Siberia. The *Northern sea* was fixed as the remote boundary of their empire. But the name of that sea; on whose shores the patriot Sovou embraced the life of a shepherd and an exile,† may be transferred, with much more probability, to the Baikal, a capacious basin, above three hundred miles in length, which disdains the modest appellation of a lake,‡ and which actually communicates with the seas of the north, by the long course of the Angara, the Tonguska, and the Jenissea. The submission of so many distant nations might flatter the pride of the Tanjou; but the valour of the Huns could be rewarded only by the enjoyment of the wealth and luxury of the empire of the south. In the third century before the Christian era, a wall of fifteen hundred miles in length was constructed, to defend the frontiers of China against the inroads of the Huns;§ but this stupendous work, which holds a conspicuous place in the map of the world, has never contributed to the safety of an unwarlike people. The cavalry of the Tanjou frequently consisted of two or three hundred thousand men, formidable by the matchless dexterity with which they managed their bows and their horses; by their hardy patience in supporting the inclemency of the weather; and by the incredible speed of their march, which was seldom checked by torrents or by precipices, by the deepest rivers, two former. See Abulghazi, part 2, c. 7.

* Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxv, p. 17—33. The comprehensive view of M. de Guignes has compared these distant events.

† The fame of Sovou, or So-ou, his merit, and his singular adventures, are still celebrated in China. See the *Eloge de Moukden*, p. 20; and notes, p. 241—247; and *Mémoires sur la Chine*, tom. iii, p. 317—360.

‡ See Isbrand Idez, in Harris's Collection, vol. ii, p. 931; Bell's Travels, vol. i, p. 247—254; and Gmelin, in the *Hist. Générale des Voyages*, tom. xviii, p. 283—329. They all remark the vulgar opinion, that the *holy sea* grows angry and tempestuous, if any one presumes to call it a lake. This grammatical nicety often excites a dispute, between the absurd superstition of the mariners, and the absurd obstinacy of travellers.

§ The construction of the wall of

or by the most lofty mountains. They spread themselves at once over the face of the country; and their rapid impetuosity surprised, astonished, and disconcerted, the grave and elaborate tactics of a Chinese army. The emperor Kaoti,* a soldier of fortune, whose personal merit had raised him to the throne, marched against the Huns with those veteran troops which had been trained up in the civil wars of China. But he was soon surrounded by the barbarians; and, after a siege of seven days, the monarch, hopeless of relief, was reduced to purchase his deliverance by an ignominious capitulation. The successors of Kaoti, whose lives were dedicated to the arts of peace, or the luxury of the palace, submitted to a more permanent disgrace. They too hastily confessed the insufficiency of arms and fortifications. They were too easily convinced that, while the blazing signals announced on every side the approach of the Huns, the Chinese troops, who slept with the helmet on their head, and the cuirass on their back, were destroyed by the incessant labour of ineffectual marches.† A regular payment of money and silk was stipulated as the condition of a temporary and precarious peace; and the wretched expedient of disguising a real tribute, under the names of a gift or subsidy, was practised by the emperors of China, as well as by those of Rome. But there still remained a more disgraceful article of tribute, which violated the sacred feelings of humanity and nature. The hardships of the savage life, which destroy in their infancy the children who are born with a less healthy and robust constitution, introduced a remarkable disproportion between the numbers of the two sexes. The Tartars are an ugly, and even deformed race; and, while they consider their own women as the instruments of domestic labour, their desires, or rather their

* China is mentioned by Du Halde (tom. ii, p. 45) and De Guignes (tom. ii, p. 59).

† See the life of Lieoupang, or Kaoti, in the *Hist. de la Chine*, published at Paris, 1777, &c. tom. i, p. 442—522. This voluminous work is the translation (by the P. de Mailla) of the *Tong-Kien-Kang-Mou*, the celebrated abridgment of the great history of Semakouang (A.D. 1054) and his continuators.

† See a free and ample memorial, presented by a mandarin to the emperor Venti (before Christ 180—157), in Du Halde (tom. ii, p. 412—426), from a collection of state papers, marked with the red pencil by Kamhi himself, (p. 284—612). Another memorial from the minister of war (Kang-Mou, tom. ii, p. 555) supplies some curious circumstances of the man-

appetites, are directed to the enjoyment of more elegant beauty. A select band of the fairest maidens of China was annually devoted to the rude embraces of the Huns;* and the alliance of the haughty Tanjous was secured by their marriage with the genuine, or adopted, daughters of the imperial family, which vainly attempted to escape the sacrilegious pollution. This situation of these unhappy victims is described in the verses of a Chinese princess, who laments that she had been condemned by her parents to a distant exile, under a barbarian husband; who complains that sour milk was her only drink, raw flesh her only food, a tent her only palace; and who expresses, in a strain of pathetic simplicity, the natural wish that she were transformed into a bird, to fly back to her dear country, the object of her tender and perpetual regret.†

The conquest of China has been twice achieved by the pastoral tribes of the north: the forces of the Huns were not inferior to those of the Moguls, or of the Mantcheoux; and their ambition might entertain the most sanguine hopes of success. But their pride was humbled and their progress was checked, by the arms and policy of Vouti,‡ the fifth emperor of the powerful dynasty of the Han. In his long reign of fifty-four years, the barbarians of the southern provinces submitted to the laws and manners of China; and the ancient limits of the monarchy were enlarged, from the great river of Kiang, to the port of Canton. Instead of confining himself to the timid operations of a defensive war, his lieutenants penetrated many hundred miles into the country of the Huns. In those boundless deserts, where it is impossible to form magazines, and difficult to transport a sufficient supply of provisions, the armies of Vouti were repeatedly exposed to intolerable hardships: and of one hundred and forty thousand soldiers, who marched against the barbarians, thirty thousand only returned in safety to the feet of their master. These losses, however, were compensated by splendid and decisive success. The Chinese generals improved

ners of the Huns.
 * A supply of women is mentioned as a customary article of treaty and tribute. (*Hist. de la Conquête de la Chine par les Tartares Mantcheoux*, tom. i, p. 186, 187, with the note of the editor.)
 † De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii, p. 62.
 ‡ See the reign of the emperor Vouti, in the *Kang-Mou*, tom. iii, p. 1

the superiority which they derived from the temper of their arms, their chariots of war, and the service of their Tartar auxiliaries. The camp of the Tanjou was surprised in the midst of sleep and intemperance: and though the monarch of the Huns bravely cut his way through the ranks of the enemy, he left above fifteen thousand of his subjects on the field of battle. Yet this signal victory, which was preceded and followed by many bloody engagements, contributed much less to the destruction of the power of the Huns, than the effectual policy which was employed to detach the tributary nations from their obedience. Intimidated by the arms, or allured by the promises, of Vouti and his successors, the most considerable tribes, both of the east and of the west, disclaimed the authority of the Tanjou. While some acknowledged themselves the allies or vassals of the empire, they all became the implacable enemies of the Huns: and the numbers of that haughty people, as soon as they were reduced to their native strength, might, perhaps, have been contained within the walls of one of the great and populous cities of China.* The desertion of his subjects, and the perplexity of a civil war, at length compelled the Tanjou himself to renounce the dignity of an independent sovereign, and the freedom of a warlike and high-spirited nation. He was received at Sigan, the capital of the monarchy, by the troops, the mandarins, and the emperor himself, with all the honours that could adorn and disguise the triumph of Chinese vanity.† A magnificent palace was prepared for his reception; his place was assigned above all the princes of the royal family; and the patience of the barbarian king was exhausted by the ceremonies of a banquet, which consisted of eight courses of meat, and of nine solemn pieces of music. But he performed, on his knees, the duty of a respectful homage to the emperor of China; pronounced, in his own name, and in the name of his succes-

drawn.

* This expression is used in the memorial to the emperor Ventü. (D^r Halde, tom. ii, p. 417.) Without adopting the exaggerations of Marco Polo and Isaac Vossius, we may rationally allow for Pekin, two millions of inhabitants. The cities of the south, which contain the manufactures of China, are still more populous.

† See the Kang-Mou, tom. iii, p. 150, and the subsequent events, under the proper years. This memorable festival is celebrated in the *Eloge de Moukden*, and explained in a note by the P. Gaubil, p. 89, 90.

sors, a perpetual oath of fidelity; and gratefully accepted a seal, which was bestowed as the emblem of his regal dependence. After this humiliating submission, the Tanjous sometimes departed from their allegiance, and seized the favourable moments of war and rapine; but the monarchy of the Huns gradually declined, till it was broken by civil dissension, into two hostile and separate kingdoms. One of the princes of the nation was urged, by fear and ambition, to retire towards the south with eight hordes, which composed between forty and fifty thousand families. He obtained, with the title of Tanjou, a convenient territory on the verge of the Chinese provinces; and his constant attachment to the service of the empire was secured by weakness and the desire of revenge. From the time of this fatal schism, the Huns of the north continued to languish about fifty years; till they were oppressed on every side by their foreign and domestic enemies. The proud inscription of a column,* erected on a lofty mountain, announced to posterity, that a Chinese army had marched seven hundred miles into the heart of their country. The Siempi,† a tribe of Oriental Tartars, retaliated the injuries which they had formerly sustained: and the power of the Tanjous, after a reign of thirteen hundred years, was utterly destroyed before the end of the first century of the Christian era.‡ The fate of the vanquished Huns was diversified by the various influence of character and situation.§ Above one hundred thousand persons, the poorest, indeed, and the most pusillanimous, of the people, were contented to remain in their native country, to renounce their peculiar name and origin, and to mingle with the victorious nation of the Siempi. Fifty-eight hordes, about two hundred thousand men, ambitious of a more honourable servitude, retired towards the south, implored the protection of the emperors

* This inscription was composed on the spot by Pankou, president of the Tribunal of History. (Kang-Mou, tom. iii, p. 392.) Similar monuments have been discovered in many parts of Tartary. (Hist. des Huns, tom. ii, p. 122.)

† M. de Guignes (tom. i, p. 189) has inserted a short account of the Siempi.

‡ The era of the Huns is placed, by the Chinese, one thousand two hundred and ten years before Christ. But the series of their kings does not commence till the year 230. (Hist. des Huns, tom. ii, p. 21. 123.)

§ The various accidents, the downfall and flight of the Huns, are related in the Kang-Mou, tom. iii, p. 88. 91. 95. 139, &c. The small numbers of each horde

of China, and were permitted to inhabit, and to guard, the extreme frontiers of the province of Chansi and the territory of Ortoos. But the most warlike and powerful tribes of the Huns maintained, in their adverse fortune, the undaunted spirit of their ancestors. The western world was open to their valour; and they resolved, under the conduct of their hereditary chieftains, to discover and subdue some remote country, which was still inaccessible to the arms of the Sienpi, and to the laws of China.* The course of their emigration soon carried them beyond the mountains of Imaus, and the limits of the Chinese geography; but we are able to distinguish the two great divisions of these formidable exiles, which directed their march towards the Oxus, and towards the Volga. The first of these colonies established their dominion in the fruitful and extensive plains of Sogdiana, on the eastern side of the Caspian; where they preserved the name of Huns, with the epithet of Euthalites, or Nepthalites. Their manners were softened, and even their features were insensibly improved, by the mildness of the climate, and their long residence in a flourishing province,† which might still retain a faint impression of the arts of Greece.‡ The White Huns, a name which they derived from the change of their complexion, soon abandoned the pastoral life of Scythia. Gorgo, which, under the appellation of Carizme, has since enjoyed a temporary splendour, was the residence of the king, who exer-

may be ascribed to their losses and divisions.

* M. de Guignes has skilfully traced the footsteps of the Huns through the vast deserts of Tartary (tom. ii, p. 123, 277, &c. 325, &c.)

† Mohammed, sultan of Carizme, reigned in Sogdiana, when it was invaded (A.D. 1218) by Zingis and his Moguls. The Oriental historians (see D'Herbelot, *Petit de la Croix*, &c.) celebrate the populous cities which he ruined, and the fruitful country which he desolated. In the next century, the same provinces of Chorasmia and Mawaralnahr were described by Abulfeda. (Hudson, *Geograph. Minor.* tom. iii.) Their actual misery may be seen in the *Genealogical History of the Tartars*, p. 423—469. [According to Humboldt (*Views of Nature*, p. 80, 81,) "the northern Huns, a rude people of herdsmen, of a blackish-brown complexion," were a distinct race from the southern Huns, or Hajatehah, who had fairer skins, pursued agriculture, or dwelt in towns, and were frequently termed *White Huns*.—ED.]

‡ Justin (41. 6) has left a short abridgment of the Greek kings of Bactriana. To their industry I should ascribe the new and extraordinary trade, which transported the merchandises of India into Europe by the Oxus, the Caspian, the Cyrus, the Phasis,

cised a legal authority over an obedient people. Their luxury was maintained by the labour of the Sogdians; and the only vestige of their ancient barbarism, was the custom which obliged all the companions, perhaps to the number of twenty, who had shared the liberality of a wealthy lord, to be buried alive in the same grave.* The vicinity of the Huns to the provinces of Persia, involved them in frequent and bloody contests with the power of that monarchy. But they respected, in peace, the faith of treaties—in war, the dictates of humanity; and their memorable victory over Peroses, or Firuz, displayed the moderation, as well as the valour, of the barbarians. The second division of their countrymen, the Huns, who gradually advanced towards the north-west, were exercised by the hardships of a colder climate, and a more laborious march. Necessity compelled them to exchange the silks of China for the furs of Siberia; the imperfect rudiments of civilized life were obliterated; and the native fierceness of the Huns was exasperated by their intercourse with the savage tribes, who were compared, with some propriety, to the wild beasts of the desert. Their independent spirit soon rejected the hereditary succession of the Tanjous; and while each horde was governed by its peculiar mursa, their tumultuary council directed the public measures of the whole nation. As late as the thirteenth century, their transient residence, on the eastern banks of the Volga, was attested by the name of Great Hungary.† In the winter, they descended with their flocks and herds towards the mouth of that mighty river; and their summer excursions reached as high as the latitude of Saratoff, or perhaps the conflux of the Kama. Such at least were the recent limits of the black Calmucks,‡ who remained about a century under the protection of Russia; and who have since returned to their native seats on the frontiers of the Chinese

and the Euxine. The other ways, both of the land and sea, were possessed by the Seleucides and the Ptolemies (See *L'Esprit des Loix*, l. 21.) [Clinton (F. H. iii, 315) has collected an account of the seven kings of Bactriana, from Justin, Polybius, Strabo, and Plutarch.—Ed.]

* Procopius de Bell. Persico, l. 1, c. 3, p. 9.

† In the thirteenth century, the monk Rubruquis (who traversed the immense plain of Kipsak in his journey to the court of the great Khan) observed the remarkable name of *Hungary*, with the traces of a common language and origin. (*Hist. des Voyages*, tom. vii, p. 269).

‡ Bell (vol. i, p. 29—34) and the editors of the *Genealogical History*

empire. The march, and the return, of those wandering Tartars, whose united camp consists of fifty thousand tents or families, illustrate the distant emigrations of the ancient Huns.*

It is impossible to fill the dark interval of time which elapsed after the Huns of the Volga were lost in the eyes of the Chinese, and before they shewed themselves to those of the Romans.† There is some reason, however, to apprehend, that the same force which had driven them from their native seats, still continued to impel their march towards the frontiers of Europe. The power of the Sienpi, their implacable enemies, which extended above three thousand miles from east to west,‡ must have gradually oppressed them by the weight and terror of a formidable neighbourhood; and the flight of the tribes of Scythia would inevitably tend to increase the strength, or to contract the territories, of the Huns. The harsh and obscure appellations of those tribes would offend the ear without informing the understanding of the reader; but I cannot suppress the very natural suspicion, *that* the Huns of the

(p. 539), have described the Calmucks of the Volga in the beginning of the present century. * This great transmigration of three hundred thousand Calmucks, or Torgouts, happened in the year 1771. The original narrative of Kien-long, the reigning emperor of China, which was intended for the inscription of a column, has been translated by the missionaries of Pekin (*Mémoire sur la Chine*, tom. i, p. 401—418). The emperor affects the smooth and specious language of the Son of Heaven and the Father of his people.

† The Huns (*Oúvvoi*) are first mentioned in the geographical poem of Dionysius of Charax or Periegeta (v. 730). He is supposed to be the Dionysius who, according to Pliny (*H. N.* 6, 27) was sent by Augustus, as a guide and instructor to Caius Cæsar on his expedition into the East (B.C. 1). But from this passage respecting the Huns, M. Bernhardt (ad *Dionys. Perieg.* p. 514) infers that the poet did not live till the third or fourth century. Eustathius (ad *Dionys. Perieg.* p. 173) places him under either Augustus or Nero. His time is therefore uncertain. But as he makes no mention of Constantinople, he must have written before A.D. 330. *Clin. F. H.* iii, 576.—Ed. ‡ The Kang-Mou (tom. iii, p. 447) ascribes to their conquests a space of fourteen thousand *lis*. According to the present standard, two hundred *lis* (or more accurately one hundred and ninety-three,) are equal to one degree of latitude; and one English mile consequently exceeds three miles of China. But there are strong reasons to believe, that the ancient *li* scarcely equalled one half of the modern. See the elaborate researches of M. d'Anville, a geographer who is not a stranger in any age or climate of the globe. (*Mémoires de l'Acad.* tom. ii, p. 125—502.

north derived a considerable reinforcement from the ruin of the dynasty of the south, which, in the course of the third century, submitted to the dominion of China: *that* the bravest warriors marched away in search of their free and adventurous countrymen; *and* that, as they had been divided by prosperity, they were easily reunited by the common hardships of their adverse fortune.* The Huns, with their flocks and herds, their wives and children, their dependents and allies, were transported to the west of the Volga, and they boldly advanced to invade the country of the Alani, a pastoral people, who occupied, or wasted, an extensive tract of the deserts of Scythia. The plains between the Volga and the Tanais were covered with the tents of the Alani, but their name and manners were diffused over the wide extent of their conquests; and the painted tribes of the Agathyrsi and Geloni were confounded among their vassals. Towards the north, they penetrated into the frozen regions of Siberia, among the savages, who were accustomed, in their rage or hunger, to the taste of human flesh: and their southern inroads were pushed as far as the confines of Persia and India. The mixture of Sarmatic and German blood had contributed to improve the features of the Alani, to whiten their swarthy complexions, and to tinge their hair with a yellowish cast, which is seldom found in the Tartar race. They were less deformed in their persons, less brutish in their manners than the Huns; but they did not yield to those formidable barbarians in their martial and independent spirit; in the love of freedom, which rejected even the use of domestic slaves; and in the love of arms, which considered war and rapine as the pleasure and the glory of mankind. A naked scimitar, fixed in the ground, was the only object of their religious worship; the scalps of their enemies formed the costly trappings of their horses; and they viewed, with pity and contempt, the pusillanimous warriors, who patiently expected the infirmities of age, and the tortures of lingering disease.† On the banks of the Tanais, the military power

Mesures Itinéraires, p. 154—167.)

* See the *Histoire des Huns*, tom. ii, p. 125—144. The subsequent history (p. 145—277), of three or four Hunnic dynasties, evidently proves that their martial spirit was not impaired by a long residence in China.

† Utque hominibus

of the Huns and the Alani encountered each other with equal valour, but with unequal success. The Huns prevailed in the bloody contest: the king of the Alani was slain; and the remains of the vanquished nation were dispersed by the ordinary alternative of flight or submission.* A colony of exiles found a secure refuge in the mountains of Caucasus, between the Euxine and the Caspian; where they still preserve their name and their independence. Another colony advanced with more intrepid courage, towards the shores of the Baltic; associated themselves with the northern tribes of Germany; and shared the spoil of the Roman provinces of Gaul and Spain. But the greatest part of the nation of the Alani embraced the offers of an honourable and advantageous union; and the Huns, who esteemed the valour of their less fortunate enemies, proceeded, with an increase of numbers and confidence, to invade the limits of the Gothic empire.

The great Hermanric, whose dominions extended from the Baltic to the Euxine, enjoyed in the full maturity of age and reputation, the fruit of his victories, when he was alarmed by the formidable approach of a host of unknown enemies,† on whom his barbarous subjects might, without injustice, bestow the epithet of barbarians. The numbers, the strength, the rapid motions, and the implacable cruelty of the Huns, were felt, and dreaded, and magnified by the astonished Goths; who beheld their fields and villages consumed with flames, and deluged with indiscriminate slaughter. To these real terrors, they added the surprise and abhorrence which were excited by the shrill voice, the uncouth gestures, and the strange deformity, of the Huns. These savages of Scythia were compared (and the picture had some resemblance) to the animals who walk very awkwardly on two legs; and to the misshapen figures, the *Termini*, which were often placed on the bridges of antiquity.

quietis et placidis otium est voluptabile, ita illos pericula juvant et bella. Judicatur ibi beatus qui in proelio profuderit animam: senescentes etiam et fortuitis mortibus mundo digressos ut degeneres et ignavos conviciis atrocibus insectantur. (Ammian. 31. 2.) We must think highly of the conquerors of *such* men. * On the subject of the Alani, see Ammianus (31, 2), Jornandes (De Rebus Geticis, c. 24), M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. ii, p. 279), and the Genealogical History of the Tartars (tom. ii, p. 617). † As we are possessed of the authentic

They were distinguished from the rest of the human species by their broad shoulders, flat noses, and small black eyes, deeply buried in the head; and as they were almost destitute of beards, they never enjoyed either the manly grace of youth, or the venerable aspect of age.* A fabulous origin was assigned, worthy of their form and manners; that the witehes of Scythia, who for their foul and deadly practices had been driven from society, had copulated in the desert with infernal spirits; and that the Huns were the offspring of this execrable conjunction.† The tale, so full of horror and absurdity, was greedily embraced by the credulous hatred of the Goths; but while it gratified their hatred, it increased their fear; since the posterity of demons and witehes might be supposed to inherit some share of the preternatural powers, as well as of the malignant temper, of their parents. Against these enemies, Hermanric prepared to exert the united forces of the Gothic state; but he soon discovered that his vassal tribes, provoked by oppression, were much more inclined to second, than to repel, the invasion of the Huns. One of the chiefs of the Roxolani‡ had formerly deserted the standard of Hermanric, and the cruel tyrant had condemned the innocent wife of the traitor to be torn asunder by wild horses.

history of the Huns, it would be impertinent to repeat, or to relate, the fables, which misrepresent their origin and progress, their passage of the mud or water of the Maeotis, in pursuit of an ox or stag the Indes qu'ils avoient découvertes, &c. (Zosimus, l. 4, p. 221. Sozomen, l. 6, c. 37. Procopius, Hist. Miscell. c. 5. Jornandes, c. 24. Grandeur et Décadence, &c. des Romains, c. 17.) * Prodigiosa forme, et pandi; ut bipedes existimes bestias; vel quales in commarginandis pontibus, effigati stipites dolantur incompti. Ammian. 31, 2. Jornandes (c. 24) draws a strong caricature of a Calmuck face. Species javenda nigredine . . . quidam deformis ossa, non facies, habentque magis puncta quam lumina. See Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. iii, p. 350.

† This execrable origin, which Jornandes (c. 24) describes with the rancour of a Goth, might be originally derived from a more pleasing fable of the Greeks. (Herodot. l. 4, c. 9, &c.) ‡ The Roxolani may be the fathers of the Pags, the Russians (D'Anville, Empire de Russie, p. 1—10), whose residence (A.D. 862) about Novogrod Veliki, cannot be very remote from that which the geographer of Ravenna (iv. 12. 4. 46. v. 28. 30) assigns to the Roxolani (A.D. 886). [Much valuable information has been collected by Schlözer, respecting the early history of the northern nations. But in his notice of the primitive Russians, he is less clear than usual. (Nordische Geschichte, vol. i,

The brothers of that unfortunate woman seized the favourable moment of revenge. The aged king of the Goths languished some time after the dangerous wound which he received from their daggers: but the conduct of the war was retarded by his infirmities; and the public councils of the nation were distracted by a spirit of jealousy and discord. His death, which has been imputed to his own despair, left the reins of government in the hands of Withimer, who, with the doubtful aid of some Scythian mercenaries, maintained the unequal contest against the arms of the Huns and the Alani, till he was defeated and slain in a decisive battle. The Ostrogoths submitted to their fate: and the royal race of the Amali will hereafter be found among the subjects of the haughty Attila. But the person of Witheric, the infant king, was saved by the diligence of Alatheus and Saphrax, two warriors of approved valour and fidelity; who, by cautious marches, conducted the independent remains of the nation of the Ostrogoths towards the Danastus, or Niester; a considerable river, which now separates the Turkish dominions from the empire of Russia. On the banks of the Niester, the prudent Athanaric, more attentive to his own than to the general safety, had fixed the camp of the Visigoths; with the firm resolution of opposing the victorious barbarians, whom he thought it less advisable to provoke. The ordinary speed of the Huns was checked by the weight of baggage, and the encumbrance of captives; but their military skill deceived and almost destroyed, the army of Athanaric. While the judge of the Visigoths defended the banks of the Niester, he was encompassed and attacked by a numerous detachment of cavalry, who, by the light of the moon had passed the river in a fordable place; and it was not without the utmost efforts of courage and conduct, that he was able to effect his retreat towards the hilly country. The undaunted general had already formed a new and judicious

p. 222.) Nothing said by him favours Gibbon's suggestion. Yet the laxity of ancient ethnical nomenclature leaves us at liberty to conjecture that the Roxolani may have been a family of the Alani, distinguished by a prefixed epithet, which afterwards became the detached designation of an increasing tribe, and then of a numerous people. (See Cellarius on this subject, vol. i, l. 2, c. 6, p. 407.—ED.)

plan of defensive war; and the strong lines which he was preparing to construct between the mountains, the Pruth, and the Danube, would have secured the extensive and fertile territory that bears the modern name of Wallachia, from the destructive inroads of the Huns.* But the hopes and measures of the judge of the Visigoths were soon disappointed, by the trembling impatience of his dismayed countrymen; who were persuaded by their fears, that the interposition of the Danube was the only barrier that could save them from the rapid pursuit, and invincible valour, of the barbarians of Scythia. Under the command of Fritigern and Alavivus,† the body of the nation hastily advanced to the banks of the great river, and implored the protection of the Roman emperor of the east. Athaunric himself, still anxious to avoid the guilt of perjury, retired, with a band of faithful followers, into the mountainous country of Caucaland; which appears to have been guarded, and almost concealed, by the impenetrable forests of Transylvania.‡

After Valens had terminated the Gothic war with some appearance of glory and success, he made a progress through his dominions of Asia, and at length fixed his residence in the capital of Syria. The five years§ which he spent at Antioch were employed to watch, from a secure distance, the hostile designs of the Persian monarch; to check the depredations of the Saracens and Isaurians;¶ to enforce, by arguments more prevalent than those of reason and eloquence, the belief of the Arian theology; and to satisfy his anxious

* The text of Ammianus seems to be imperfect or corrupt; but the nature of the ground explains, and almost defines, the Gothic rampart. *Mémoires de l'Académie*, &c., tom. xxviii, p. 444—462.

† M. de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vi, p. 497) has conceived a strange idea, that Alavivus was the same person as Ulphilas the Gothic bishop: and that Ulphilas, the grandson of a Cappadocian captive, became a temporal prince of the Goths.

‡ Ammianus (31, 3), and Jornandes (*De Rebus Geticis*, c. 24), describe the subversion of the Gothic empire by the Huns.

§ The chronology of Ammianus is obscure and imperfect. Tillemont has laboured to clear and settle the Annals of Valens.

¶ Zosimus, l. 4, p. 223. Sozomen, l. vi, c. 33. The Isaurians, each winter, infested the roads of Asia Minor, as far as the neighbourhood of Constantinople. Basil. Epis. 250, apud Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v p. 106.

suspicious by the promiscuous execution of the innocent and the guilty. But the attention of the emperor was most seriously engaged by the important intelligence which he received from the civil and military officers who were intrusted with the defence of the Danube. He was informed, that the north was agitated by a furious tempest; that the irruption of the Huns, an unknown and monstrous race of savages, had subverted the power of the Goths; and that the suppliant multitudes of that warlike nation, whose pride was now humbled in the dust, covered a space of many miles along the banks of the river. With outstretched arms, and pathetic lamentations, they loudly deplored their past misfortunes and their present danger; acknowledged that their only hope of safety was in the clemency of the Roman government; and most solemnly protested, that if the gracious liberality of the emperor would permit them to cultivate the waste lands of Thrace, they should ever hold themselves bound by the strongest obligations of duty and gratitude, to obey the laws, and to guard the limits, of the republic. These assurances were confirmed by the ambassadors of the Goths, who impatiently expected, from the mouth of Valens, an answer that must finally determine the fate of their unhappy countrymen. The emperor of the east was no longer guided by the wisdom and authority of his elder brother, whose death happened towards the end of the preceding year; and as the distressful situation of the Goths required an instant and peremptory decision, he was deprived of the favourite resource of feeble and timid minds; who consider the use of dilatory and ambiguous measures as the most admirable efforts of consummate prudence. As long as the same passions and interests subsist among mankind, the questions of war and peace, of justice and policy, which were debated in the councils of antiquity, will frequently present themselves as the subject of modern deliberation. But the most experienced statesman of Europe has never been summoned to consider the propriety, or the danger, of admitting, or rejecting, an innumerable multitude of barbarians, who are driven by despair and hunger to solicit a settlement on the territories of a civilized nation. When that important proposition, so essentially connected with the

public safety, was referred to the ministers of Valens, they were perplexed and divided; but they soon acquiesced in the flattering sentiment which seemed the most favourable to the pride, the indolence, and the avarice of their sovereign. The slaves who were decorated with the titles of prefects and generals, dissembled or disregarded the terrors of this national emigration; so extremely different from the partial and accidental colonies which had been received on the extreme limits of the empire. But they applauded the liberality of fortune, which had conducted, from the most distant countries of the globe, a numerous and invincible army of strangers, to defend the throne of Valens; who might now add to the royal treasures, the immense sums of gold supplied by the provincials to compensate their annual proportion of recruits. The prayers of the Goths were granted, and their service was accepted by the imperial court: and orders were immediately dispatched to the civil and military governors of the Thracian diocese, to make the necessary preparations for the passage and subsistence of a great people, till a proper and sufficient territory could be allotted for their future residence. The liberality of the emperor was accompanied, however, with two harsh and rigorous conditions, which prudence might justify on the side of the Romans; but which distress alone could extort from the indignant Goths. Before they passed the Danube, they were required to deliver their arms; and it was insisted that their children should be taken from them, and dispersed through the provinces of Asia; where they might be civilized by the arts of education, and serve as hostages to secure the fidelity of their parents.

During this suspense of a doubtful and distant negotiation, the impatient Goths made some rash attempts to pass the Danube, without the permission of the government, whose protection they had implored. Their motions were strictly observed by the vigilance of the troops which were stationed along the river; and their foremost detachments were defeated with considerable slaughter: yet such were the timid counsels of the reign of Valens, that the brave officers, who had served their country in the execution of their duty, were punished by the loss of their employments, and narrowly escaped the loss of their heads. The imperial

mandate was at length received for transporting over the Danube the whole body of the Gothic nation;* but the execution of this order was a task of labour and difficulty. The stream of the Danube, which, in those parts is above a mile broad,† had been swelled by incessant rains; and, in this tumultuous passage, many were swept away and drowned, by the rapid violence of the current. A large fleet of vessels, of boats, and of canoes, was provided: many days and nights they passed and repassed with indefatigable toil; and the most strenuous diligence was exerted by the officers of Valens, that not a single barbarian, of those who were reserved to subvert the foundations of Rome, should be left on the opposite shore. It was thought expedient that an accurate account should be taken of their numbers; but the persons who were employed soon desisted, with amazement and dismay, from the prosecution of the endless and impracticable task:‡ and the principal historian of the age most seriously affirms, that the prodigious armies of Darius and Xerxes, which had so long been considered as the fables of vain and credulous antiquity, were now justified, in the eyes of mankind, by the evidence of fact and experience. A probable testimony has fixed the number of the Gothic warriors at two hundred thousand men; and if we can venture to add the just proportion of women, of children, and of slaves, the whole mass of people, which composed this formidable emigration, must have amounted to near a million of persons, of both sexes, and of all ages. The children of the Goths, those at least of a distinguished

* The passage of the Danube is exposed by Ammianus (31, 3, 4), Zosimus, (l. 4, p. 223, 224), Eunapius, in Excerpt. Legat. (p. 19, 20), and Jornandes (c. 25, 26). Ammianus declares (c. 5,) that he means only, *ipsas rerum digerere summitates*. But he often takes a false measure of their importance; and his superfluous prolixity is disagreeably balanced by his unseasonable brevity. † Chishull, a curious traveller, has remarked the breadth of the Danube, which he passed to the south of Bucharest, near the conflux of the Argish. (p. 77.) He admires the beauty and spontaneous plenty of Mœsia, or Bulgaria.

‡ *Quem si scire velit, Libyci velit æquoris idem
Discere quam multæ Zephyro turbentur arenæ.*

Ammianus has inserted, in his prose, these lines of Virgil, (Georgic, ii, 105,) originally designed by the poet to express the impossibility of numbering the different sorts of vines. See Plin. Hist. Natur. l. 14.

rank, were separated from the multitude. They were conducted, without delay, to the distant seats assigned for their residence and education; and as the numerous train of hostages or captives passed through the cities, their gay and splendid apparel, their robust and martial figure, excited the surprise and envy of the provincials. But the stipulation, the most offensive to the Goths, and the most important to the Romans, was shamefully eluded. The barbarians, who considered their arms as the ensigns of honour, and the pledges of safety, were disposed to offer a price, which the lust or avarice of the imperial officers was easily tempted to accept. To preserve their arms, the haughty warriors consented, with some reluctance, to prostitute their wives or their daughters; the charms of a beauteous maid, or a comely boy, secured the connivance of the inspectors, who sometimes cast an eye of covetousness on the fringed carpets and linen garments of their new allies,* or who sacrificed their duty to the mean consideration of filling their farms with cattle, and their houses with slaves. The Goths, with arms in their hands, were permitted to enter the boats; and when their strength was collected on the other side of the river, the immense camp which was spread over the plains and the hills of the Lower Mœsia, assumed a threatening and even hostile aspect. The leaders of the Ostrogoths, Alatheus and Saphrax, the guardians of their infant king, appeared soon afterwards on the northern banks of the Danube; and immediately dispatched their ambassadors to the court of Antioch, to solicit, with the same professions of allegiance and gratitude, the same favour which had been granted to the suppliant Visigoths. The absolute refusal of Valens suspended their progress, and discovered the repentance, the suspicions, and the fears of the imperial council.†

An undisciplined and unsettled nation of barbarians.

* Eunapius and Zosimus curiously specify these articles of Gothic wealth and luxury. Yet it must be presumed that they were the manufactures of the provinces, which the barbarians had acquired as the spoils of war, or as the gifts, or merchandize, of peace.

† Niebuhr remarks (Lectures, vol. iii, p. 317): "It would then undoubtedly have been the true policy of the Romans, to put forth all their strength to keep the Visigoths at home, by fighting for them in their own country; but this was not thought of at all"—Ed.

required the firmest temper, and the most dexterous management. The daily subsistence of near a million of extraordinary subjects could be supplied only by constant and skilful diligence, and might continually be interrupted by mistake or accident. The insolence or the indignation of the Goths, if they conceived themselves to be the objects either of fear or of contempt, might urge them to the most desperate extremities; and the fortune of the state seemed to depend on the prudence, as well as the integrity, of the generals of Valens. At this important crisis, the military government of Thrace was exercised by Lupicinus and Maximus, in whose venal minds the slightest hope of private emolument outweighed every consideration of public advantage; and whose guilt was only alleviated by their incapacity of discerning the pernicious effects of their rash and criminal administration. Instead of obeying the orders of their sovereign, and satisfying, with decent liberality, the demands of the Goths, they levied an ungenerous and oppressive tax on the wants of the hungry barbarians. The vilest food was sold at an extravagant price; and, in the room of wholesome and substantial provisions, the markets were filled with the flesh of dogs, and of unclean animals, who had died of disease. To obtain the valuable acquisition of a pound of bread, the Goths resigned the possession of an expensive though serviceable slave; and a small quantity of meat was greedily purchased with ten pounds of a precious, but useless metal.* When their property was exhausted, they continued this necessary traffic by the sale of their sons and daughters; and notwithstanding the love of freedom, which animated every Gothic breast, they submitted to the humiliating maxim, that it was better for their children to be maintained in a servile condition, than to perish in a state of wretched and helpless independence. The most lively resentment

* *Decem libras*; the word *silver* must be understood. Jornandes betrays the passions and prejudices of a Goth. The servile Greeks, Eunapius and Zosimus, disguise the Roman oppression, and execrate the perfidy of the barbarians. Ammianus, a patriot historian, slightly and reluctantly touches on the odious subject. Jerome, who wrote almost on the spot, is fair, though concise. *Per avaritiam Maximi ducis, ad rebellionem fame coacti sunt* (in Chron.).

AND DISCONTENT.

A.D. 376.]

is excited by the tyranny of pretended benefactors, who sternly exact the debt of gratitude which they have cancelled by subsequent injuries: a spirit of discontent insensibly arose in the camp of the barbarians, who pleaded, without success, the merit of their patient and dutiful behaviour; and loudly complained of the inhospitable treatment which they had received from their new allies. They beheld around them the wealth and plenty of a fertile province, in the midst of which they suffered the intolerable hardships of artificial famine. But the means of relief, and even of revenge, were in their hands; since the rapaciousness of their tyrants had left, to an injured people, the possession and the use of arms. The clamours of a multitude, untaught to disguise their sentiments, announced the first symptoms of resistance, and alarmed the timid and guilty minds of Lupicinus and Maximus. Those crafty ministers, who substituted the cunning of temporary expedients to the wise and salutary councils of general policy, attempted to remove the Goths from their dangerous station on the frontiers of the empire, and to disperse them in separate quarters of cantonment, through the interior provinces. As they were conscious how ill they had deserved the respect, or confidence of the barbarians, they might urge collected, from every side, a military force, that might urge the tardy and reluctant march of a people, who had not yet renounced the title or the duties of Roman subjects. But the generals of Valens, while their attention was solely directed to the discontented Visigoths, imprudently disarmed the ships and the fortifications which constituted the defence of the Danube. The fatal oversight was observed and improved by Alatheus and Saphrax, who anxiously watched the favourable moment of escaping from the pursuit of the Huns. By the help of such rafts and vessels as could be hastily procured, the leaders of the Ostrogoths transported, without opposition, their king and their army; and boldly fixed a hostile and independent camp on the territories of the empire.*

Under the name of judges, Alavivus and Fritigern were the leaders of the Visigoths in peace and war; and the

authority which they derived from their birth, was ratified by the free consent of the nation. In a season of tranquillity, their power might have been equal, as well as their rank; but, as soon as their countrymen were exasperated by hunger and oppression, the superior abilities of Fritigern assumed the military command, which he was qualified to exercise for the public welfare. He restrained the impatient spirit of the Visigoths, till the injuries and the insults of their tyrants should justify their resistance in the opinion of mankind; but he was not disposed to sacrifice any solid advantages for the empty praise of justice and moderation. Sensible of the benefits which would result from the union of the Gothic powers under the same standard, he secretly cultivated the friendship of the Ostrogoths; and while he professed an implicit obedience to the orders of the Roman generals, he proceeded by slow marches towards Marcianopolis, the capital of the lower Mæsia, about seventy miles from the banks of the Danube. On that fatal spot, the flames of discord and mutual hatred burst forth into a dreadful conflagration. Lupicinus had invited the Gothic chiefs to a splendid entertainment; and their martial train remained under arms at the entrance of the palace. But the gates of the city were strictly guarded, and the barbarians were sternly excluded from the use of a plentiful market, to which they asserted their equal claim of subjects and allies. Their humble prayers were rejected with insolence and derision; and as their patience was now exhausted, the townsmen, the soldiers, and the Goths, were soon involved in a conflict of passionate altercation and angry reproaches. A blow was imprudently given; a sword was hastily drawn; and the first blood that was spilt in this accidental quarrel, became the signal of a long and destructive war. In the midst of noise and brutal intemperance, Lupicinus was informed, by a secret messenger, that many of his soldiers were slain, and despoiled of their arms; and as he was already inflamed by wine, and oppressed by sleep, he issued a rash command, that their death should be revenged by the massacre of the guards of Fritigern and Alavirius. The clamorous shouts and dying groans apprized Fritigern of his extreme danger: and, as he possessed the calm and intrepid spirit of a hero, he saw

A.D. 376.] AND THEIR FIRST VICTORIES.

that he was lost if he allowed a moment of deliberation to the man who had so deeply injured him. "A trifling dispute (said the Gothic leader, with a firm but gentle tone of voice,) appears to have arisen between the two nations; but it may be productive of the most dangerous consequences, unless the tumult is immediately pacified by the assurance of our safety, and the authority of our presence." At these words, Fritigern and his companions drew their swords, opened their passage through the unresisting crowd, which filled the palace, the streets, and the gates of Marcianopolis, and mounting their horses, hastily vanished from the eyes of the astonished Romans. The generals of the Goths were saluted by the fierce and joyful acclamations of the camp; war was instantly resolved, and the resolution was executed without delay: the banners of the nation were displayed, according to the custom of their ancestors; and the air resounded with the harsh and mournful music of the barbarian trumpet.* The weak and guilty Lupicinus, who had dared to provoke, who had neglected to destroy, and who still presumed to despise his formidable enemy, marched against the Goths, at the head of such a military force as could be collected on this sudden emergency. The barbarians expected his approach about nine miles from Marcianopolis; and on this occasion the talents of the general were found to be of more prevailing efficacy than the weapons and discipline of the troops. The valour of the Goths was so ably directed by the genius of Fritigern, that they broke, by a close and vigorous attack, the ranks of the Roman legions. Lupicinus left his arms and standards, his tribunes and his bravest soldiers, on the field of battle; and their useless courage served only to protect the ignominious flight of their

* *Vexillis de more sublati, auditisque triste sonantibus classicis* Ammian. 31, 5. These are the *rauca cornua* of Claudian, (in *Roman* 2. 57,) the large horns of the Uri, or wild bull; such as have been more recently used by the Swiss cantons of Uri and Unterwald. (Similar de Republica Helvet. l. 2, p. 201, edit. *Russum*, Tigur. 1734.) Their military horn is finely, though perhaps casually, introduced in an original narrative of the battle of Nancy (A.D. 1477). "Attendant le combat le dit cor fut corné par trois fois, tant que le vent du souffleur pouvoit durer: ce qui esbahit fort Monsieur de Bourgoigne; car déjà à Morat l'avoit ouy." (See the *Pièces Justificatives* in the 4th edition

leader. "That successful day put an end to the distress of the Barbarians, and the security of the Romans: from that day the Goths, renouncing the precarious condition of strangers and exiles, assumed the character of citizens and masters, claimed an absolute dominion over the possessors of land, and held, in their own right, the northern provinces of the empire, which are bounded by the Danube." Such are the words of the Gothic historian,* who celebrates, with rude eloquence, the glory of his countrymen. But the dominion of the barbarians was exercised only for the purposes of rapine and destruction. As they had been deprived, by the ministers of the emperor, of the common benefits of nature, and the fair intercourse of social life, they retaliated the injustice on the subjects of the empire; and the crimes of Lupicinus were expiated by the ruin of the peaceful husbandmen of Thrace, the conflagration of their villages, and the massacre or captivity of their innocent families. The report of the Gothic victory was soon diffused over the adjacent country; and while it filled the minds of the Romans with terror and dismay, their own hasty imprudence contributed to increase the forces of Frigigern, and the calamities of the province. Some time before the great emigration, a numerous body of Goths, under the command of Suerid and Colias, had been received into the protection and service of the empire.† They were encamped under the walls of Hadrianople; but the ministers of Valens were anxious to remove them beyond the Hellespont, at a distance from the dangerous temptation which might so easily be communicated by the neighbourhood and the success of their countrymen. The respectful submission with which they yielded to the order of their march, might be considered as a proof of their fidelity; and

of Philippe de Comines, tom. iii, p. 493.) * Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 26, p. 648, edit. Grot. These *splendidi panni* (they are comparatively such) are undoubtedly transcribed from the larger histories of Priscus, Ablavius, or Cassiodorus. [Gibbon has before stated (vol. i, p. 302) what is the general, and appears to be the correct opinion, that Jornandes only made an abridgment of the history written by Cassiodorus in twelve books, to gratify the Gothic conquerors of Rome. It is included in the Benedictine collection of the works of Cassiodorus. —Ed.] † Cum populis suis longe ante suscepti. We are ignorant of the precise date and circumstances of their transmigration.

their moderate request of a sufficient allowance of provisions, and of a delay of only two days, was expressed in the most dutiful terms. But the first magistrate of Hadrianople, incensed by some disorders which had been committed at his country-house, refused this indulgence; and, arming against them the inhabitants and manufacturers of a populous city, he urged, with hostile threats, their instant departure. The barbarians stood silent and amazed, till they were exasperated by the insulting clamours, and missile weapons of the populace; but when patience or contempt was fatigued, they crushed the undisciplined multitude, inflicted many a shameful wound on the backs of their flying enemies, and despoiled them of the splendid armour,* which they were unworthy to bear. The resemblance of their sufferings and their actions soon united this victorious detachment to the nation of the Visigoths; the troops of Colias and Suerid expected the approach of the great Frigern, ranged themselves under his standard, and signalized their ardour in the siege of Hadrianople. But the resistance of the garrison informed the barbarians, that, in the attack of regular fortifications, the efforts of unskilful courage are seldom effectual. Their general acknowledged his error, raised the siege, declared that *he was at peace with stone walls*,† and revenged his disappointment on the adjacent country. He accepted, with pleasure, the useful reinforcement of hardy workmen who laboured in the gold mines of Thrace,‡ for the emolument, and under the lash

* An imperial manufacture of shields, &c., was established at Hadrianople; and the populace were headed by the *Fabricenses*, or workmen. (Vales. ad Ammian. 31, 6.) † *Pacem sibi esse cum parietibus memorans.* Ammian. 31, 7.

‡ These mines were in the country of the Bessi, in the ridge of mountains, the Rhodope, that runs between Philippi and Philipopolis; two Macedonian cities, which derived their name and origin from the father of Alexander. From the mines of Thrace he annually received the value, not the weight, of a thousand talents; (200,000*l.*) a revenue which paid the phalanx, and corrupted the orators, of Greece. See Diodor. Siculus, tom. ii, l. 16, p. 88, edit. Wesseling; Godefroy's Commentary on the Theodosian Code, tom. iii, p. 496; Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. i, p. 676. 687; D'Anville, Géographie Ancienne, tom. i, p. 336.

[*Diffidit urbium*

Portas vir Macedo, et subruit amulos

Reges muneribus. Hor. Carm. 3, 16.

The gold mines of Pangæus were discovered soon after Philip's

of an unfeeling master;* and these new associates conducted the barbarians, through the secret paths, to the most sequestered places, which had been chosen to secure the inhabitants, the cattle, and the magazines of corn. With the assistance of such guides, nothing could remain impervious or inaccessible; resistance was fatal; flight was impracticable; and the patient submission of helpless innocence seldom found mercy from the barbarian conqueror. In the course of these depredations, a great number of the children of the Goths, who had been sold into captivity, were restored to the embraces of their afflicted parents; but these tender interviews, which might have revived and cherished in their minds some sentiments of humanity, tended only to stimulate their native fierceness, by the desire of revenge. They listened, with eager attention, to the complaints of their captive children, who had suffered the most cruel indignities from the lustful or angry passions of their masters; and the same cruelties, the same indignities, were severely retaliated on the sons and daughters of the Romans.†

The imprudence of Valens and his ministers had introduced into the heart of the empire a nation of enemies; but the Visigoths might even yet have been reconciled, by the manly confession of past errors, and the sincere performance of former engagements. These healing and temperate measures seemed to concur with the timorous disposition of the sovereign of the east; but, on this occasion alone, Valens was brave; and his unseasonable bravery was fatal to himself and to his subjects. He declared his intention of marching from Antioch to Constantinople, to subdue this dangerous rebellion; and, as he was not ignorant of the difficulties of the enterprise, he solicited the assistance of his nephew, the emperor Gratian, who commanded all the forces of the west. The veteran troops were hastily recalled from the defence of Armenia; that important frontier was abandoned to the discretion of Sapor; and the immediate conduct of the Gothic war was intrusted, during the absence of Valens, to his

accession. B.C. 358.—ED.]

* As those unhappy workmen often ran away, Valens had enacted severe laws to drag them from their hiding-places. Cod. Theodosian. l. 10, tit. 19, leg. 5. 7.

† See Ammianus, 31, 5. 6. The historian of the Gothic war loses time and space, by an unseasonable recapitulation of the ancient

lieutenants Trajan and Profuturus, two generals who indulged themselves in a very false and favourable opinion of their own abilities. On their arrival in Thrace, they were joined by Riehomar, count of the domestics; and the auxiliaries of the west, that marched under his banner, were composed of the Gallic legions, reduced indeed by a spirit of desertion to the vain appearances of strength and numbers. In a council of war, which was influenced by pride rather than by reason, it was resolved to seek, and to encounter, the barbarians, who lay encamped in the spacious and fertile meadows near the most southern of the six mouths of the Danube.* Their camp was surrounded by the usual fortifications of wagons;† and the barbarians, secure within the vast circle of the enclosure, enjoyed the fruits of their valour, and the spoils of the province. In the midst of riotous intemperance, the watchful Fritigern observed the motions, and penetrated the designs, of the Romans. He perceived that the numbers of the enemy were continually increasing; and, as he understood their intention of attacking his rear, as soon as the scarcity of forage should oblige him to remove his camp, he recalled to their standard his predatory detachments, which covered the adjacent country. As soon as they descried the flaming beacons,‡ they obeyed, with incredible speed, the signal of their leader; the camp was filled with the martial crowd of barbarians; their impatient clamours demanded the battle, and their tumultuous zeal was approved and animated by the spirit of their chiefs. The evening was already far advanced; and the two armies prepared themselves for the approaching combat, which was deferred only till the dawn of day. While the trumpets sounded to arms, the undaunted courage of the Goths was confirmed by the mutual obligation

inroads of the barbarians.

* The Itinerary of Antoninus (p. 226, 227, edit. Weseling) marks the situation of this place about sixty miles north of Tomi, Ovid's exile: and the name of *Salices* (the willows) expresses the nature of the soil. † The circle of wagons, the *Carrago*, was the usual fortification of the barbarians. (Vegetius de Re Militari, l. 3, c. 10. Valesius ad Ammian. 31, 7.) The practice and the name were preserved by their descendants as late as the fifteenth century. The *Charroy*, which surrounded the *Oz*, is a word familiar to the readers of Froissart, or Comines.

‡ Statim ut accensi malleoli. I have used the literal sense of real torches or beacons; but I almost suspect that it is only one of those turgid metaphors, those false ornaments, that perpetually disfigure the style

of a solemn oata; and as they advanced to meet the enemy, the rude songs which celebrated the glory of their forefathers, were mingled with their fierce and dissonant outcries, and opposed to the artificial harmony of the Roman shout. Some military skill was displayed by Fritigern to gain the advantage of a commanding eminence; but the bloody conflict, which began and ended with the light, was maintained, on either side, by the personal and obstinate efforts of strength, valour, and agility. The legions of Armenia supported their fame in arms, but they were oppressed by the irresistible weight of the hostile multitude: the left wing of the Romans was thrown into disorder, and the field was strewed with their mangled carcasses. This partial defeat was balanced, however, by partial success; and when the two armies, at a late hour of the evening, retreated to their respective camps, neither of them could claim the honours, or the effects, of a decisive victory. The real loss was more severely felt by the Romans, in proportion to the smallness of their numbers; but the Goths were so deeply confounded and dismayed by this vigorous, and perhaps unexpected, resistance, that they remained seven days within the circle of their fortifications. Such funeral rites as the circumstances of time and place would admit, were piously discharged to some officers of distinguished rank; but the indiscriminate vulgar was left unburied on the plain. Their flesh was greedily devoured by the birds of prey, who in that age enjoyed very frequent and delicious feasts; and several years afterwards, the white and naked bones which covered the wide extent of the fields, presented to the eyes of Ammianus a dreadful monument of the battle of Salices.*

The progress of the Goths had been checked by the doubtful event of that bloody day; and the imperial generals, whose army would have been consumed by the repetition of such a contest, embraced the more rational plan of destroying the barbarians by the wants and pressure of their own multitudes. They prepared to confine the Visigoths in the narrow angle of land, between the Danube, the desert of Scythia, and the mountains of Hæmus, till their strength

of Ammianus. * *Indicant nunc usque albentes ossibus campi*, Ammian. 31, 7. The historian might have viewed these plains, either as a soldier, or as a traveller. But his modesty has suppressed the adventures of his own life subsequent to the Persian wars of Constantius and Julian. We are ignorant of the time when he quitted the

and spirit should be insensibly wasted by the inevitable operation of famine. The design was prosecuted with some conduct and success: the barbarians had almost exhausted their own magazines, and the harvest of the country; and the diligence of Saturninus, the master general of the cavalry, was employed to improve the strength, and to contract the extent, of the Roman fortifications. His labours were interrupted by the alarming intelligence, that new swarms of barbarians had passed the unguarded Danube, either to support the cause, or to imitate the example, of Fritigern. The just apprehension, that he himself might be surrounded and overwhelmed, by the arms of hostile and unknown nations, compelled Saturninus to relinquish the siege of the Gothic camp: and the indignant Visigoths, breaking from their confinement, satiated their hunger and revenge by the repeated devastation of the fruitful country which extends above three hundred miles from the banks of the Danube to the straits of the Hellespont.* The sagacious Fritigern had successfully appealed to the passions, as well as to the interest, of his barbarian allies; and the love of rapine, and the hatred of Rome, seconded, or even prevented, the eloquence of his ambassadors. He cemented a strict and useful alliance with the great body of his countrymen, who obeyed Alatheus and Saphrax as the guardians of their infant king: the long animosity of rival tribes was suspended by the sense of their common interest; the independent part of the nation was associated under one standard; and the chiefs of the Ostrogoths appear to have yielded to the superior genius of the general of the Visigoths. He obtained the formidable aid of the Taifalæ, whose military renown was disgraced and polluted by the public infamy of their domestic manners. Every youth, on his entrance into the world, was united by the ties of honourable friendship, and brutal love, to some warrior of the tribe; nor could he hope to be released from this unnatural connexion, till he had approved his manhood, by slaying, in single combat, a huge bear, or a wild boar of the forest.† But the most powerful auxiliaries of the Goths

service and retired to Rome, where he appears to have composed his history of his own times.

* Ammian. 31, 8.

† Hanc Taifalorum gentem turpem, et obscenæ vitæ flagitiis ita accipimus merzam; ut apud eos nefandi concubitûs fœdere, copulentur

were drawn from the camp of those enemies who had expelled them from their native seats. The loose subordination, and extensive possessions, of the Huns and the Alani, delayed the conquests, and distracted the councils, of that victorious people. Several of the hordes were allured by the liberal promises of Fritigern; and the rapid cavalry of Scythia added weight and energy to the steady and strenuous efforts of the Gothic infantry. The Sarmatians, who could never forgive the successor of Valentinian, enjoyed and increased the general confusion: and a seasonable irruption of the Allemanni into the provinces of Gaul, engaged the attention, and diverted the forces, of the emperor of the west.*

One of the most dangerous inconveniences of the introduction of the barbarians into the army and the palace, was sensibly felt in their correspondence with their hostile countrymen; to whom they imprudently, or maliciously, revealed the weakness of the Roman empire. A soldier of the life-guards of Gratian was of the nation of the Allemanni, and of the tribe of the Lentienses, who dwelt beyond the lake of Constance. Some domestic business obliged him to request a leave of absence. In a short visit to his family and friends, he was exposed to their curious inquiries; and the vanity of the loquacious soldier tempted him to display his intimate acquaintance with the secrets of the state and the designs of his master. The intelligence that Gratian was preparing to lead the military force of Gaul, and of the west, to the assistance of his uncle Valens, pointed out to the restless spirit of the Allemanni the moment and the mode of a successful invasion. The enterprise of some light detachments, who in the month of February passed the Rhine upon the ice, was the prelude of a more important war. The boldest hopes of rapine, perhaps of conquest, outweighed the considerations of timid prudence or national faith. Every forest, and every village,

mares puberes, ætatis viriditatem in eorum pollutis usibus consumpturi. Porro, si qui jam adultus aprum exceperit solus, vel interemit ursum immanem, colluvione liberatur incesti. Ammian. 31, 9. Among the Greeks, likewise, more especially among the Cretans, the holy bands of friendship were confirmed, and sullied, by unnatural love.

* Ammian. 31, 8, 9. Jerome (tom. i, p. 26.) enumerates the nations, and marks a calamitous period of twenty years. This epistle to Heliodorus was composed in the year 397. (Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclési-*

poured forth a band of hardy adventurers; and the great army of the Allemanni, which on their approach was estimated at forty thousand men by the fears of the people, was afterwards magnified to the number of seventy thousand, by the vain and credulous flattery of the imperial court. The legions which had been ordered to march into Pannonia, were immediately recalled, or detained, for the defence of Gaul; the military command was divided between Nanienus and Mellobaudes; and the youthful emperor, though he respected the long experience and sober wisdom of the former, was much more inclined to admire, and to follow, the martial ardour of his colleague, who was allowed to unite the incompatible characters of count of the domestics, and of king of the Frauks. His rival Priarius, king of the Allemanni, was guided, or rather impelled, by the same headstrong valour; and as their troops were animated by the spirit of their leaders, they met, they saw, they encountered each other, near the town of Argentaria, or Colmar,* in the plains of Alsace. The glory of the day was justly ascribed to the missile weapons, and well-practised evolutions, of the Roman soldiers: the Allemanni, who long maintained their ground, were slaughtered with unrelenting fury; five thousand only of the barbarians escaped to the woods and mountains; and the glorious death of their king on the field of battle saved him from the reproaches of the people, who were always disposed to accuse the justice or policy of an unsuccessful war. After this signal victory, which secured the peace of Gaul, and asserted the honour of the Roman arms, the emperor Gratian appeared to proceed without delay on his eastern expedition; but as he approached the confines of the Allemanni, he suddenly inclined to the left, surprised them by his unexpected passage of the Rhine, and boldly advanced into the heart of their country. The barbarians opposed to his progress the obstacles of nature and of courage; and still continued to retreat from one hill to another, till they were satisfied, by repeated trials, of the power and perseverance of their enemies. Their submission was accepted

tom. xii, p. 645.) * The field of battle, *Argentaria*, or *Argentoraria*, is accurately fixed by M. d'Anville, (*Notice de l'Ancienne Gaul*, p. 96—99,) at twenty-three Gallic leagues, or thirty-four and a half Roman miles, to the south of Strasburg. From its ruins the adjacent

as a proof, not indeed of their sincere repentance, but of their actual distress; and a select number of their brave and robust youth was exacted from the faithless nation, as the most substantial pledge of their future moderation. The subjects of the empire, who had so often experienced that the Allemanni could neither be subdued by arms, nor restrained by treaties, might not promise themselves any solid or lasting tranquillity: but they discovered, in the virtues of their young sovereign, the prospect of a long and auspicious reign. When the legions climbed the mountains, and scaled the fortifications of the barbarians, the valour of Gratian was distinguished in the foremost ranks; and the gilt and variegated armour of his guards was pierced and shattered by the blows which they had received in their constant attachment to the person of their sovereign. At the age of nineteen, the son of Valentinian seemed to possess the talents of peace and war; and his personal success against the Allemanni was interpreted as a sure presage of his Gothic triumphs.*

While Gratian deserved and enjoyed the applause of his subjects, the emperor Valens, who at length had removed his court and army from Antioch, was received by the people of Constantinople as the author of the public calamity. Before he had reposed himself ten days in the capital, he was urged, by the licentious clamours of the Hippodrome, to march against the barbarians, whom he had invited into his dominions; and the citizens, who were always brave at a distance from any real danger, declared with confidence, that, if they were supplied with arms, *they* alone would undertake to deliver the province from the ravages of an insulting foe.† The vain reproaches of an ignorant multitude hastened the downfall of the Roman empire; they provoked the desperate rashness of Valens; who did not find, either in his reputation or in his mind, any motives to support with firmness the public contempt. He was soon persuaded, by the successful achievements of his lieutenants, to despise the power of the Goths, who, by the diligence of Fritigern,

town of Colmar has arisen.

* The full and impartial narrative of Ammianus (31, 10) may derive some additional light from the Epitome of Victor, the Chronicle of Jerome, and the History of Orosius (l. 7, c. 33, p. 552, edit. Havercamp). † Moratus paucissimos dies, seditione popularium levium pulsus. Ammian. 31, 11. Socrates (l. 4,

were now collected in the neighbourhood of Hadrianople. The march of the Taifalæ had been intercepted by the valiant Frigerid; the king of those licentious barbarians was slain in battle; and the suppliant captives were sent into distant exile to cultivate the lands of Italy, which were assigned for their settlement in the vacant territories of Modena and Parma.* The exploits of Sebastian,† who was recently engaged in the service of Valens, and promoted to the rank of master-general of the infantry, were still more honourable to himself, and useful to the republic. He obtained the permission of selecting three hundred soldiers from each of the legions; and this separate detachment soon acquired the spirit of discipline, and the exercise of arms, which were almost forgotten under the reign of Valens. By the vigour and conduct of Sebastian, a large body of the Goths was surprised in their camp: and the immense spoil which was recovered from their hands, filled the city of Hadrianople and the adjacent plain. The splendid narratives which the general transmitted of his own exploits, alarmed the imperial court by the appearance of superior merit; and though he cautiously insisted on the difficulties of the Gothic war, his valour was praised, his advice was rejected; and Valens, who listened with pride and pleasure to the flattering suggestions of the eunuchs of the palace, was impatient to seize the glory of an easy and assured conquest. His army was strengthened by a numerous reinforcement of veterans; and his march from Constantinople to Hadrianople was conducted with so much military skill, that he prevented the activity of the barbarians, who designed to occupy the intermediate defiles, and to intercept either the troops themselves, or their convoys of provisions.

c. 38) supplies the dates and some circumstances. * *Vivbaque omnes circa Mutinam, Regiumque, et Parmam, Italica oppida, rurales culturos exterminavit.* Ammianus, 31, 9. Those cities and districts, about ten years after the colony of the Taifalæ, appear in a very desolate state. See Muratori, *Dissertazioni sopra le Antichità Italiane*, tom. i. Dissertaz. 21, p. 354. [Victor (Epist. p. 395) mentions the Taifalæ, as still in Thrace and Dacia, when Gratian called Theodosius from Spain, after the death of Valens.—Ed.] † Ammian. 31, 11. Zosimus, l. 4, p. 228—230. The latter expatiates on the desultory exploits of Sebastian, and dispatches, in a few lines, the important battle of Hadrianople. According to the ecclesiastical critics, who hate Sebastian, the praise of Zosimus is disgrace. (Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v, p. 121.) His prejudice and ignorance undoubtedly render him a very questionable judge of merit.

The camp of Valens, which he pitched under the walls of Hadrianople, was fortified, according to the practice of the Romans, with a ditch and rampart; and a most important council was summoned, to decide the fate of the emperor and of the empire. The party of reason and of delay was strenuously maintained by Victor, who had corrected, by the lessons of experience, the native fierceness of the Sarmatian character; while Sebastian, with the flexible and obsequious eloquence of a courtier, represented every precaution, and every measure that implied a doubt of immediate victory, as unworthy of the courage and majesty of their invincible monarch. The ruin of Valens was precipitated by the deceitful arts of Fritigern, and the prudent admonitions of the emperor of the west. The advantages of negotiating in the midst of war were perfectly understood by the general of the barbarians; and a Christian ecclesiastic was dispatched, as the holy minister of peace, to penetrate and to perplex the councils of the enemy. The misfortunes, as well as the provocations, of the Gothic nation, were forcibly and truly described by their ambassador, who protested, in the name of Fritigern, that he was still disposed to lay down his arms, or to employ them only in the defence of the empire, if he could secure for his wandering countrymen a tranquil settlement on the waste lands of Thrace, and a sufficient allowance of corn and cattle. But he added, in a whisper of confidential friendship, that the exasperated barbarians were averse to these reasonable conditions; and that Fritigern was doubtful whether he could accomplish the conclusion of the treaty, unless he found himself supported by the presence and terrors of an imperial army. About the same time count Richomer returned from the west, to announce the defeat and submission of the Allemanni; to inform Valens, that his nephew advanced by rapid marches at the head of the veteran and victorious legions of Gaul; and to request, in the name of Gratian and of the republic, that every dangerous and decisive measure might be suspended, till the junction of the two emperors should ensure the success of the Gothic war. But the feeble sovereign of the East was actuated only by the fatal illusions of pride and jealousy. He disdained the importunate advice; he rejected the humiliating aid; he secretly compared the ignominious, at least the inglorious, period of his own reign, with the fame of a beardless youth; and

Valens rushed into the field, to erect his imaginary trophy, before the diligence of his colleague could usurp any share of the triumphs of the day.

On the ninth of August, a day which has deserved to be marked among the most inauspicious of the Roman calendar,* the emperor, Valens, leaving, under a strong guard, his baggage and military treasure, marched from Hadrianople to attack the Goths, who were encamped about twelve miles from the city.† By some mistake of the orders, or some ignorance of the ground, the right wing or column of cavalry, arrived in sight of the enemy whilst the left was still at a considerable distance; the soldiers were compelled, in the sultry heat of summer, to precipitate their pace; and the line of battle was formed with tedious confusion and irregular delay. The Gothic cavalry had been detached to forage in the adjacent country; and Fritigern still continued to practise his customary arts. He dispatched messengers of peace, made proposals, required hostages, and wasted the hours, till the Romans, exposed without shelter to the burning rays of the sun, were exhausted by thirst, hunger, and intolerable fatigue. The emperor was persuaded to send an ambassador to the Gothic camp; the zeal of Richomer, who alone had courage to accept the dangerous commission, was applauded; and the count of the domestics, adorned with the splendid ensigns of his dignity, had proceeded some way in the space between the two armies, when he was suddenly recalled by the alarm of battle. The hasty and imprudent attack was made by Bacurius the Iberian, who commanded a body of archers and targetteers; and as they advanced with rashness, they retreated with loss and disgrace. In the *same moment the flying squadrons of Alatheus and Saphrax*, whose return was anxiously expected by the general of the Goths, descended like a whirlwind from the hills, swept across the plain, and added new terrors to the tumultuous but irresistible charge of the barbarian host. The event of

* Ammianus (31, 12, 13) almost alone describes the councils and actions which were terminated by the fatal battle of Hadrianople. We might censure the vices of his style, the disorder and perplexity of his narrative: but we must now take leave of this impartial historian; and reproach is silenced by our regret for such an irreparable loss.

† The difference of the eight miles of Ammianus, and the twelve of Idrius, can only embarrass those critics (Valesius ad loc.) who sup-

the battle of Hadrianople, so fatal to Valens and to the empire, may be described in a few words: the Roman cavalry fled; the infantry was abandoned, surrounded, and cut in pieces. The most skilful evolutions, the firmest courage, are scarcely sufficient to extricate a body of foot, encompassed on an open plain by superior numbers of horse; but the troops of Valens, oppressed by the weight of the enemy and their own fears, were crowded into a narrow space, where it was impossible for them to extend their ranks, or even to use, with effect, their swords and javelins. In the midst of tumult, of slaughter, and of dismay, the emperor, deserted by his guards, and wounded, 'as it was supposed, with an arrow, sought protection among the Lancearii and the Mattiarii, who still maintained their ground with some appearance of order and firmness. His faithful generals, Trajan and Victor, who perceived his danger, loudly exclaimed that all was lost, unless the person of the emperor could be saved. Some troops, animated by their exhortation, advanced to his relief; they found only a bloody spot, covered with a heap of broken arms and mangled bodies, without being able to discover their unfortunate prince, either among the living or the dead. Their search could not indeed be successful, if there is any truth in the circumstances with which some historians have related the death of the emperor. By the care of his attendants, Valens was removed from the field of battle to a neighbouring cottage, where they attempted to dress his wound, and to provide for his future safety. But this humble retreat was instantly surrounded by the enemy: they tried to force the door; they were provoked by a discharge of arrows from the roof, till at length, impatient of delay, they set fire to a pile of dry fagots, and consumed the cottage with the Roman emperor and his train. Valens perished in the flames; and a youth, who dropped from the window, alone escaped, to attest the melancholy tale, and to inform the Goths of the inestimable prize which they had lost by their own rashness. A great number of brave and distinguished officers perished in the battle of Hadrianople, which equalled, in the actual loss, and far surpassed, in the fatal consequences, the misfortune which Rome had formerly sustained in the fields of Cannæ.* Two

pose a great army to be a mathematical point, without space or dimensions.

* *Nec ullis annalibus, præter Cannensem pugnam, ita ad*

master-generals of the cavalry and infantry, two great officers of the palace, and thirty-five tribunes, were found among the slain; and the death of Sebastian might satisfy the world that he was the victim, as well as the author, of the public calamity. Above two-thirds of the Roman army were destroyed: and the darkness of the night was esteemed a very favourable circumstance; as it served to conceal the flight of the multitude, and to protect the more orderly retreat of Victor and Richomer, who alone, amidst the general consternation, maintained the advantage of calm courage, and regular discipline.*

While the impressions of grief and terror were still recent in the minds of men, the most celebrated rhetorician of the age composed the funeral oration of a vanquished army, and of an unpopular prince, whose throne was already occupied by a stranger. "There are not wanting," says the candid Libanius, "those who arraign the prudence of the emperor, or who impute the public misfortune to the want of courage and discipline in the troops. For my own part, I reverence the memory of their former exploits: I reverence the glorious death which they bravely received, standing and fighting in their ranks: I reverence the field of battle, stained with *their* blood, and the blood of the barbarians. Those honourable marks have been already washed away by the rains; but the lofty monuments of their bones, the bones of generals, of centurions, and of valiant warriors, claim a longer period of duration. The king himself fought and fell in the foremost ranks of the battle. His attendants presented him with the fleetest horses of the imperial stable, that would soon have carried

interneconem res legitur gesta. (Ammian. 31, 13.) According to the grave Polybius, no more than three hundred and seventy horse, and three thousand foot, escaped from the field of Cannæ: ten thousand were made prisoners: and the number of the slain amounted to five thousand six hundred and thirty horse, and seventy thousand foot. (Polyb. lib. 3, p. 371, edit. Casaubon, 8vo.) Livy (22, 49) is somewhat less bloody: he slaughters only two thousand seven hundred horse, and forty thousand foot. The Roman army was supposed to consist of eighty-seven thousand two hundred effective men (22, 36).

* We have gained some faint light from Jerome (tom. i, p. 26, and in Chron. p. 188), Victor, in Epitome, Orosius (lib. 7, c. 33, p. 554), Jornandes (c. 27), Zosimus (lib. 4, p. 230), Socrates (lib. 4, c. 38), Sozomen (lib. 6, c. 40), Idatius (in Chron.). But their united evidence, if weighed against Ammianus alone, is light and unsubstantial.

him beyond the pursuit of the enemy. They vainly pressed him to reserve his important life for the future service of the republic. He still declared that he was unworthy to survive so many of the bravest and most faithful of his subjects; and the monarch was nobly buried under a mountain of the slain. Let none, therefore, presume to ascribe the victory of the barbarians to the fear, the weakness, or the imprudence of the Roman troops. The chiefs and the soldiers were animated by the virtue of their ancestors, whom they equalled in discipline, and the arts of war. Their generous emulation was supported by the love of glory, which prompted them to contend at the same time with heat and thirst, with fire and the sword; and cheerfully to embrace an honourable death, as their refuge against flight and infamy. The indignation of the gods has been the only cause of the success of our enemies." The truth of history may disclaim some parts of this panegyric, which cannot strictly be reconciled with the character of Valens, or the circumstances of the battle; but the fairest commendation is due to the eloquence, and still more to the generosity, of the sophist of Antioch.*

The pride of the Goths was elated by this memorable victory; but their avarice was disappointed by the mortifying discovery, that the richest part of the imperial spoil had been within the walls of Hadrianople. They hastened to possess the reward of their valour; but they were encountered by the remains of a vanquished army, with an intrepid resolution, which was the effect of their despair, and the only hope of their safety. The walls of the city, and the ramparts of the adjacent camp, were lined with military engines, that threw stones of an enormous weight; and astonished the ignorant barbarians by the noise and velocity, still more than by the real effects, of the discharge. The soldiers, the citizens, the provincials, the domestics of the palace, were united in the danger and in the defence; the furious assault of the Goths was repulsed; their secret arts of treachery and treason were discovered; and, after an obstinate conflict of many hours, they retired to their tents; convinced, by experience, that it would be far more advisable to observe the treaty which their sagacious leader had tacitly stipulated with the fortifications of great and

* Libanius, de ulciscend. Julian. nece, c. 3, in Fabricius, Biblioth.

populous cities. After the hasty and impolitic massacre of three hundred deserters, an act of justice extremely useful to the discipline of the Roman armies, the Goths indignantly raised the siege of Hadrianople. The scene of war and tumult was instantly converted into a silent solitude: the multitude suddenly disappeared; the secret paths of the woods and mountains were marked with the footsteps of the trembling fugitives, who sought a refuge in the distant cities of Illyricum and Macedonia: and the faithful officers of the household and the treasury, cautiously proceeded in search of the emperor, of whose death they were still ignorant. The tide of the Gothic inundation rolled from the walls of Hadrianople to the suburbs of Constantinople. The barbarians were surprised with the splendid appearance of the capital of the east, the height and extent of the walls, the myriads of wealthy and affrighted citizens who crowded the ramparts, and the various prospect of the sea and land. While they gazed with hopeless desire on the inaccessible beauties of Constantinople, a sally was made from one of the gates by a party of Saracens,* who had been fortunately engaged in the service of Valens. The cavalry of Scythia was forced to yield to the admirable swiftness and spirit of the Arabian horses; their riders were skilled in the evolutions of irregular war: and the northern barbarians were astonished and dismayed by the inhuman ferocity of the barbarians of the south. A Gothic soldier was slain by the dagger of an Arab; and the hairy, naked savage, applying his lips to the wound, expressed a horrid delight, while he sucked the blood of his vanquished enemy.† The army of the Goths, laden with the spoils of the wealthy suburbs and the adjacent territory, slowly moved from the Bosphorus to the mountains which form the western boundary of

Græc. tom. vii, p. 146—148.

* Valens had gained, or rather purchased, the friendship of the Saracens, whose vexatious inroads were felt on the borders of Phœnicia, Palestine, and Egypt. The Christian faith had been lately introduced among a people, reserved in a future age, to propagate another religion. (Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v, p. 104, 106, 141. *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vii, p. 593.)

† Crinitus quidam, nudus omnia præter pubem, subrancum et lugubre strepens. (Ammian. 31, 16, and Vales. ad loc.) The Arabs often fought naked; a custom which may be ascribed to their sultry climate and ostentatious bravery. The description of this unknown savage is the lively portrait of Dejar, a name so dreadful to the Christians of Syria,

Thrace. The important pass of Succii was betrayed by the fear, or the misconduct, of Maurus; and the barbarians, who no longer had any resistance to apprehend from the scattered and vanquished troops of the east, spread themselves over the face of a fertile and cultivated country, as far as the confines of Italy, and the Hadriatic sea.*

The Romans, who so coolly and so concisely mention the acts of *justice* which were exercised by the legions,† reserve their compassion and their eloquence for their own sufferings, when the provinces were invaded and desolated by the arms of the successful barbarians. The simple circumstantial narrative (did such a narrative exist) of the ruin of a single town, of the misfortunes of a single family,‡ might exhibit an interesting and instructive picture of human manners; but the tedious repetition of vague and declamatory complaints would fatigue the attention of the most patient reader. The same censure may be applied, though not perhaps in an equal degree, to the profane and the ecclesiastical writers of this unhappy period; that their minds were inflamed by popular and religious animosity; and that the true size and colour of every object is falsified by the exaggerations of their corrupt eloquence. The vehement Jerome§ might justly deplore the calamities inflicted by the Goths and their barbarous allies, on his native country of Pannonia, and the wide extent of the provinces, from the walls of Constantinople to the foot of the Julian Alps; the

See Ockley's *Hist. of the Saracens*, vol. i, p. 72, 84, 87. * The series of events may still be traced in the last pages of Ammianus (31, 15, 16). Zosimus (lib. 4, p. 227, 231) whom we are now reduced to cherish, misplaces the sally of the Arabs before the death of Valens. Eunapius (in *Excerpt. Legation.* p. 20) praises the fertility of Thrace, Macedonia, &c.

† Observe with how much indifference Cæsar relates, in the *Commentaries* on the Gallic war, *that* he put to death the whole senate of the Veneti, who had yielded to his mercy (3, 16), *that* he laboured to extirpate the whole nation of the Eburones (6, 31); *that* forty thousand persons were massacred at Bourges by the just revenge of his soldiers, who spared neither age nor sex (7, 27), &c.

‡ Such are the accounts of the sack of Magdeburg, by the ecclesiastic and the fisherman, which Mr. Harte has transcribed (*Hist. of Gustavus Adolphus*, vol. i, p. 313—320) with some apprehension of violating the *dignity* of history.

§ *Et vastatis urbibus hominibusque interfectis, solitudinem et raritatem bestiarum quoque fieri, et volatilium, pisciumque: testis Illyricum est, testis Thracia, testis in quo ortus sum solum (Pannonia); ubi præter cælum et terram, et crescentes vepres, et condensa sylvarum cuncta perierunt.* (tom. vii, p. 250, ad 1 cap.

rapes, the massacres, the conflagrations; and, above all, the profanation of the churches, that were turned into stables, and the contemptuous treatment of the relics of holy martyrs. But the saint is surely transported beyond the limits of nature and history, when he affirms, "that in those desert countries, nothing was left except the sky and the earth; that, after the destruction of the cities, and the extirpation of the human race, the land was overgrown with thick forests, and inextricable brambles; and that the universal desolation, announced by the prophet Zephaniah, was accomplished in the scarcity of the beasts, the birds, and even of the fish." These complaints were pronounced about twenty years after the death of Valens; and the Illyrian provinces, which were constantly exposed to the invasion and passage of the barbarians, still continued, after a calamitous period of ten centuries, to supply new materials for rapine and destruction. Could it even be supposed, that a large tract of country had been left without cultivation and without inhabitants, the consequences might not have been so fatal to the inferior productions of animated nature. The useful and feeble animals, which are nourished by the hand of man, might suffer and perish, if they were deprived of his protection; but the beasts of the forest, his enemies or his victims, would multiply in the free and undisturbed possession of their solitary domain. The various tribes that people the air or the waters, are still less connected with the fate of the human species; and it is highly probable that the fish of the Danube would have felt more terror and distress from the approach of a voracious pike, than from the hostile inroad of a Gothic army.

Whatever may have been the just measure of the calamities of Europe, there was reason to fear that the same calamities would soon extend to the peaceful countries of Asia. The sons of the Goths had been judiciously distributed through the cities of the east; and the arts of education were employed to polish, and subdue, the native fierceness of their temper. In the space of about twelve years, their numbers had continually increased; and the children, who in the first emigration, were sent over the Hellespont, had attained with rapid growth, the strength and spirit of perfect manhood.* It was impossible to con-

Sophonias, and tom. i, p. 26.) * Eunapius (in Excerpt. Legat p 20)

ceal from their knowledge the events of the Gothic war; and, as those daring youths had not studied the language of dissimulation, they betrayed their wish, their desire, perhaps their intention, to emulate the glorious example of their fathers. The danger of the times seemed to justify the jealous suspicions of the provincials; and these suspicions were admitted as unquestionable evidence, that the Goths of Asia had formed a secret and dangerous conspiracy against the public safety. The death of Valens had left the east without a sovereign; and Julius, who filled the important station of master-general of the troops, with a high reputation of diligence and ability, thought it his duty to consult the senate of Constantinople; which he considered, during the vacancy of the throne, as the representative council of the nation. As soon as he had obtained the discretionary power of acting as he should judge most expedient for the good of the republic, he assembled the principal officers; and privately concerted effectual measures for the execution of his bloody design. An order was immediately promulgated, that, on a stated day, the Gothic youth should assemble in the capital cities of their respective provinces; and as a report was industriously circulated, that they were summoned to receive a liberal gift of lands and money, the pleasing hope allayed the fury of their resentment, and perhaps suspended the motions of the conspiracy. On the appointed day, the unarmed crowd of the Gothic youth was carefully collected in the square, or Forum: the streets and avenues were occupied by the Roman troops: and the roofs of the houses were covered with archers and slingers. At the same hour, in all the cities of the east, the signal was given of indiscriminate slaughter; and the provinces of Asia were delivered by the cruel prudence of Julius, from a domestic enemy, who, in a few months, might have carried fire and sword from the Hellespont to the Euphrates.* The urgent consideration of the public safety may undoubtedly authorize the violation of every positive law. How far that, or any other consideration, may operate, to dissolve the

foolishly supposes a preternatural growth of the young Goths, that he may introduce Cadmus's armed men, who sprung from the dragon's teeth, &c. Such was the Greek eloquence of the times. * Ammianus evidently approves this execution, *efficacia velox et salutaris*, which concludes his work (31, 16.) Zosimus, who is curious and copious

natural obligations of humanity and justice, is a doctrine of which I still desire to remain ignorant.

The emperor Gratian was far advanced on his march towards the plains of Hadrianople, when he was informed, at first by the confused voice of fame, and afterwards by the more accurate reports of Victor and Richomer, that his impatient colleague had been slain in battle, and that two-thirds of the Roman army were exterminated by the sword of the victorious Goths. Whatever resentment the rash and jealous vanity of his uncle might deserve, the resentment of a generous mind is easily subdued by the softer emotions of grief and compassion, and even the sense of pity was soon lost in the serious and alarming consideration of the state of the republic. Gratian was too late to assist, he was too weak to revenge, his unfortunate colleague; and the valiant and modest youth felt himself unequal to the support of a sinking world. A formidable tempest of the barbarians of Germany seemed to burst over the provinces of Gaul; and the mind of Gratian was oppressed and distracted by the administration of the western empire. In this important crisis, the government of the east, and the conduct of the Gothic war, required the undivided attention of a hero and a statesman. A subject invested with such ample command would not long have preserved his fidelity to a distant benefactor; and the imperial council embraced the wise and manly resolution, of conferring an obligation, rather than of yielding to an insult. It was the wish of Gratian to bestow the purple as the reward of virtue; but, at the age of nineteen, it is not easy for a prince, educated in the supreme rank, to understand the true characters of his ministers and generals. He attempted to weigh, with an impartial hand, their various merits and defects; and, whilst he checked the rash confidence of ambition, he distrusted the cautious wisdom which despaired of the republic. As each moment of delay diminished something of the power and resources of the future sovereign of the east, the situation of the times would not allow a tedious debate. The choice of Gratian was soon declared in favour of an exile, whose father, only three years before, had suffered, under the sanction of his authority, an unjust and ignominious death. The (lib. 4, p. 233—236), mistakes the date, and labours to find the reason why Julius did not consult the emperor Theodosius, who had not yet

great Theodosius, a name celebrated in history, and dear to the Catholic church,* was summoned to the imperial court, which had gradually retreated from the confines of Thrace to the more secure station of Sirmium. Five months after the death of Valens, the emperor Gratian produced before the assembled troops, his colleague, and *their* inaster; who, after a modest, perhaps a sincere, resistance, was compelled to accept, amidst the general acclamations, the diadem, the purple, and the equal title of Augustus.† The provinces of Thrace, Asia, and Egypt, over which Valens had reigned, were resigned to the administration of the new emperor; but, as he was specially intrusted with the conduct of the Gothic war, the Illyrian prefecture was dismembered; and the two great dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia were added to the dominions of the eastern empire.‡

The same province, and, perhaps, the same city,§ which had given to the throne the virtues of Trajan, and the talents of Hadrian, was the original seat of another family of Spaniards, who, in a less fortunate age, possessed, near fourscore years, the declining empire of Rome.¶ They emerged from the obscurity of municipal honours by the active spirit of the elder Theodosius, a general, whose exploits in Britain and Africa have formed one of the most splendid parts of the annals of Valentinian. The son of

ascended the throne of the east. * A life of Theodosius the Great was composed in the last century (Paris, 1679, in 4to., 1680, in 12mo), to inflame the mind of the young Dauphin with Catholic zeal. The author, Flechier, afterwards bishop of Nismes, was a celebrated preacher; and his history is adorned, or tainted, with pulpit eloquence; but he takes his learning from Baronius, and his principles from St. Ambrose and St. Augustin. † The birth, character, and elevation of Theodosius are marked in Pacatus (in Panegy. Vet. 12. 10—12), Themistius (Orat. 14, p. 182), Zosimus (lib. 4, p. 231), Augustin (de Civitat. Dei, 5, 25), Orosius (lib. 7, c. 34), Sozomen (lib. 7, c. 2), Socrates (lib. 5, c. 2), Theodoret (lib. 5, c. 5), Philostorgius (lib. 9, c. 17, with Godefroy, p. 393), the Epitome of Victor, and the Chronicles of Prosper, Idatius, and Marcellinus, in the Thesaurus Temporum of Scaliger. ‡ Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. 5, p. 716, &c. § *Italia*, found by Scipio Africanus for his wounded veterans of *Italy*. The ruins still appear, about a league from Seville, but on the opposite bank of the river. See the *Hispania Illustrata* of Nonius, a short, though valuable, treatise, c. 17, p. 64—67. ¶ I agree with Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v, p. 726) in suspecting the royal pedigree, which remained a secret till the promotion of Theodosius. Even after that event, the silence of Pacatus outweighs the venal evi-

that general, who likewise bore the name of Theodosius, was educated, by skilful preceptors, in the liberal studies of youth; but he was instructed in the art of war by the tender care and severe discipline of his father.* Under the standard of such a leader, young Theodosius sought glory and knowledge, in the most distant scenes of military action; inured his constitution to the difference of seasons and climates; distinguished his valour by sea and land; and observed the various warfare of the Scots, the Saxons, and the Moors. His own merit, and the recommendation of the conqueror of Africa, soon raised him to a separate command; and, in the station of duke of Mœsia, he vanquished an army of Sarmatians; saved the province; deserved the love of the soldiers; and provoked the envy of the court.† His rising fortunes were soon blasted by the disgrace and execution of his illustrious father; and Theodosius obtained, as a favour, the permission of retiring to a private life, in his native province of Spain. He displayed a firm and temperate character in the ease with which he adapted himself to this his new situation. His time was almost equally divided between the town and country: the spirit which had animated his public conduct, was shown in the active and affectionate performance of every social duty; and the diligence of the soldier was profitably converted to the improvement of his ample patrimony,‡ which lay between Valladolid and Segovia, in the midst of a fruitful district, still famous for a most exquisite breed of sheep.§ From the innocent but humble labours of his farm, Theodosius was transported, in less than four months, to the throne of the eastern empire: and the whole period of the history of the world will not perhaps afford a similar example of an elevation, at the same time so pure and so honourable.

dence of Themistius, Victor, and Claudian, who connect the family of Theodosius with the blood of Trajan and Hadrian. * Pacatus.com. pares, and consequently prefers, the youth of Theodosius, to the military education of Alexander, Hannibal, and the second Africanus; who, like him, had served under their fathers (12, 8). † Ammianus.(29, 6) mentions this victory of Theodosius Junior Dux Mœsie, primâ etiam tum lanugine juvenis, princeps postea perspectissimus. The same fact is attested by Themistius and Zosimus; but Theodoret (lib. 5, c. 5), who adds some curious circumstances, strangely applies it to the time of the interregnum. ‡ Pacatus (in Panegy. Vet. 12, 9) prefers the rustic life of Theodosius to that of Cincinnatus; the one was the effect of choice, the other of poverty. § M. d'Anville (Géographie

The princes who peaceably inherit the sceptre of their fathers, claim and enjoy a legal right, the more secure, as it is absolutely distinct from the merits of their personal characters. The subjects who, in a monarchy or a popular state, acquire the possession of supreme power, may have raised themselves, by the superiority either of genius or virtue, above the heads of their equals: but their virtue is seldom exempt from ambition, and the cause of the successful candidate is frequently stained by the guilt of conspiracy or civil war. Even in those governments which allow the reigning monarch to declare a colleague or a successor, his partial choice, which may be influenced by the blindest passions, is often directed to an unworthy object. But the most suspicious malignity cannot ascribe to Theodosius, in his obscure solitude of Caucha, the arts, the desires, or even the hopes, of an ambitious statesman; and the name of the exile would long since have been forgotten, if his genuine and distinguished virtues had not left a deep impression in the imperial court. During the season of prosperity he had been neglected; but, in the public distress, his superior merit was universally felt and acknowledged. What confidence must have been reposed in his integrity, since Gratian could trust that a pious son would forgive, for the sake of the republic, the murder of his father! What expectations must have been formed of his abilities, to encourage the hope, that a single man could save and restore the empire of the east! Theodosius was invested with the purple in the thirty-third year of his age. The vulgar gazed with admiration on the manly beauty of his face, and the graceful majesty of his person, which they were pleased to compare with the pictures and medals of the emperor Trajan; whilst intelligent observers discovered, in the qualities of his heart and understanding, a more important resemblance to the best and greatest of the Roman princes.

It is not without the most sincere regret, that I must now take leave of an accurate and faithful guide, who has composed the history of his own times, without indulging the prejudices and passions which usually affect the mind of a contemporary. Ammianus Marcellinus, who terminates (Ancienne, tom. i, p. 25) has fixed the situation of Caucha, or Coca, in the old province of Galicia, where Zosimus and Idatius have placed the

nates his useful work with the defeat and death of Valens, recommends the more glorious subject of the ensuing reign to the youthful vigour and eloquence of the rising generation.* The rising generation was not disposed to accept his advice, or to imitate his example;† and, in the study of the reign of Theodosius, we are reduced to illustrate the partial narrative of Zosimus, by the obscure hints of fragments and chronicles, by the figurative style of poetry or panegyric, and by the precarious assistance of the ecclesiastical writers, who, in the heat of religious faction, are apt to despise the profane virtues of sincerity and moderation. Conscious of these disadvantages, which will continue to involve a considerable portion of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, I shall proceed with doubtful and timorous steps. Yet I may boldly pronounce, that the battle of Hadrianople was never revenged by any signal or decisive victory of Theodosius over the barbarians; and the expressive silence of his venal orators may be confirmed by the observation of the condition and circumstances of the times. The fabric of a mighty state, which has been reared by the labours of successive ages, could not be overturned by the misfortune of a single day, if the fatal power of the imagination did not exaggerate the real measure of the calamity. The loss of forty thousand Romans, who fell in the plains of Hadrianople, might have been soon recruited in the populous provinces of the east, which contained so many millions of inhabitants. The courage of a soldier is found to be the cheapest and most common quality of human nature; and sufficient skill to encounter an undisciplined foe might have been speedily taught by the care of the surviving centu-

birth, or patrimony, of Theodosius.

* Let us hear Ammianus himself. *Hæc, ut miles quondam et Græcus, a principatu Cæsaris Nervæ exorsus, adusque Valentis interitum, pro virium explicavi mensurâ: opus veritatem professum; nunquam, ut arbitror, sciens, silentio ausus corrumpere vel mendacio.* Seribant reliqua potiores ætate, doctrinisque florentes. Quos id, si libuerit, aggressuros, proeudere linguas ad majores moveo stilos (Ammian. 31, 16.) The first thirteen books, a superficial epitome of two hundred and fifty-seven years, are now lost; the last eighteen, which contain no more than twenty-five years, still preserve the copious and authentic history of his own times.

† Ammianus was the last subject of Rome who composed a profane history in the Latin language. The east, in the next century, produced some rhetorical historians, Zosimus, Olympiodorus, Malchus, Candidus, &c. See Vossius *de Historicis Græcis*, lib. 2, c. 18, *de Historicis Latinis*, lib. 2, c. 10, &c.

rions. If the barbarians were mounted on the horses, and equipped with the armour, of their vanquished enemies, the numerous studs of Cappadocia and Spain would have supplied new squadrons of cavalry; the thirty-four arsenals of the empire were plentifully stored with magazines of offensive and defensive arms; and the wealth of Asia might still have yielded an ample fund for the expenses of the war. But the effects which were produced by the battle of Hadrianople on the minds of the barbarians and of the Romans, extended the victory of the former, and the defeat of the latter, far beyond the limits of a single day. A Gothic chief was heard to declare, with insolent moderation, that, for his own part, he was fatigued with slaughter; but that he was astonished how a people who fled before him like a flock of sheep, could still presume to dispute the possession of their treasures and provinces.* The same terrors which the name of the Huns had spread among the Gothic tribes,

* Chrysostom, tom. i, p. 344, edit. Montfaucon. I have verified, and examined, this passage: but I should never, without the aid of Tillemont (*Hist. des Emp.* tom. v, p. 152), have detected an historical anecdote in a strange medley of moral and mystic exhortations, addressed, by the preacher of Antioch, to a young widow. [Why were the still undiminished resources of so mighty an empire, in the hands of so able a ruler as Theodosius, insufficient for its salvation? Why did not Rome, possessing ampler means, recover from these disasters, as before from the bloodier fields of Thrasymene and Cannæ? Because the spirit of the people was crushed! Mind has within itself no seeds of decay, which periodically shoot up, to choke the growth of previous years. Its natural course is ever onward; and it knows no retrograde movement, but from external repulse. To go to no higher antiquity, it had, from the earliest days of Greece till the Augustan age, for eighteen centuries, a career of vigorous improvement; after which, we find it gradually retrograding; and may here note one stage of its relapse. The "fatal power of the imagination" had gained an ascendancy, which it can only gain when the higher faculty of reason is depressed; and this was the work of the hierarchy. Glimpses of their increasing arrogance and encroaching domination have occasionally broken upon us in the preceding pages; and should be attentively watched, if we would understand the history of the period. Their influence is perceived in every paling feature of society, in the lowered tone of talent, and the dying flame of genius. Literature is the expression and type of the general mind. One declines with the other, Enfeebled energy lays aside the pen, when the plough and the hammer, the trowel and the pencil, the sword and the sceptre, afford it no materials. So fared it with debilitated man, in those closing days of the western empire. The fatal blight exhaled from turbid pools of sacerdotal ambition, and the miry slough of unintelligible controversy, invrapped the age

were inspired, by the formidable name of the Goths, among the subjects and soldiers of the Roman empire.* If Theodosius, hastily collecting his scattered forces, had led them into the field to encounter a victorious enemy, his army would have been vanquished by their own fears; and his rashness could not have been excused by the chance of success. But the *great* Theodosius, an epithet which he honourably deserved on this momentous occasion, conducted himself as the firm and faithful guardian of the republic. He fixed his head-quarters at Thessalonica, the capital of the Macedonian diocese;† from whence he could watch the irregular motions of the barbarians, and direct the operations of his lieutenants, from the gates of Constantinople to the shores of the Adriatic. The fortifications and garrisons of the cities were strengthened; and the troops, among whom a sense of order and discipline was revived, were insensibly emboldened by the confidence of their own safety. From these secure stations they were encouraged to make frequent sallies on the barbarians, who infested the adjacent country: and, as they were seldom allowed to engage without some decisive superiority, either of ground or of numbers, their enterprises were, for the most part, successful; and they were soon convinced, by their own experience, of the possibility of vanquishing their *invincible* enemies. The detachments of these separate garrisons were gradually united into small armies; the same cautious measures were pursued, according to an extensive and well-concerted plan of operations; the events of each day added strength and spirit to the Roman arms; and the artful diligence of the emperor, who circulated the most

in darkness. Exertion, mental and bodily, was paralyzed; and all comprehensive views of imminent consequences obscured. No ruling genius of earlier times, whether Greek or Roman, would have permitted such an act of national suicide, as that of bringing a whole Gothic tribe within the barrier of the Danube. The besotted infatuation of Valens and his advisers in that instance, is but an exhibition of drooping intellect. This progressive evil will come before us in its succeeding stages, and disclose the workings by which it brought on the fall of the Roman empire, and the long reign of ignorance and barbarism that followed.—Ed.]

* Eunapius, in Excerpt. Legation. p. 21.

† See Godefroy's Chronology of the Laws. Codex Theodori tom. i. Prolegomen. p. 99—104.

favourable reports of the success of the war, contributed to subdue the pride of the barbarians, and to animate the hopes and courage of his subjects. If, instead of this faint and imperfect outline, we could accurately represent the counsels and actions of Theodosius, in four successive campaigns, there is reason to believe that his consummate skill would deserve the applause of every military reader. The republic had formerly been saved by the delays of Fabius; and while the splendid trophies of Scipio, in the field of Zama, attract the eyes of posterity, the camps and marches of the dictator, among the hills of Campania, may claim a juster proportion of the solid and independent fame, which the general is not compelled to share, either with fortune or with his troops. Such was likewise the merit of Theodosius; and the infirmities of his body, which most unseasonably languished under a long and dangerous disease, could not oppress the vigour of his mind, or divert his attention from the public service.*

The deliverance and peace of the Roman provinces† was the work of prudence rather than of valour: the prudence of Theodosius was seconded by fortune; and the emperor never failed to seize, and to improve, every favourable circumstance. As long as the superior genius of Frigern preserved the union, and directed the motions of the barbarians, their power was not inadequate to the conquest of a great empire. The death of that hero, the predecessor and master of the renowned Alaric, relieved an impatient multitude from the intolerable yoke of discipline and discretion. The barbarians, who had been restrained by his authority, abandoned themselves to the dictates of their passions; and their passions were seldom uniform or consistent. An army of conquerors was broken into many disorderly bands of savage robbers; and their blind and irregular fury was not less pernicious to themselves than to

* Most writers insist on the illness, and long repose, of Theodosius, at Thessalonica: Zosimus, to diminish his glory; Jornandes, to favour the Goths; and the ecclesiastical writers, to introduce his baptism.

† Compare Themistius (Orat. 14, p. 181) with Zosimus (lib. 4, p. 232), Jornandes (c. 27, p. 649), and the prolix commentary of M. de Buat (Hist. des Peuples, &c. tom. vi, p. 477—552). The Chronicles of Idatius and Marcellinus allude, in general terms, to magna certamina, *magna multaque prælia*. The two epithets are not easily reconciled.

their enemies. Their mischievous disposition was shown in the destruction of every object which they wanted strength to remove or taste to enjoy; and they often consumed, with improvident rage, the harvests or the granaries, which soon afterwards became necessary for their own subsistence. A spirit of discord arose among the independent tribes and nations, which had been united only by the bands of a loose and voluntary alliance. The troops of the Huns and the Alani would naturally upbraid the flight of the Goths, who were not disposed to use with moderation the advantages of their fortune; the ancient jealousy of the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths could not long be suspended; and the haughty chiefs still remembered the insults and injuries which they had reciprocally offered or sustained, while the nation was seated in the countries beyond the Danube. The progress of domestic faction abated the more diffusive sentiment of national animosity; and the officers of Theodosius were instructed to purchase, with liberal gifts and promises, the retreat, or service, of the discontented party. The acquisition of Modar, a prince of the royal blood of the Amali, gave a bold and faithful champion to the cause of Rome. The illustrious deserter soon obtained the rank of master-general, with an important command; surprised an army of his countrymen, who were immersed in wine and sleep; and, after a cruel slaughter of the astonished Goths, returned with an immense spoil, and four thousand wagons, to the imperial camp.* In the hands of a skilful politician, the most different means may be successively applied to the same ends: and the peace of the empire, which had been forwarded by the divisions, was accomplished by the reunion of the Gothic nation. Athanaric, who had been a patient spectator of these extraordinary events, was at length driven, by the chance of arms, from the dark recesses of the woods of Caucaland. He no longer hesitated to pass the Danube; and a very considerable part of the subjects of Fritigern,

* Zosimus (l. 4, p. 232) styles him a Scythian, a name which the more recent Greeks seem to have appropriated to the Goths. [See an explanatory note on this subject at p. 138. The different forms and sounds given to the two names in modern times, have veiled their original affinity. To Zosimus and "the more recent Greeks," the resemblance might yet be perceptible; and they evidently saw an identity of race as well as of early abode. But the regular course of migration was unobserved by them.—ED.]

who already felt the inconveniences of anarchy, were easily persuaded to acknowledge for their king, a Gothic judge, whose birth they respected, and whose abilities they had frequently experienced. But age had chilled the daring spirit of Athanaric; and, instead of leading his people to the field of battle and victory, he wisely listened to the fair proposal of an honourable and advantageous treaty. Theodosius, who was acquainted with the merit and power of his new ally, condescended to meet him at the distance of several miles from Constantinople; and entertained him in the imperial city, with the confidence of a friend, and the magnificence of a monarch. The barbarian prince observed, with curious attention, the variety of objects which attracted his notice, and at last broke out into a sincere and passionate exclamation of wonder. "I now behold," (said he), "what I never could believe, the glories of this stupendous capital!" And as he cast his eyes around, he viewed, and he admired, the commanding situation of the city, the strength and beauty of the walls and public edifices, the capacious harbour, crowded with innumerable vessels, the perpetual concourse of distant nations, and the arms and discipline of the troops. "Indeed," (continued Athanaric), "the emperor of the Romans is a god upon earth; and the presumptuous man who dares to lift his hand against him, is guilty of his own blood."* The Gothic king did not long enjoy this splendid and honourable reception; and, as temperance was not the virtue of his nation, it may justly be suspected that his mortal disease was contracted amidst the pleasures of the imperial banquets. But the policy of Theodosius derived more solid benefit from the death, than he could have expected from the most faithful services; of his ally. The funeral of Athanaric was performed with solemn rites in the capital of the east; a stately monument

* The reader will not be displeased to see the original words of Jornandes, or the author whom he transcribed. *Regiam urbem ingressus est, miransque: En, inquit, cerno quod sæpe incredulus audiebam, famam videlicet tantæ urbis. Et huc illuc oculos volvens, nunc situm urbis commeatumque navium, nunc mœnia clara prospectans, miratur; populosque diversarum gentium, quasi fonte in uno e diversis partibus scaturiente undâ, sic quoque militem ordinatum aspiciens. Deus, inquit, sine dubio est terrenus Imperator, et quisquis adversus eum manum moverit, ipse sui sanguinis reus existit.* *Jornandes* (c. 28, p. 650) proceeds to mention his death and funeral.

was erected to his memory; and his whole army, won by the liberal courtesy and decent grief of Theodosius, enlisted under the standard of the Roman empire.* The submission of so great a body of the Visigoths was productive of the most salutary consequences; and the mixed influence of force, of reason, and of corruption, became every day more powerful and more extensive. Each independent chieftain hastened to obtain a separate treaty, from the apprehension that an obstinate delay might expose *him*, alone and unprotected, to the revenge or justice of the conqueror. The general, or rather the final, capitulation of the Goths, may be dated four years one month and twenty-five days after the defeat and death of the emperor Valens.†

The provinces of the Danube had been already relieved from the oppressive weight of the Gruthungi.‡ or Ostrogoths, by the voluntary retreat of Alatheus and Saphrax; whose restless spirit had prompted them to seek new scenes of rapine and glory. Their destructive course was pointed towards the west; but we must be satisfied with a very obscure and imperfect knowledge of their various adventures. The Ostrogoths impelled several of the German tribes on the provinces of Gaul; concluded, and soon violated, a treaty with the emperor Gratian; advanced into the unknown countries of the north; and, after an interval of more than four years, returned, with accumulated force, to the banks of the Lower Danube. Their troops were recruited with the fiercest warriors of Germany and Seythia;

* Jornandes, c. 28, p. 650. Even Zosimus (l. 4, p. 246) is compelled to approve the generosity of Theodosius, so honourable to himself, and so beneficial to the public.
 † The short, but authentic, hints in the *Fasti* of Idatius (Chron. Scaliger. p. 52), are stained with contemporary passion. The fourteenth oration of Themistius is a compliment to peace and the consul Saturninus, (A.D. 383.) [Yet within sixteen years after this "final capitulation," the Visigoths came forth more powerful than ever, with Alaric as their king. How often, in ancient history, do we find the defeat of an army or submission of a horde, magnified into a total annihilation of independence, or even the entire extinction of a people. It will be seen how other Goths, ever coming forward, recruited this western division, and were included under its designation.—Ed.]
 ‡ The name of *Gruthungi* is evidently a corruption of *Guthungi* and *Guttones*, in which form it appears in other writers and at other times; and all these are only Latin variations of *Guten*. This is the only satisfactory solution of the difficulties created by the various opinions on this subject, most of which are given by Cellarius, vol. i. p. 385. 406, and in Burman's Note

and the soldiers, or at least the historians, of the empire, no longer recognised the name and countenances of their former enemies.* The general who commanded the military and naval powers of the Thracian frontier, soon perceived that his superiority would be disadvantageous to the public service; and that the barbarians, awed by the presence of his fleet and legions, would probably defer the passage of the river till the approaching winter. The dexterity of the spies, whom he sent into the Gothic camp, allured the barbarians into a fatal snare. They were persuaded, that, by a bold attempt, they might surprise, in the silence and darkness of the night, the sleeping army of the Romans; and the whole multitude was hastily embarked in a fleet of three thousand canoes.† The bravest of the Ostrogoths led the van; the main body consisted of the remainder of their subjects and soldiers; and the women and children securely followed in the rear. One of the nights without a moon had been selected for the execution of their design; and they had almost reached the southern bank of the Danube, in the firm confidence that they should find an easy landing, and an unguarded camp. But the progress of the barbarians was suddenly stopped by an unexpected obstacle—a triple line of vessels, strongly connected with each other, and which formed an impenetrable chain of two miles and a half along the river. While they struggled to force their way in the unequal conflict, their right flank was overwhelmed by the irresistible attack of a fleet of galleys, which were urged down the stream by the united impulse of oars and of the tide. The weight and velocity of those ships of war broke, and sunk, and dispersed, the rude and feeble canoes of the barbarians: their valour was ineffectual; and Alatheus, the king or general of the Ostrogoths, perished, with his bravest troops, either by the sword of the Romans, or in the

on Claudian's line, quoted below.—ED.
πᾶσιν ἄγνωστον. Zosimus, l. 4, p. 252.

* *Ἔθνος τὸ Σκύθικον*
 † I am justified, by reason and example, in applying this Indian name to the *μονόξυλα* of the barbarians, the single trees hollowed into the shape of a boat, *αληθεῖ μονόξυλων ἐμβιβάσαντες.* Zosimus, l. 4, p. 253.

Ausi Danubium quondam tranare Gruthungi
 In lintres fregere nemus: ter mille ruebant
 Per fluvium plenæ cuneis inmanibus alni.

Claudian, in 4 Cons. Hon. 623.

waves of the Danube. The last division of this unfortunate fleet might regain the opposite shore; but the distress and disorder of the multitude rendered them alike incapable either of action or counsel; and they soon implored the clemency of the victorious enemy. On this occasion, as well as on many others, it is a difficult task to reconcile the passions and prejudices of the writers of the age of Theodosius. The partial and malignant historian who misrepresents every action of his reign, affirms that the emperor did not appear in the field of battle till the barbarians had been vanquished by the valour and conduct of his lieutenant Promotus.* The flattering poet, who celebrated, in the court of Honorius, the glory of the father and of the son, ascribes the victory to the personal prowess of Theodosius; and almost insinuates that the king of the Ostrogoths was slain by the hand of the emperor.† The truth of history might perhaps be found in a just medium between these extreme and contradictory assertions.

The original treaty, which fixed the settlement of the Goths, ascertained their privileges, and stipulated their obligations, would illustrate the history of Theodosius and his successors. The series of their history has imperfectly preserved the spirit and substance of this singular agreement.‡ The ravages of war and tyranny had provided many large tracts of fertile but uncultivated land, for the use of those barbarians who might not disdain the practice of agriculture. A numerous colony of the Visigoths was seated in Thrace: the remains of the Ostrogoths were supplied by a distribution of corn and cattle; and their future

* Zosimus, l. 4, p. 252—255. He too frequently betrays his poverty of judgment, by disgracing the most serious narratives with trifling and incredible circumstances.

+ ——— Odothæi regis opima Retulit—

Ver. 632.

The *opima* were the spoils which a Roman general could only win from the king or general of the enemy, whom he had slain with his own hands: and no more than three such examples are celebrated in the victorious ages of Rome. ‡ See Themistius, Orat. 16, p. 211. Claudian (in Eutrop. l. 2, 152) mentions the Phrygian colony:

——— Ostrogothis colitur mistisque Gruthungis Phryx æger—

and then proceeds to name the rivers of Lydia, the Pactolus and Hermus,

industry was encouraged by an exemption from tribute, during a certain term of years. The barbarians would have deserved to feel the cruel and perfidious policy of the imperial court, if they had suffered themselves to be dispersed through the provinces. They required, and they obtained, the sole possession of the villages and districts assigned for their residence: they still cherished and propagated their native manners and language; asserted, in the bosom of despotism, the freedom of their domestic government; and acknowledged the sovereignty of the emperor, without submitting to the inferior jurisdiction of the laws and magistrates of Rome. The hereditary chiefs of the tribes and families were still permitted to command their followers in peace and war; but the royal dignity was abolished; and the generals of the Goths were appointed and removed at the pleasure of the emperor. An army of forty thousand Goths was maintained for the perpetual service of the empire of the east; and those haughty troops, who assumed the title of *Fœderati*, or allies, were distinguished by their gold collars, liberal pay, and licentious privileges. Their native courage was improved by the use of arms and the knowledge of discipline; and, while the republic was guarded, or threatened, by the doubtful sword of the barbarians, the last sparks of the military flame were finally extinguished in the minds of the Romans.* Theodosius had the address to persuade his allies that the conditions of peace, which had been extorted from him by prudence and necessity, were the voluntary expressions of his sincere friendship for the Gothic nation.† A different mode of vindication or apology was opposed to the complaints of the people; who loudly censured these shameful and dangerous concessions.‡ The calamities of the war

* Compare Jornandes (c. 20. 27), who marks the condition and number of the Gothic *Fœderati*, with Zosimus (l. 4, p. 258), who mentions their golden collars; and Pacatus, in (Panegy. Vet. 12. 37) who applauds, with false or foolish joy, their bravery and discipline.

† *Amator pacis generisque Gothorum*, is the praise bestowed by the Gothic historian (c. 29), who represents his nation as innocent, peaceable men, slow to anger, and patient of injuries. According to Livy, the Romans conquered the world in their own defence.

‡ Besides the partial invectives of Zosimus (always discontented with the Christian reigns), see the grave representations which Synesius addresses to the emperor Arcadius. (De Regno, p. 25, 26, edit. Patav.)

were painted in the most lively colours; and the first symptoms of the return of order, of plenty, and security, were diligently exaggerated. The advocates of Theodosius could affirm, with some appearance of truth and reason, that it was impossible to extirpate so many warlike tribes, who were rendered desperate by the loss of their native country; and that the exhausted provinces would be revived by a fresh supply of soldiers and husbandmen. The barbarians still wore an angry and hostile aspect; but the experience of past times might encourage the hope, that they would acquire the habits of industry and obedience; that their manners would be polished by time, education, and the influence of Christianity; and that their posterity would insensibly blend with the great body of the Roman people.*

Notwithstanding these specious arguments, and these sanguine expectations, it was apparent to every discerning eye, that the Goths would long remain the enemies, and might soon become the conquerors, of the Roman empire. Their rude and insolent behaviour expressed their contempt of the citizens and provincials, whom they insulted with impunity.† To the zeal and valour of the barbarians, Theodosius was indebted for the success of his arms: but their assistance was precarious; and they were sometimes seduced, by a treacherous and inconstant disposition, to abandon his standard, at the moment when their service was the most essential. During the civil war against Maximus, a great number of Gothic deserters retired into the morasses of Macedonia, wasted the adjacent provinces, and obliged the intrepid monarch to expose his person, and exert his

The philosophic bishop of Cyrene was near enough to judge; and he was sufficiently removed from the temptation of fear or flattery. [For Synesius, see ch. 20 (vol ii. p. 381.) The date of this oration is A.D. 399, when, as ambassador from Cyrene, he presented the usual crown of gold to the new emperor. (See ch. 30.) He was not a bishop till ten years afterwards, and then his episcopal seat was not Cyrene, but Ptolemais, a new city, eighty-two miles distant from the place of his birth.—Ed.]

* Themistius (Orat. 16, p. 211, 212) composes an elaborate and rational apology which is not, however, exempt from the puerilities of Greek rhetoric. Orpheus could only charm the wild beasts of Thrace; but Theodosius enchanted the men and women, whose predecessors in the same country had torn Orpheus in pieces, &c.

† Constantinople was deprived, half a day, of the public allowance of bread, to expiate the murder of a Gothic soldier: *κινούντες τὸ Στάτον* was the guilt of the people. Libanius, Orat. 12, p. 394, edit.

power, to suppress the rising flame of rebellion.* The public apprehensions were fortified by the strong suspicion, that these tumults were not the effect of accidental passion, but the result of deep and premeditated design. It was generally believed, that the Goths had signed the treaty of peace with a hostile and insidious spirit; and that their chiefs had previously bound themselves, by a solemn and secret oath, never to keep faith with the Romans; to maintain the fairest show of loyalty and friendship, and to watch the favourable moment of rapine, of conquest, and of revenge. But, as the minds of the barbarians were not insensible to the power of gratitude, several of the Gothic leaders sincerely devoted themselves to the service of the empire, or at least, of the emperor: the whole nation was insensibly divided into two opposite factions, and much sophistry was employed in conversation and dispute, to compare the obligations of their first and second engagements. The Goths who considered themselves as the friends of peace, of justice, and of Rome, were directed by the authority of Fravitta, a valiant and honourable youth, distinguished above the rest of his countrymen, by the politeness of his manners, the liberality of his sentiments, and the mild virtues of social life. But the more numerous faction adhered to the fierce and faithless Priulf, who inflamed the passions, and asserted the independence, of his warlike followers. On one of the solemn festivals, when the chiefs of both parties were invited to the imperial table, they were insensibly heated by wine, till they forgot the usual restraints of discretion and respect; and betrayed in the presence of Theodosius, the fatal secret of their domestic disputes. The emperor, who had been the reluctant witness of this extraordinary controversy, dissembled his fears and resentment, and soon dismissed the tumultuous assembly. Fravitta, alarmed and exasperated by the insolence of his rival, whose departure from the palace might have been the signal of a civil war, boldly followed him; and, drawing his sword, laid Priulf dead at his feet. Their companions flew to arms; and the faithful champion of Rome would have been oppressed by superior numbers, if he had not been protected by the seasonable interposition

Morel. * Zosimus, l. 4, p. 267—271. He tells a long and ridiculous story of the adventurous prince, who roved the country with only five horsemen; of a spy whom they detected, whipped, and killed in an old

of the imperial guards.* Such were the scenes of barbaric rage, which disgraced the palace and table of the Roman emperor; and, as the impatient Goths could only be restrained by the firm and temperate character of Theodosius, the public safety seemed to depend on the life and abilities of a single man.†

CHAPTER XXVII.—DEATH OF GRATIAN.—RUIN OF ARIANISM.—ST. AMBROSE.—FIRST CIVIL WAR, AGAINST MAXIMUS.—CHARACTER, ADMINISTRATION, AND PENANCE, OF THEODOSIUS.—DEATH OF VALENTINIAN II.—SECOND CIVIL WAR, AGAINST EUGENIUS.—DEATH OF THEODOSIUS.

THE fame of Gratian, before he had accomplished the twentieth year of his age, was equal to that of the most celebrated princes. His gentle and amiable disposition endeared him to his private friends, the graceful affability of his manners engaged the affection of the people: the men of letters, who enjoyed the liberality, acknowledged the taste and eloquence of their sovereign; his valour and dexterity in arms were equally applauded by the soldiers; and the clergy considered the humble piety of Gratian as the first and most useful of his virtues.‡ The victory of

woman's cottage, &c. * Compare Eunapius (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 21, 22) with Zosimus (l. 4, p. 279). The difference of circumstances and names must undoubtedly be applied to the same story. Fravitta, or Travitta, was afterwards consul (A.D. 401), and still continued his faithful services to the eldest son of Theodosius. (Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v, p. 467.) † Les Goths ravagèrent tout depuis le Danube, jusqu'au Bosphore; exterminèrent Valens et son armée; et ne repassèrent le Danube, que pour abandonner l'affreuse solitude qu'ils avoient faite. (Œuvres de Montesquieu, tom. iii, p. 479. Considerations sur les Causes de la Grandeur et de la Décadence des Romains, c. 17.) The president Montesquieu seems ignorant that the Goths, after the defeat of Valens, never abandoned the Roman territory. It is now thirty years, says Claudian (de Bello Getico, 166, &c. A.D. 404),

Ex quo jam patrios gens hæc oblita Triones,
Atque Istrum transvecta semel, vestigia fixit
Thracio funesta solo

The error is inexcusable; since it disguises the principal and immediate cause of the fall of the western empire of Rome. ‡ The altar, dedicated to Victory, on which the senators were accustomed to offer

Colmar had delivered the west from a formidable invasion; and the grateful provinces of the east ascribed the merits of Theodosius to the author of *his* greatness and of the public safety. Gratian survived those memorable events only four or five years; but he survived his reputation; and before he fell a victim to rebellion, he had lost, in a great measure, the respect and confidence of the Roman world.

The remarkable alteration of his character or conduct may not be imputed to the arts of flattery which had besieged the son of Valentinian from his infancy; nor to the headstrong passions, which that gentle youth appears to have escaped. A more attentive view of the life of Gratian may perhaps suggest the true cause of the disappointment of the public hopes. His apparent virtues, instead of being the hardy productions of experience and adversity, were the premature and artificial fruits of a royal education. The anxious tenderness of his father was continually employed to bestow on him those advantages, which he might perhaps esteem the more highly, as he himself had been deprived of them; and the most skilful masters of every science, and of every art, had laboured to form the mind and body of the young prince.* The knowledge

incense, had been restored by Julian to its place in the senate-house. Jovian and Valentinian allowed it to remain there—but it was removed by Gratian. He was also the first emperor who refused the robe of the Pontifex Maximus, which had always been received before as one of the badges of imperial dignity. (Zosimus, l. 4, c. 36.) The title, however, seems to have been retained by him, and by his successors also; as is shown by Eckhel, who has a separate dissertation on the subject. (Num. Vet. vol. viii, p. 380—390.) After reciting the controversies to which it had given rise, he concludes that the Christian emperors took the title as heads of their own church, “quod iste titulus includeret summum in Christianorum ecclesias regimen atque imperium.” The *Pontifices Maximo Majores* had not yet made an emperor's neck their horse-block. This part of Gratian's conduct, and other facts introduced in a succeeding note, do not escape Gibbon's observation in his next chapter. But so much of his narrative may be appropriately anticipated here, as seems necessary to illustrate character and events while they are passing before us.—ED.

* Valentinian was less attentive to the religion of his son; since he intrusted the education of Gratian to Ausonius, a professed Pagan. (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xv, p. 125—133.) The poetical fame of Ausonius condemns the taste of his age. [The religious training of Gratian was at least watched by Ambrose, archbishop of Milan, who took particular care to keep him from the snares of Arianism, into which his father and younger brother fell. For this he addressed to him his

which they painfully communicated was displayed with ostentation, and celebrated with lavish praise. His soft and tractable disposition received the fair impression of their judicious precepts, and the absence of passion might easily be mistaken for the strength of reason. His preceptors gradually rose to the rank and consequence of ministers of state;* and as they wisely dissembled their secret authority, he seemed to act with firmness, with propriety, and with judgment, on the most important occasions of his life and reign. But the influence of this elaborate instruction did not penetrate beyond the surface; and the skilful preceptors, who so accurately guided the steps of their royal pupil, could not infuse into his feeble and indolent character, the vigorous and independent principle of action, which renders the laborious pursuit of glory essentially necessary to the happiness, and almost to the

treatise on the Trinity, and became his spiritual guide. According to Niebuhr (Lectures, vol. iii, p. 316), Valentinian, through his own want of learning, erred in the choice of masters for his son. "He thought that he had found in Ausonius an excellent tutor for Gratian, just as Antoninus was mistaken in Fronto." This latter he had previously condemned (p. 233) for his course of instruction, which "made his pupil read authors merely for the sake of their phrases, leading him to hunt after words, as he calls it, himself." This accounts for that superficial impression of "judicious precepts," which was so soon effaced in Gratian by the pleasures of the world. But Ausonius does not appear to have had any deep fixed principles himself. An easy flow of words while lecturing on rhetoric in the schools of Bordeaux and Toulouse, acquired for him the celebrity by which he was made known to Valentinian. His poetry is languid, and his avowal of opinion so cautious, that, while some, like Gibbon, consider him to have been a professed Pagan, others find in his compositions equally strong proofs that he was a Christian. Trithemius made him bishop of Bordeaux, and Vinetus canonized him. Some saints have undoubtedly left worse writings than the worst of Ausonius. Bayle thought the question not unworthy of a somewhat lengthened discussion, which proves the poet to have been no Pagan. He states fairly the contradictory opinions and arguments, and the concluding words of his last note are: "Ausonius is represented in very various lights. Some say that he was not so much as a Christian; and others, that he is in the catalogue of canonized saints." Gibbon ought not, therefore, to have been so positive.—Ed.] * Ausonius was successively promoted to the pretorian prefecture of Italy (A.D. 377) and of Gaul (A.D. 378); and was at length invested with the consulship (A.D. 379). He expressed his gratitude in a servile and insipid piece of flattery (Actio Gratiarum, p. 699—736), which has survived more worthy productions.

existence, of the hero. As soon as time and accident had removed those faithful counsellors from the throne, the emperor of the west insensibly descended to the level of his natural genius; abandoned the reins of government to the ambitious hands which were stretched forward to grasp them; and amused his leisure with the most frivolous gratifications. A public sale of favour and injustice was instituted, both in the court and in the provinces, by the worthless delegates of his power, whose merit it was made *sacrilege* to question.* The conscience of the credulous prince was directed by saints and bishops;† who procured an imperial edict to punish, as a capital offence, the violation, the neglect, or even the ignorance, of the divine law.‡ Among the various arts which had exercised the youth of Gratian, he had applied himself, with singular inclination and success, to manage the horse, to draw the bow, and to dart the javelin: and these qualifications, which might be useful to a soldier, were prostituted to the viler purposes of hunting. Large parks were enclosed for the imperial pleasures, and plentifully stocked with every species of wild beasts; and Gratian neglected the duties, and even the dignity, of his rank, to consume whole days in the vain display of his dexterity and boldness in the chase. The pride and wish of the Roman emperor to excel in an art, in which he might be surpassed by the meanest of his slaves, reminded the numerous spectators of the examples of Nero and Commodus: but the chaste and temperate Gratian was a stranger to their monstrous vices; and his hands were stained only with the blood of animals.§

* *Disputare de principali judicio non oportet. Sacrilegii enim instar est dubitare, an is dignus sit, quem elegerit imperator. Codex Justinian. l. 9, tit. 29, leg. 3.* This convenient law was revived and promulgated, after the death of Gratian, by the feeble court of Milan.

† Ambrose composed, for his instruction, a theological treatise on the faith of the Trinity; and Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v, p. 158, 169) ascribes to the archbishop the merit of Gratian's intolerant laws.

‡ *Qui divinæ legis sanctitatem nesciendo omittunt, aut negligendo violant et offendunt, sacrilegium committunt. Codex Justinian. l. 9, tit. 29, leg. 1.* Theodosius indeed may claim his share in the merit of this comprehensive law.

§ Ammianus (31, 10) and the younger Victor acknowledge the virtues of Gratian; and accuse, or rather lament, his degenerate taste. The odious parallel of Commodus is saved by "*licet incruentus*;" and perhaps Philostorgius (l. 10, c. 10, and Godefroy, p. 412) had guarded, with some similar

The behaviour of Gratian, which degraded his character in the eyes of mankind, could not have disturbed the security of his reign, if the army had not been provoked to resent their peculiar injuries. As long as the young emperor was guided by the instructions of his masters, he professed himself the friend and pupil of the soldiers; many of his hours were spent in the familiar conversation of the camp; and the health, the comforts, the rewards, the honours of his faithful troops, appeared to be the object of his attentive concern. But after Gratian more freely indulged his prevailing taste for hunting and shooting, he naturally connected himself with the most dexterous ministers of his favourite amusement. A body of the Alani was received into the military and domestic service of the palace; and the admirable skill which they were accustomed to display in the unbounded plains of Scythia, was exercised on a more narrow theatre, in the parks and enclosures of Gaul. Gratian admired the talents and customs of these favourite guards, to whom alone he intrusted the defence of his person; and, as if he meant to insult the public opinion, he frequently shewed himself to the soldiers and people, with the dress and arms, the long bow, the sounding quiver, and the fur garments of a Seythian warrior. The unworthy spectacle of a Roman prince, who had renounced the dress and manners of his country, filled the minds of the legion's with grief and indignation.* Even the Germans, so strong and formidable in the armies of the empire, affected to disdain the strange and horrid appearance of the savages of the north, who, in the space of a few years, had wandered from the banks of the Volga to those of the Seine. A loud and licentious murmur was echoed through the camps and garrisons of the west; and as the mild indolence of Gratian neglected to extinguish the first symptoms of discontent, the want of love and respect was not supplied by the influence of fear. But the subversion of an established government is always a work of some real, and of much apparent, difficulty; and the throne of Gratian was pro-

reserve, the comparison of Nero.
 the younger Victor ascribe the revolution to the favour of the Alani,
 and the discontent of the Roman troops. Dum exercitum negligeret,
 et paucos ex Alanis, quos ingenti auro ad se transtulerat, antecederet

* Zosimus (l. 4, p. 247) and

ted by the sanctions of custom, law, religion, and the nice balance of the civil and military powers which had been established by the policy of Constantine. It is not very important to inquire from what causes the revolt of Britain was produced. Accident is commonly the parent of disorder: the seeds of rebellion happened to fall on a soil which was supposed to be more fruitful than any other in tyrants and usurpers;* the legions of that sequestered island had been long famous for a spirit of presumption and arrogance;† and the name of Maximus was proclaimed by the tumultuary but unanimous voice both of the soldiers and of the provincials. The emperor, or the rebel (for his title was not yet ascertained by fortune), was a native of Spain, the countryman, the fellow-soldier, and the rival of Theodosius, whose elevation he had not seen without some emotions of envy and resentment: the events of his life had long since fixed him in Britain; and I should not be unwilling to find some evidence for the marriage which he is said to have contracted with the daughter of a wealthy lord of Caernarvonshire.‡ But this provincial rank might justly be considered as a state of exile and obscurity; and if Maximus had obtained any civil or military office, he was not invested with the authority either of governor or general.§ His abilities, and even his integrity, are acknow-

veteri ac Romano militi.

* Britannia, fertilis provincia tyrannorum, is a memorable expression used by Jerome in the Pelagian controversy, and variously tortured in the disputes of our national antiquaries. The revolutions of the last age appeared to justify the image of the sublime Bossuet, "cette Ile, plus orageuse que les mers qui l'environnent." [Gibbon has given to "tyrannorum," a meaning not authorized by the Greek or Latin, (See note, ch. 10, vol. i, p. 343,) and which Jerome can scarcely have intended, when he applied it to a class that included Constantine the Great.—ED.]

† Zosimus says of the British soldiers, τῶν ἁλλων ἀπάντων πλείον αὐθαδεία καὶ θυμῷ νικημένους.

‡ Helena, the daughter of Eudda. Her chapel may still be seen at Caersegont, now Caernarvon. (Carte's Hist. of England, vol. i, p. 168, from Rowland's Mona Antiqua.) The prudent reader may not perhaps be satisfied with such Welsh evidence.

§ Camden (vol. i, introduct. p. 101,) appoints him governor of Britain; and the father of our antiquities is followed, as usual, by his blind progeny. Pacatus and Zosimus had taken some pains to prevent this error or fable; and I shall protect myself by their decisive testimonies. Regali habitū exulem suum, illi exules orbis

ledged by the partial writers of the age; and the merit must indeed have been conspicuous, that could extort such a confession in favour of the vanquished enemy of Theodosius. The discontent of Maximus might incline him to censure the conduct of his sovereign, and to encourage, perhaps without any views of ambition, the murmurs of the troops. But, in the midst of the tumult, he artfully or modestly refused to ascend the throne; and some credit appears to have been given to his own positive declaration, that he was compelled to accept the dangerous present of the imperial purple.*

But there was danger likewise in refusing the empire; and from the moment that Maximus had violated his allegiance to his lawful sovereign, he could not hope to reign, or even to live, if he confined his moderate ambition within the narrow limits of Britain. He boldly and wisely resolved to prevent the designs of Gratian: the youth of the island crowded to his standard, and he invaded Gaul with a fleet and army which were long afterwards remembered, as the emigration of a considerable part of the British nation.† The emperor, in his peaceful residence of Paris, was alarmed by their hostile approach; and the darts, which he idly wasted on lions and bears, might have been employed more honourably against the rebels. But his feeble efforts announced his degenerate spirit and desperate situation; and deprived him of the resources which he still might have found in the support of his subjects and allies. The armies of Gaul, instead of opposing the march of

induerunt (in Panegy. Vet. 12. 23), and the Greek historian, still less equivocally, αὐτὸς (Maximus) εἰ οὐκ εἰς ἀρχὴν ἐντομὸν εὐχετο προελθόν. (l. 4, p. 245.) [Though generally profuse with his authorities, Camden has adduced none for this assertion; nor is the omission supplied by Gough, who corrected and enlarged the "Britannia."—Ed.] * Sulpicius Severus, Dialog. 2. 7. Orosius, lib. 7, c. 34, p. 556. They both acknowledge (Sulpicius had been his subject) his innocence and merit. It is singular enough, that Maximus should be less favourably treated by Zosimus, the partial adversary of his rival. † Archbishop Usher (Antiquitat. Britan. Eccles. p. 107, 108,) has diligently collected the legends of thirty thousand soldiers, and one hundred thousand plebeians, who settled in Bretagne. Their destined brides, St. Ursula with eleven thousand noble, and

Maximus, received him with joyful and loyal acclamations; and the shame of the desertion was transferred from the people to the prince. The troops, whose station more immediately attached them to the service of the palace, abandoned the standard of Gratian the first time that it was displayed in the neighbourhood of Paris. The emperor of the west fled towards Lyons, with a train of only three hundred horse; and, in the cities along the road, where he hoped to find refuge, or at least a passage, he was taught, by cruel experience, that every gate is shut against the unfortunate. Yet he might still have reached in safety the dominions of his brother, and soon have returned with the forces of Italy and the east, if he had not suffered himself to be fatally deceived by the perfidious governor of the Lyonnese province. Gratian was amused by protestations of doubtful fidelity, and the hopes of a support which could not be effectual; till the arrival of Andragathius, the general of the cavalry of Maximus, put an end to his suspense. That resolute officer executed, without remorse, the orders or the intentions of the usurper. Gratian, as he rose from supper, was delivered into the hands of the assassin; and his body was denied to the pious and pressing entreaties of his brother Valentinian.* The death of the emperor was

sixty thousand plebeian, virgins, mistook their way; landed at Cologne, and were all most cruelly murdered by the Huns. But the plebeian sisters have been defrauded of their equal honours; and, what is still harder, John Trithemius presumes to mention the *children* of these British *virgins*. [The learned of other days received such fables with great credulity. Camden adduces them in abundance (Introduction to Gough's edition, p. 87), but out of their perplexing testimony is at a loss to determine whether the Armorican Britons were a veteran colony planted by Constantine, or disbanded soldiers of Maximus, or fugitives from Saxon oppression. The only conclusion he arrives at is, that conformity of language and resemblance of name, prove them to have been emigrants from ancient Britain. It seems more probable that, as the Celts of Britain retired before their Saxon supplanters, into their western fastnesses, so those of Gaul withdrew from the triumphant Franks into that tract, where they were protected on three sides by the sea, and to which cognate affinity of races had probably long before given a name corresponding to that of the neighbouring island. Those of Cornwall and Wales, (Cornugallia and Gallia) have precisely the same analogy with that of Ancient Gaul.—Ed.]

* Zosimus (l. 4, p. 248, 249) has transported the death of Gratian

followed by that of his powerful general Mellobaudes, the king of the Franks; who maintained, to the last moment of his life, the ambiguous reputation which is the just recompense of obscure and subtle policy.* These executions might be necessary to the public safety; but the successful usurper, whose power was acknowledged by all the provinces of the west, had the merit and the satisfaction of boasting, that, except those who had perished by the chance of war, his triumph was not stained by the blood of the Romans.†

The events of this revolution had passed in such rapid succession, that it would have been impossible for Theodosius to march to the relief of his benefactor, before he received the intelligence of his defeat and death. During the season of sincere grief, or ostentatious mourning, the eastern emperor was interrupted by the arrival of the principal chamberlain of Maximus; and the choice of a venerable old man, for an office which was usually exercised by eunuchs, announced to the court of Constantinople the gravity and temperance of the British usurper. The ambassador condescended to justify, or excuse the conduct of his master; and to protest, in specious language, that the murder of Gratian had been perpetrated without his knowledge or consent, by the precipitate zeal of the soldiers. But he proceeded, in a firm and equal tone, to offer Theodosius the alternative of peace or war. The speech of the ambassador concluded with a spirited declaration, that

from Lugdunum in Gaul (Lyons) to Singidunum in Mœsia. Some hints may be extracted from the Chronicles; some lies may be detected in Sozomen (l. 7, c. 13) and Soerates (l. 5, c. 11). Ambrose is our most authentic evidence (tom. i, Enarrat. in Psalm. lxi, p. 961, tom. ii, epist. 24, p. 888, &c, and de obitu Valentinian. Consolat. no. 28, p. 1182.)

* Pacatus (12, 28) celebrates his fidelity; while his treachery is marked in Prosper's Chronicle, as the cause of the ruin of Gratian. Ambrose, who has occasion to exculpate himself, only condemns the death of Vallio, a faithful servant of Gratian. (tom. ii, epist. 24, p. 891, ediet. Benedict.) † He protested, *nullum ex adversariis nisi in acio occubuisse*. (Sulp. Severus in vit. B. Martin. c. 23.) The orator of Theodosius bestows reluctant, and therefore weighty, praise on his clemency. *Si cui ille, pro ceteris sceleribus suis, minus crudelis fuisse videtur*. Panegy. Vet. 12. 23.

although Maximus, as a Roman and as the father of his people, would choose rather to employ his forces in the common defence of the republic, he was armed and prepared, if his friendship should be rejected, to dispute, in a field of battle, the empire of the world. An immediate and peremptory answer was required; but it was extremely difficult for Theodosius to satisfy, on this important occasion, either the feelings of his own mind, or the expectations of the public. The imperious voice of honour and gratitude called aloud for revenge. From the liberality of Gratian, he had received the imperial diadem: his patience would encourage the odious suspicion, that he was more deeply sensible of former injuries than of recent obligations; and if he accepted the friendship, he must seem to share the guilt of the assassin. Even the principles of justice, and the interest of society, would receive a fatal blow from the impunity of Maximus: and the example of successful usurpation would tend to dissolve the artificial fabric of government, and once more to replunge the empire in the crimes and calamities of the preceding age. But as the sentiments of gratitude and honour should invariably regulate the conduct of an individual, they may be overbalanced in the mind of a sovereign, by the sense of superior duties; and the maxims both of justice and humanity must permit the escape of an atrocious criminal, if an innocent people would be involved in the consequences of his punishment. The assassin of Gratian had usurped, but he actually possessed, the most warlike provinces of the empire: the East was exhausted by the misfortunes, and even by the success of the Gothic war; and it was seriously to be apprehended, that, after the vital strength of the republic had been wasted in a doubtful and destructive contest, the feeble conqueror would remain an easy prey to the barbarians of the north. These weighty considerations engaged Theodosius to dissemble his resentment, and to accept the alliance of the tyrant. But he stipulated, that Maximus should content himself with the possession of the countries beyond the Alps. The brother of Gratian was confirmed and secured in the sovereignty of Italy, Africa, and the western Illyricum; and some honourable conditions were inserted in the treaty, to pro-

teet the memory and the laws of the deceased emperor.* According to the custom of the age, the images of the three imperial colleagues were exhibited to the veneration of the people: nor should it be lightly supposed, that, in the moment of a solemn reconciliation, Theodosius secretly cherished the intention of perfidy and revenge.†

The contempt of Gratian for the Roman soldiers had exposed him to the fatal effects of their resentment. His profound veneration for the Christian clergy was rewarded by the applause and gratitude of a powerful order, which has claimed, in every age, the privilege of dispensing honours, both on earth and in heaven.‡ The orthodox bishops bewailed his death, and their own irreparable loss; but they were soon comforted by the discovery, that Gratian had committed the sceptre of the east to the hands of a prince, whose humble faith and fervent zeal were supported by the spirit and abilities of a more vigorous character. Among the benefactors of the church, the fame of Constantine has been rivalled by the glory of Theodosius. If Constantine had the advantage of erecting the standard of the cross, the emulation of his successor assumed the merit of subduing the Arian heresy, and of abolishing the worship of idols in the Roman world. Theodosius was the first of the emperors baptized in the true faith of the Trinity. Although he was born of a Christian family, the maxims, or at least the practice, of the age, encouraged him to delay the ceremony of his initiation, till he was admonished of the danger of delay, by the serious illness which threatened his life, towards the end of the first year of his reign. Before he again took the field against the Goths, he received the sacrament of baptism§ from Ascolius, the orthodox bishop of Thessalonica;¶ and, as the emperor ascended from the holy font, still glowing with the warm feelings of regeneration,

* Ambrose mentions the laws of Gratian, *quas non abrogavit hostis* (tom. ii, epist. 17, p. 827). † Zosimus, lib. 4, p. 251, 252. We may disclaim his odious suspicions; but we cannot reject the treaty of peace which the friends of Theodosius have absolutely forgotten, or slightly mentioned. ‡ Their oracle, the archbishop of Milan, assigns to his pupil Gratian a high and respectable place in heaven (tom. ii, de obit. Val. Consol. p. 1193). § For the baptism of Theodosius, see Sozomen (lib. 7, c. 4), Socrates (lib. 5, c. 6), and Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v, p. 723). ¶ Ascolius, or Acholius, was honoured

he dictated a solemn edict, which proclaimed his own faith, and prescribed the religion of his subjects. "It is our pleasure (such is the imperial style) that all the nations which are governed by our clemency and moderation, should steadfastly adhere to the religion which was taught by St. Peter to the Romans; which faithful tradition has preserved, and which is now professed by the pontiff Damasus, and by Peter, bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. According to the discipline of the apostles and the doctrine of the gospel, let us believe the sole deity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy-Ghost; under an equal majesty and a pious Trinity. We authorize the followers of this doctrine to assume the title of Catholic Christians; and as we judge that all others are extravagant madmen, we brand them with the infamous name of heretics; and declare, that their conventicles shall no longer usurp the respectable appellation of churches. Besides the condemnation of Divine justice, they must expect to suffer the severe penalties, which our authority, guided by heavenly wisdom, shall think proper to inflict upon them."* The faith of a soldier is commonly the fruit of instruction, rather than of inquiry; but as the emperor always fixed his eyes on the visible land-marks of orthodoxy, which he had so prudently constituted, his religious opinions were never affected by the specious texts, the subtle arguments, and the ambiguous creeds, of the Arian doctors. Once indeed he expressed a faint inclination to converse with the eloquent and learned Eunomius, who lived in retirement at a small distance from Constantinople. But the dangerous interview was prevented by the prayers of the empress Flaccilla, who trembled for the salvation of her husband, and the mind of Theodosius was confirmed by a theological argument, adapted to the rudest capacity. He had lately bestowed on his eldest son, Arcadius, the name and honours of Augustus; and the two princes were seated

by the friendship and the praises of Ambrose; who styles him, *murus fidei atque sanctitatis* (tom. ii, epist. 15, p. 820); and afterwards celebrates his speed and diligence in running to Constantinople, Italy, &c. (epist. 16, p. 822), a virtue which does not appertain either to a *wall*, or a *bishop*.

* Codex Theodos. lib. 16, tit. 1, leg. 2, with Godefroy's commentary, tom. vi, p. 5—9. Such an edict deserved the warmest praises of Baronius, *auream sanctionem, edictum pium et salutare*.—Sic

on a stately throne to receive the homage of their subjects. A bishop, Amphilochius of Iconium, approached the throne, and after saluting, with due reverence, the person of his sovereign, he accosted the royal youth with the same familiar tenderness, which he might have used towards a plebeian child. Provoked by this insolent behaviour, the monarch gave orders that the rustic priest should be instantly driven from his presence. But while the guards were forcing him to the door, the dexterous polemic had time to execute his design, by exclaiming, with a loud voice,—“Such is the treatment, O emperor! which the King of Heaven has prepared for those impious men, who affect to worship the Father, but refuse to acknowledge the equal majesty of his divine Son.” Theodosius immediately embraced the bishop of Iconium; and never forgot the important lesson, which he had received from this dramatic parable.*

Constantinople was the principal seat and fortress of Arianism; and, in a long interval of forty years,† the faith of the princes and prelates who reigned in the capital of the East, was rejected in the purer schools of Rome and Alexandria. The archiepiscopal throne of Macedonius, which had been polluted with so much Christian blood, was successively filled by Eudoxius and Demophilus. Their diocese enjoyed a free importation of vice and error from every province of the empire; the eager pursuit of religious controversy afforded a new occupation to the busy idleness of the metropolis: and we may credit the assertion of an intelligent observer, who describes, with some pleasantry,

itur ad astra. * Sozomen, lib. 7, c. 6. Theodoret, lib. 5, c. 16. Tillemont is displeased (*Mém. Ecclési.* tom. vi, p. 627, 628) with the terms of “rustic bishop,” “obscure city.” Yet I must take leave to think, that both Amphilochius and Iconium were objects of inconsiderable magnitude in the Roman empire. [Amphilochius set a higher value on himself as a pillar of the church. Among the busy bishops of that age, he distinguished himself as a foe to heretics; attended sedulously the synods held against them, and presided in 383 at that of Sida, to condemn a foolish fraternity of itinerant monks, known by the now almost forgotten name of Messalians.—Ed.] † Sozomen, lib. 7, c. 5. Socrates, lib. 5, c. 7. Marcellin. in Chron. The account of forty years must be dated from the election or intrusion of Eusebius; who wisely exchanged the bishopric of Nicomedia for the throne of Constantinople.

the effects of their loquacious zeal. "This city," says he, "is full of mechanics and slaves, who are all of them profound theologians; and preach in the shops, and in the streets. If you desire a man to change a piece of silver, he informs you wherein the Son differs from the Father; if you ask the price of a loaf, you are told, by way of reply, that the Son is inferior to the Father; and if you inquire whether the bath is ready, the answer is, that the Son was made out of nothing."* The heretics, of various denominations, subsisted in peace under the protection of the Arians of Constantinople; who endeavoured to secure the attachment of those obscure sectaries; while they abused, with unrelenting severity, the victory which they had obtained over the followers of the council of Nice. During the partial reigns of Constantius and Valens, the feeble remnant of the Homoousians was deprived of the public and private exercise of their religion: and it has been observed, in pathetic language, that the scattered flock was left without a shepherd to wander on the mountains, or to be devoured by rapacious wolves.† But, as their zeal, instead of being subdued, derived strength and vigour from oppression, they seized the first moments of imperfect freedom, which they had acquired by the death of Valens, to form themselves into a regular congregation, under the conduct of an episcopal pastor. Two natives of Cappadocia, Basil, and Gregory Nazianzen,‡ were distinguished above all their contemporaries,§ by the rare union of profane eloquence and of orthodox piety. These orators, who might sometimes be compared, by themselves,

* See Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv, p. 71. The thirty-third oration of Gregory Nazianzen affords indeed some similar ideas, even some still more ridiculous; but I have not yet found the words of this remarkable passage, which I allege on the faith of a correct and liberal scholar. † See the thirty-second oration of Gregory Nazianzen, and the account of his own life, which he has composed in one thousand eight hundred iambics. Yet every physician is prone to exaggerate the inveterate nature of the disease which he has cured.

‡ I confess myself deeply indebted to the two lives of Gregory Nazianzen, composed, with very different views, by Tillemont (Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. ix, p. 305—560, 692—731) and Le Clerc (Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. xviii, p. 1—128).

§ Unless Gregory Nazianzen mistook thirty years in his own age, he was born, as well as his friend Basil, about the year 329. The preposterous chronology of Suidas has been graciously received; because it removes the scandal of Gregory's father,

and by the public, to the most celebrated of the ancient Greeks, were united by the ties of the strictest friendship. They had cultivated, with equal ardour, the same liberal studies in the schools of Athens; they had retired, with equal devotion, to the same solitude in the deserts of Pontus; and every spark of emulation, or envy, appeared to be totally extinguished in the holy and ingenuous breasts of Gregory and Basil. But the exaltation of Basil from a private life to the archiepiscopal throne of Cæsarea, discovered to the world, and perhaps to himself, the pride of his character; and the first favour which he condescended to bestow on his friend was received, and perhaps was intended, as a cruel insult.* Instead of employing the superior talents of Gregory in some useful and conspicuous station, the haughty prelate selected, among the fifty bishoprics of his extensive province, the wretched village of Sasima,† without water, without verdure, without society, situate at the junction of three highways, and frequented only by the incessant passage of rude and clamorous waggoners. Gregory submitted with reluctance to this humiliating exile; he was ordained bishop of Sasima; but he solemnly protests, that he never consummated his spiritual marriage with this disgusting bride. He afterwards consented to undertake the government of his native church of Nazianzus,‡ of which his father had been bishop above five-
* Gregory's poem on a saint likewise, begetting children after he became a bishop. (Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. ix, p. 693—697.)
† This unfavourable portrait of Sasima is drawn by Gregory Nazianzen (tom. ii, de Vita sua, p. 7, 8). Its precise situation, forty-nine miles from Archelais, and thirty-two from Tyana, is fixed in the Itinerary of Antoninus (p. 144, edit. Wesseling).

Ὁμόσπεγός τε καὶ συνέστιος βίος,
 Νοῦς εἰς ἐν ἀμφοῖν
 Διεσκέδασται πάντα κάρρῳπται λαμοί,
 Αὔραι φέρουσι τὰς παλαιὰς ἰλπίδας.

In the Midsummer Night's Dream, Helena addresses the same pathetic complaint to her friend Hermia:
 Is all the counsel that we two have shared,
 The sister's vows, &c.

Shakspeare had never read the poems of Gregory Nazianzen; he was ignorant of the Greek language; but his mother tongue, the language of nature, is the same in Cappadocia and in Britain. † This unfavourable portrait of Sasima is drawn by Gregory Nazianzen (tom. ii, de Vita sua, p. 7, 8). Its precise situation, forty-nine miles from Archelais, and thirty-two from Tyana, is fixed in the Itinerary of Antoninus (p. 144, edit. Wesseling). ‡ The name of Nazianzus has been

and-forty years. But as he was still conscious that he deserved another audience and another theatre, he accepted, with no unworthy ambition, the honourable invitation which was addressed to him from the orthodox party of Constantinople. On his arrival in the capital, Gregory was entertained in the house of a pious and charitable kinsman; the most spacious room was consecrated to the uses of religious worship; and the name of *Anastasia* was chosen to express the resurrection of the Nicene faith. This private conventicle was afterwards converted into a magnificent church; and the credulity of the succeeding age was prepared to believe the miracles and visions, which attested the presence, or at least the protection, of the mother of God.* The pulpit of the Anastasia was the scene of the labours and triumphs of Gregory Nazianzen; and, in the space of two years, he experienced all the spiritual adventures which constitute the prosperous or adverse fortunes of a missionary.† The Arians, who were provoked by the boldness of his enterprise, represented his doctrine, as if he had preached three distinct and equal deities; and the devout populace was excited to suppress, by violence and tumult, the irregular assemblies of the Athanasian heretics. From the cathedral of St. Sophia, there issued a motley crowd "of common beggars, who had forfeited their claim to pity; of monks, who had the appearance of goats or satyrs; and of women, more terrible than so many Jezebels." The doors of the Anastasia were broken open; much mischief was perpetrated, or attempted, with sticks, stones, and firebrands; and as a man lost his life in the affray, Gregory, who was summoned the next morning before the magistrate, had the satisfaction of supposing that he publicly confessed the name of Christ. After he was delivered from the fear and danger of a foreign enemy, his infant church was disgraced and distracted by intestine faction. A stranger, who

immortalized by Gregory; but his native town, under the Greek or Roman title of Diocæsarea (Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. ix, p. 692), is mentioned by Pliny (6, 3), Ptolemy, and Hierocles. (*Itinerar. Wesseling.* p. 709.) It appears to have been situate on the edge of Isauria.

* See Ducange, *Constant. Christiana*, lib. 4, p. 141, 142. The *θεία ἑνναμύς* of Sozomen (lib. 7, c. 5) is interpreted to mean the Virgin Mary.

† Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. ix, p. 432, &c.) diligently collects, enlarges, and explains, the oratorical and poetical hints of

assumed the name of Maximus,* and the cloak of a Cynic philosopher, insinuated himself into the confidence of Gregory; deceived and abused his favourable opinion; and, forming a secret connexion with some bishops of Egypt, attempted, by a clandestine ordination, to supplant his patron in the episcopal seat of Constantinople. These mortifications might sometimes tempt the Cappadocian missionary to regret his obscure solitude. But his fatigues were rewarded by the daily increase of his fame and his congregation; and he enjoyed the pleasure of observing, that the greater part of his numerous audience retired from his sermons satisfied with the eloquence of the preacher,† or dissatisfied with the manifold imperfections of their faith and practice.‡

The Catholics of Constantinople were animated with joyful confidence by the baptism and edict of Theodosius; and they impatiently waited the effects of his gracious promise. Their hopes were speedily accomplished; and the emperor, as soon as he had finished the operations of the campaign, made his public entry into the capital at the head of a victorious army. The next day after his arrival, he summoned Demophilus to his presence; and offered that Arian prelate the hard alternative of subscribing the Nicene creed, or of instantly resigning, to the orthodox believers, the use and possession of the episcopal palace, the cathedral of St. Sophia, and all the churches of Constantinople. The zeal of Demophilus, which in a Catholic saint would have been justly applauded, embraced without hesitation a life of poverty and exile,§ and his removal was immediately followed by the purification of the imperial city. The Arians

Gregory himself. * He pronounced an oration (tom. i, Orat. 23, p. 409) in his praise; but after their quarrel, the name of Maximus was changed into that of Heron. (See Jerome, tom. i, in Catalog. Script. Eccles. p. 301.) I touch lightly on these obscure and personal squabbles.

† Under the modest emblem of a dream, Gregory (tom. ii, carmen 2, p. 78) describes his own success with some human complacency. Yet it should seem, from his familiar conversation with his auditor, St. Jerome (tom. i, Epist. ad Nepotian. p. 14), that the preacher understood the true value of popular applause. ‡ *Lachrymæ auditorum laudes tunc sint*, is the lively and judicious advice of St. Jerome.

§ Socrates (lib. 5, c. 7) and Sozomen (lib. 7, c. 5) relate the evangelical words and actions of Demophilus without a word of approbation. He considered, says Socrates, that it is difficult to resist the powerful: but it was easy, and would have been profitable, to submit.

might complain with some appearance of justice, that an inconsiderable congregation of sectaries should usurp the hundred churches, which they were insufficient to fill; whilst the far greater part of the people was cruelly excluded from every place of religious worship. Theodosius was still inexorable; but as the angels who protected the Catholic cause were only visible to the eyes of faith, he prudently reinforced those heavenly legions with the more effectual aid of temporal and carnal weapons; and the church of St. Sophia was occupied by a large body of the imperial guards. If the mind of Gregory was susceptible of pride, he must have felt a very lively satisfaction when the emperor conducted him through the streets in solemn triumph; and, with his own hand, respectfully placed him on the archiepiscopal throne of Constantinople. But the saint (who had not subdued the imperfections of human virtue) was deeply affected by the mortifying consideration, that his entrance into the fold was that of a wolf, rather than of a shepherd; that the glittering arms which surrounded his person were necessary for his safety; and that he alone was the object of the imprecations of a great party, whom, as men and citizens, it was impossible for him to despise. He beheld the innumerable multitude of either sex, and of every age, who crowded the streets, the windows, and the roofs of the houses; he heard the tumultuous voice of rage, grief, astonishment, and despair; and Gregory fairly confesses, that on the memorable day of his installation, the capital of the east wore the appearance of a city taken by storm, and in the hands of a barbarian conqueror.* About six weeks afterwards, Theodosius declared his resolution of expelling from all the churches of his dominions, the bishops and their clergy, who should obstinately refuse to believe, or at least to profess, the doctrine of the council of Nice. His lieutenant Sapor was armed with the ample powers of a general law, a special commission, and a military force;† and this ecclesiastical revolution was conducted with so much discretion and vigour, that the

* See Gregory Nazianzen, tom. ii, de Vitâ suâ, p. 21, 22. For the sake of posterity, the bishop of Constantinople records a stupendous prodigy. In the month of November, it was a cloudy morning, but the sun broke forth when the procession entered the church.

† Of the three ecclesiastical historians, Theodoret alone (lib. 5, c. 2) has mentioned this important commission of Sapor, which Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v, p. 728) judiciously removes from the

religion of the emperor was established, without tumult or bloodshed, in all the provinces of the east. The writings of the Arians, if they had been permitted to exist,* would perhaps contain the lamentable story of the persecution, which afflicted the church under the reign of the impious Theodosius; and the sufferings of *their* holy confessors might claim the pity of the disinterested reader. Yet there is reason to imagine, that the violence of zeal and revenge was, in some measure, eluded by the want of resistance; and that, in their adversity, the Arians displayed much less firmness than had been exerted by the orthodox party under the reigns of Constantius and Valens. The moral character and conduct of the hostile sects appear to have been governed by the same common principles of nature and religion; but a very material circumstance may be discovered, which tended to distinguish the degrees of their theological faith. Both parties in the schools, as well as in the temples, acknowledged and worshipped the divine majesty of Christ; and, as we are always prone to impute our own sentiments and passions to the Deity, it would be deemed more prudent and respectful to exaggerate, than to circumscribe, the adorable perfections of the Son of God. The disciple of Athanasius exulted in the proud confidence, that he had entitled himself to the divine favour; while the follower of Arius must have been tormented by the secret apprehension, that he was guilty, perhaps of an unpardonable offence, by the scanty praise, and parsimonious honours, which he bestowed on the Judge of the world. The opinions of Arianism might satisfy a cold and speculative mind; but the doctrine of the Nicene creed, most powerfully recommended by the merits of faith and devotion, was much better adapted to become popular and successful in a believing age.

The hope that truth and wisdom would be found in the assemblies of the orthodox clergy, induced the emperor to convene, at Constantinople, a synod of one hundred and fifty bishops, who proceeded, without much difficulty or delay, to complete the theological system which had been

reign of Gratian to that of Theodosius.

* I do not reckon Philostorgius, though he mentions (lib. 9, c. 19) the expulsion of Demophilus. The Eunomian historian has been carefully strained through an orthodox sieve.

established in the council of Nice. The vehement disputes of the fourth century had been chiefly employed on the nature of the Son of God; and the various opinions which were embraced concerning the *Second*, were extended and transferred, by a natural analogy, to a *Third*, person of the Trinity.* Yet it was found, or it was thought, necessary, by the victorious adversaries of Arianism, to explain the ambiguous language of some respectable doctors; to confirm the faith of the Catholics, and to condemn an unpopular and inconsistent sect of Macedonians, who freely admitted that the Son was consubstantial to the Father, while they were fearful of seeming to acknowledge the existence of *Three* Gods. A final and unanimous sentence was pronounced to ratify the equal Deity of the Holy Ghost; the mysterious doctrine has been received by all the nations, and all the churches, of the Christian world; and their grateful reverence has assigned to the bishops of Theodosius, the second rank among the general councils.† Their knowledge of religious truth may have been preserved by tradition, or it may have been communicated by inspiration; but the sober evidence of history will not allow much weight to the personal authority of the fathers of Constantinople. In an age when the ecclesiastics had scandalously degenerated from the model of apostolical purity, the most worthless and corrupt were always the most eager to frequent, and disturb, the episcopal assemblies. The conflict and fermentation of so many opposite interests and tempers inflamed the passions of the bishops; and their ruling passions were the love of gold, and the love of dispute. Many of the same prelates, who now applauded the orthodox piety of Theodosius, had repeatedly changed, with prudent flexibility, their creeds and opinions; and in the various revolutions of the church and state, the religion of their sovereign was the rule of their obsequious faith. When the emperor suspended his

* Le Clerc has given a curious extract (Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. xviii, p. 91—105) of the theological sermons which Gregory Nazianzen pronounced at Constantinople against the Arians, Eunomians, Macedonians, &c. He tells the Macedonians, who deified the Father and the Son, without the Holy Ghost, that they might as well be styled *Tritheists* as *Ditheists*. Gregory himself was almost a Tritheist; and his monarchy of heaven resembles a well-regulated aristocracy.

† The first general council of Constantinople now triumphs in the Vatican; but the popes had long hesitated; and their hesitation per-

prevailing influence, the turbulent synod was blindly impelled by the absurd or selfish motives of pride, hatred and resentment. The death of Meletius, which happened at the council of Constantinople, presented the most favourable opportunity of terminating the schism of Antioch, by suffering his aged rival, Paulinus, peaceably to end his days in the episcopal chair. The faith and virtues of Paulinus were unblemished. But his cause was supported by the western churches; and the bishops of the synod resolved to perpetuate the mischiefs of discord, by the hasty ordination of a perjured candidate,* rather than to betray the imagined dignity of the East, which had been illustrated by the birth and death of the Son of God. Such unjust and disorderly proceedings forced the gravest members of the assembly to dissent and to secede; and the clamorous majority, which remained masters of the field of battle, could be compared only to wasps or magpies, to a flight of cranes, or to a flock of geese.†

A suspicion may possibly arise, that so unfavourable a picture of ecclesiastical synods has been drawn by the partial hand of some obstinate heretic, or some malicious infidel. But the name of the sincere historian, who has conveyed this instructive lesson to the knowledge of posterity, must silence the impotent murmurs of superstition and bigotry. He was one of the most pious and

plexes, and almost staggers, the humble Tillemont. (*Mém. Ecclés. tom. ix, p. 499, 500.*) * Before the death of Meletius, six or eight of his most popular ecclesiastics, among whom was Flavian, had *abjured*,

for the sake of peace, the bishopric of Antioch. (*Sozomen, lib. 7, c. 3, 11. Socrates, lib. 5, c. 5.*) Tillemont thinks it his duty to disbelieve the story; but he owns that there are many circumstances in the life of Flavian, which *seem* inconsistent with the praises of Chrysostom, and the character of a saint. (*Mém. Ecclés. tom. x, p. 541.*) † Consult

Gregory Nazianzen, *de Vita sua*, tom. ii, p. 25—28. His general and particular opinion of the clergy and their assemblies may be seen in verse and prose (tom. i, *Orat. I, p. 33; Epist. 55, p. 814; tom. ii, Carmen 10, p. 81.*) Such passages are faintly marked by Tillemont, and fairly produced by Le Clerc. [The following passage in the *Epist. 55*, ad Procop. was, no doubt, looked at askance by Tillemont, and might appropriately have been adduced by Gibbon. "I am so constituted," these are Gregory's words, "that to speak the truth, I dread every assembly of bishops; for I have never yet seen a good result from any one of them—never have been at a synod which did more for the suppression than it did for the increase of evils. An indescribable thirst for contention and for rule prevails in them." So wrote a bishop of his own order, in the

eloquent bishops of the age; a saint and a doctor of the church; the scourge of Arianism, and the pillar of the orthodox faith; a distinguished member of the council of Constantinople, in which, after the death of Meletius, he exercised the functions of president; in a word—Gregory Nazianzen himself. The harsh and ungenerous treatment which he experienced,* instead of derogating from the truth of his evidence, affords an additional proof of the spirit which actuated the deliberations of the synod. Their unanimous suffrage had confirmed the pretensions which the bishop of Constantinople derived from the choice of the people, and the approbation of the emperor. But Gregory soon became the victim of malice and envy. The bishops of the east, his strenuous adherents, provoked by his moderation in the affairs of Antioch, abandoned him,

yet not half-developed luxuriance of its vices.—Ed.] * See Gregory, tom. ii, de Vitâ suâ, p. 28—31. The fourteenth, twenty-seventh, and thirty-second orations were pronounced in the several stages of this business. The peroration of the last (tom. i, p. 528) in which he takes a solemn leave of men and angels, the city and the emperor, the east and the west, is pathetic, and almost sublime. [Rare instances of moderation and virtue are often paraded before us, as evidence of the general conduct of a class and claims on our respect for all its members, while a discreet veil is thrown over the thousand examples of opposite extremes in which its true character is displayed. The quiet retirement of Demophilus from the archiepiscopal throne of Constantinople, and the dignified resignation of Gregory, are like transient gleams of sunshine amid the gloom of November, cheering to the eye, but no proof of summer. It is in the universal eagerness with which episcopates were sought, in the turbulent violence with which they were contended for, in the sometimes pliant, sometimes defiant tenacity with which they were clung to, and in the cunning, or audacious arrogance with which they were exercised, that we recognize the true spirit of the ancient hierarchy. This they infused into their subordinate ranks, and so directed every movement of the social system. In like manner, special cases are selected, to shew how the same power occasionally interfered to protect the oppressed, to restrain licentious tyranny, or favour learning; and we are told to measure its influence by this standard. It is not so that a sterling or profitable and practical knowledge can be acquired. Look at the whole course of time; understand its current; see how it was impelled, guided, diverted, or obstructed, and then explore the cause of ascertained effects. To study the events that you are here surveying, mark the ruling agency of the times, however concealed within its own dark folds, and then you will find the workers of weal or woe. Particular deviations and individual exceptions must not be allowed to draw our attention

without support, to the adverse faction of the Egyptians; who disputed the validity of his election, and rigorously asserted the obsolete canon, that prohibited the licentious practice of episcopal translations. The pride, or the humility of Gregory, prompted him to decline a contest which might have been imputed to ambition and avarice; and he publicly offered, not without some mixture of indignation, to renounce the government of a church which had been restored, and almost created by his labours. His resignation was accepted by the synod, and by the emperor, with more readiness than he seems to have expected. At the time when he might have hoped to enjoy the fruits of his victory, his episcopal throne was filled by the senator Nectarius; and the new archbishop, accidentally recommended by his easy temper and venerable aspect, was obliged to delay the ceremony of his consecration, till he had previously dispatched the rites of his baptism.* After this remarkable experience of the ingratitude of princes and prelates, Gregory retired once more to his obscure solitude of Cappadocia; where he employed the remainder of his life, about eight years, in the exercise of poetry and devotion. The title of saint has been added to his name; but the tenderness of his heart,† and the elegance of his genius, reflect a more pleasing lustre on the memory of Gregory Nazianzen.

It was not enough that Theodosius had suppressed the insolent reign of Arianism, or that he had abundantly revenged the injuries which the Catholics sustained from the zeal of Constantius and Valens. The orthodox emperor considered every heretic as a rebel against the supreme powers of heaven and of earth; and each of those powers might exercise their peculiar jurisdiction over the soul and body of the guilty. The decrees of the council of Constantinople had ascertained the true standard of the faith; and the ecclesiasties who governed the conscience of Theo-

from observing predominant tendencies.—Ed.] * The whimsical ordination of Nectarius is attested by Sozomen (lib. 7, c. 8); but Tillemont observes (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. 9, p. 719): *Après tout, ce narré de Sozomène est si honteux pour tous ceux qu'il y mêle, et surtout pour Théodose, qu'il vaut mieux travailler à le détruire, qu'à le soutenir: an admirable canon of criticism.* † I can only be understood to mean, that such was his natural temper when it was not hardened or inflamed by religious zeal. From his retirement, he exhorts Nectarius

dosius, suggested the most effectual methods of persecution. In the space of fifteen years, he promulgated at least fifteen severe edicts against the heretics;* more especially against those who rejected the doctrine of the Trinity; and, to deprive them of every hope of escape, he sternly enacted, that if any laws or rescripts should be alleged in their favour, the judges should consider them as the illegal productions either of fraud or forgery. The penal statutes were directed against the ministers, the assemblies, and the persons of the heretics; and the passions of the legislator were expressed in the language of declamation and invective. I. The heretical teachers, who usurped the sacred titles of bishops or presbyters, were not only excluded from the privileges and emoluments so liberally granted to the orthodox clergy, but they were exposed to the heavy penalties of exile and confiscation, if they presumed to preach the doctrine, or to practise the rites of their *accursed* sects. A fine of ten pounds of gold (above 400*l.* sterling) was imposed on every person who should dare to confer, or receive, or promote an heretical ordination; and it was reasonably expected, that if the race of pastors could be extinguished, their helpless flocks would be compelled, by ignorance and hunger, to return within the pale of the Catholic church. II. The rigorous prohibition of conventicles was carefully extended to every possible circumstance, in which the heretics could assemble with the intention of worshipping God and Christ according to the dictates of their conscience. Their religious meetings, whether public or secret, by day or by night, in cities or in the country, were equally proscribed by the edicts of Theodosius; and the building or ground which had been used for that illegal purpose, was forfeited to the imperial domain. III. It was supposed that the error of the heretics could proceed only from the obstinate temper of their minds; and that such a temper was a fit object of censure and punishment. The anathemas of the church were fortified by a sort of civil excommunication, which separated them from their fellow-citizens, by a peculiar brand of infamy: and this declaration of the supreme

to prosecute the heretics of Constantinople. * See the Theodosian Code, lib. 16, tit. 5, leg. 6—23, with Godefroy's commentary on each law, and his general summary or *Paratitlon*, tom. vi, p. 104—110.

magistrate tended to justify, or at least to excuse, the insults of a fanatic populace. The sectaries were gradually disqualified for the possession of honourable or lucrative employments; and Theodosius was satisfied with his own justice when he decreed, that as the Eunomians distinguished the nature of the Son from that of the Father, they should be incapable of making their wills, or of receiving any advantage from testamentary donations. The guilt of the Manichæan heresy was esteemed of such magnitude, that it could be expiated only by the death of the offender; and the same capital punishment was inflicted on the Audians, or *Quartodecimans*,* who should dare to perpetrate the atrocious crime of celebrating, on an improper day, the festival of Easter. Every Roman might exercise the right of public accusation; but the office of *Inquisiteur* of the Faith, a name so deservedly abhorred, was first instituted under the reign of Theodosius. Yet we are assured that the execution of his penal edicts was seldom enforced; and that the pious emperor appeared less desirous to punish, than to reclaim or terrify his refractory subjects.†

The theory of persecution was established by Theodosius, whose justice and piety have been applauded by the saints; but the practice of it, in the fullest extent, was reserved for his rival and colleague, Maximus, the first among the Christian princes who shed the blood of his Christian subjects, on account of their religious opinions. The cause of the Priscillianists,‡ a recent sect of heretics, who disturbed the provinces of Spain, was transferred, by appeal, from the synod of Bordeaux to the imperial consistory of Treves; and by the sentence of the prætorian præfect seven persons were tortured, condemned, and executed. The first of these was Priscillian§ himself, bishop of

* They always kept their Easter, like the Jewish Passover, on the fourteenth day of the first moon after the vernal equinox; and thus pertinaciously opposed the Roman church and Nicene synod, which had fixed Easter to a Sunday. Bingham's *Antiquities*, l. 20, c. 5; vol. ii, p. 309, fol. edition.

† Sozomen, l. 7, c. 12.

‡ See the *Sacred History* of Sulpicius Severus (l. 2, p. 437—452, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1647), a correct and original writer. Dr. Lardner (*Credibility*, &c., part 2, vol. ix, p. 256—350) has laboured this article, with pure learning, good sense, and moderation. Tillamont, (*Mém. Ecclési.* tom. viii, p. 491—527) has raked together all the dirt of the fathers: a useful scavenger!

§ Severus Sulpicius men-

Avila,* in Spain; who adorned the advantages of birth and fortune by the accomplishments of eloquence and learning. Two presbyters and two deacons, accompanied their beloved master in his death, which they esteemed as a glorious martyrdom; and the number of religious victims was completed by the execution of Latronian, a poet who rivalled the fame of the ancients; and of Euchrocia, a noble matron of Bordeaux, the widow of the orator Delphidius.† Two bishops, who had embraced the sentiments of Priscillian, were condemned to a distant and dreary exile;‡ and some indulgence was shown to the meaner criminals, who assumed the merit of an early repentance. If any credit could be allowed to confessions extorted by fear or pain, and to vague reports, the offspring of malice and credulity, the heresy of the Priscillianists would be found to include the various abominations of magic, of impiety, and of lewdness.§ Priscillian, who wandered about the world in the company of his spiritual sisters, was accused of praying stark-naked in the midst of the congregation; and it was confidently asserted, that the effects of his criminal intercourse with the daughter of Euchrocia, had been suppressed by means still more odious and criminal. But an accurate, or rather a candid inquiry, will discover, that if the Priscillianists violated the laws of nature, it was not by the licentiousness but by the austerity of their lives. They absolutely condemned the use of the marriage-bed; and the peace of families was often disturbed by indiscreet separations. They enjoined, or recommended, a total abstinence from all animal food; and their continual prayers, fasts, and vigils, incul-

tions the arch-heretic with esteem and pity. *Felix profecto, si non pravo studio corrupisset optimum ingenium, prorsus multa in eo animi et corporis bona cerneret.* (Hist. Sacra. l. 2, p. 439.) Even Jerome (tom. i, in Script. Eccles. p. 302) speaks with temper of Priscillian and Latronian.

* The bishopric (in old Castile) is now worth twenty thousand ducats a year (Busching's Geography, vol. ii, p. 308); and is, therefore, much less likely to produce the author of a new heresy.

† *Exprobrabatur mulieri viduæ nimia religio, et diligentius culta divinitas.* (Pacat. in Panegy. Vet. 12. 29.) Such was the idea of a humane, though ignorant Polytheist. ‡ One of them was sent in *Syllinam insulam quæ ultra Britanniam est.* What must have been the ancient condition of the rocks of Scilly? (Camden's Britannia, vol. ii, p. 1519.)

§ The scandalous calumnies of Augustin. Pope Leo, &c., which Tillemont swallows like a child, and Lardner refutes like a man, may suggest some candid suspicions in favour of

cated a rule of strict and perfect devotion. The speculative tenets of the sect, concerning the person of Christ and the nature of the human soul, were derived from the Gnostic and Manichæan system; and this vain philosophy, which had been transported from Egypt to Spain, was ill adapted to the grosser spirits of the west. The obscure disciples of Priscillian suffered, languished, and gradually disappeared. His tenets were rejected by the clergy and people; but his death was the subject of a long and vehement controversy; while some arraigned, and others applauded the justice of his sentence. It is with pleasure that we can observe the humane inconsistency of the most illustrious saints and bishops, Ambrose of Milan,* and Martin of Tours;† who, on this occasion, asserted the cause of toleration. They pitied the unhappy men who had been executed at Treves; they refused to hold communion with their episcopal murderers; and if Martin deviated from that generous resolution, his motives were laudable, and his repentance was exemplary. The bishops of Tours and Milan pronounced, without hesitation, the eternal damnation of heretics; but they were surprised and shocked by the bloody image of their temporal death, and the honest feelings of nature resisted the artificial prejudices of theology. The humanity of Ambrose and Martin was confirmed by the scandalous irregularity of the proceedings against Priscillian and his adherents. The civil and ecclesiastical ministers had transgressed the limits of their respective provinces. The secular judge had presumed to receive an appeal, and to pronounce a definitive sentence, in a matter of faith and episcopal jurisdiction. The bishops had disgraced themselves, by exercising the function of accusers in a criminal prosecution. The cruelty of Ithacius,‡ who beheld the

the older Gnostics.

* Ambros. tom. ii, epist. 24, p. 891.

† In the Sacred History, and the Life of St. Martin, Sulpicius Severus uses some caution; but he declares himself more freely in the Dialogues (3. 15.) Martin was reproved, however, by his own conscience and by an angel; nor could he afterwards perform miracles with so much ease.

‡ The Catholic presbyter (Sulp. Sever. l. 2, p. 448) and the Pagan orator (Pacat. in Panegy. Vet. 12. 29), reprobate, with equal indignation, the character and conduct of Ithacius. [The two principal instigators of this persecution, Ithacius or Idacius and Ursacius, were five years afterwards degraded from their episcopal dignities and expelled from the communion of the church. Clin. F. R. i, p. 519; ii, p. 447.—ED.]

tortures and solicited the death of the heretics, provoked the just indignation of mankind; and the vices of that profligate bishop were admitted as a proof that his zeal was instigated by the sordid motives of interest. Since the death of Priscillian, the rude attempts of persecution have been refined and methodized in the holy office, which assigns their distinct parts to the ecclesiastical and secular powers. The devoted victim is regularly delivered by the priest to the magistrate, and by the magistrate to the executioner; and the inexorable sentence of the church, which declares the spiritual guilt of the offender, is expressed in the mild language of pity and intercession.

Among the ecclesiastics who illustrated the reign of Theodosius, Gregory Nazianzen was distinguished by the talents of an eloquent preacher; the reputation of miraculous gifts added weight and dignity to the monastic virtues of Martin of Tours;* but the palm of episcopal vigour and ability was justly claimed by the intrepid Ambrose.† He was descended from a noble family of Romans; his father had exercised the important office of prætorian prefect of Gaul; and the son, after passing through the studies of a liberal education, attained, in the regular gradation of civil honours, the station of consular of Liguria, a province which included the imperial residence of Milan. At the age of thirty-four, and before he had received the sacrament of baptism, Ambrose, to his own surprise, and to that of the world, was suddenly transformed from a governor to an archbishop. Without the least mixture, as it is said, of art or intrigue, the whole body of the people unanimously saluted him with the episcopal title: the concord and perseverance of their acclamations were ascribed to a preternatural impulse; and the reluctant magistrate was compelled to undertake a spiritual office, for which he was not prepared by the habits and occupations of his former life. But the active force of his genius soon qualified him to

* The Life of St. Martin, and the Dialogues concerning his miracles, contain facts adapted to the grossest barbarism, in a style not unworthy of the Augustan age. So natural is the alliance between good taste and good sense, that I am always astonished by this contrast.

† The short and superficial life of St. Ambrose, by his deacon Paulinus, (Appendix ad edit. Benedict. p. 1—15,) has the merit of original evidence. Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. x, p. 78—306) and the Benedictine editors (p. 31—63), have laboured with their

exercise, with zeal and prudence, the duties of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and, while he cheerfully renounced the vain and splendid trappings of temporal greatness, he condescended, for the good of the church, to direct the conscience of the emperors, and to control the administration of the empire. Gratian loved and revered him as a father; and the elaborate treatise on the faith of the Trinity, was designed for the instruction of the young prince. After his tragic death, at a time when the empress Justina trembled for her own safety, and for that of her son Valentinian, the archbishop of Milan was dispatched, on two different embassies, to the court of Treves. He exercised, with equal firmness and dexterity, the powers of his spiritual and political characters; and perhaps contributed, by his authority and eloquence, to check the ambition of Maximus, and to protect the peace of Italy.* Ambrose had devoted his life and his abilities to the service of the church. Wealth was the object of his contempt; he had renounced his private patrimony; and he sold, without hesitation, the consecrated plate, for the redemption of captives. The clergy and people of Milan were attached to their archbishop; and he deserved the esteem, without soliciting the favour, or apprehending the displeasure, of his feeble sovereigns.

The government of Italy and of the young emperor naturally devolved to his mother Justina, a woman of beauty and spirit; but who, in the midst of an orthodox people, had the misfortune of professing the Arian heresy, which she endeavoured to instil into the mind of her son. Justina was persuaded, that a Roman emperor might claim, in his own dominions, the public exercise of his religion; and she proposed to the archbishop, as a moderate and reasonable concession, that he should resign the use of a single church, either in the city or the suburbs of Milan. But the conduct of Ambrose was governed by very different principles.† The palaces of the earth might indeed belong to Cæsar, but the

usual diligence. * Ambrose himself (tom. ii, epist. 24, p. 888—891) gives the emperor a very spirited account of his own embassy.

† His own representation of his principles and conduct (tom. ii, epist. 20—22, p. 852—856) is one of the curious monuments of ecclesiastical antiquity. It contains two letters to his sister Marcellina, with a petition to Valentinian, and the sermon *de Basilicis non tradendis*.

churches were the houses of God ; and within the limits of his diocese, he himself, as the lawful successor of the apostles, was the only minister of God. The privileges of Christianity, temporal as well as spiritual, were confined to the true believers ; and the mind of Ambrose was satisfied, that his own theological opinions were the standard of truth and orthodoxy. The archbishop, who refused to hold any conference or negotiation with the instruments of Satan, declared, with modest firmness, his resolution to die a martyr, rather than to yield to the impious sacrilege ; and Justina, who resented the refusal as an act of insolence and rebellion, hastily determined to exert the imperial prerogative of her son. As she desired to perform her public devotions on the approaching festival of Easter, Ambrose was ordered to appear before the council. He obeyed the summons with the respect of a faithful subject ; but he was followed, without his consent, by an innumerable people : they pressed, with impetuous zeal, against the gates of the palace ; and the affrighted ministers of Valentinian, instead of pronouncing a sentence of exile on the archbishop of Milan, humbly requested that he would interpose his authority, to protect the person of the emperor, and to restore the tranquillity of the capital. But the promises which Ambrose received and communicated, were soon violated by a perfidious court ; and, during six of the most solemn days which Christian piety has set apart for the exercise of religion, the city was agitated by the irregular convulsions of tumult and fanaticism. The officers of the household were directed to prepare, first, the Portian, and afterwards, the new, Basilica, for the immediate reception of the emperor and his mother. The splendid canopy and hangings of the royal seat were arranged in the customary manner ; but it was found necessary to defend them, by a strong guard, from the insults of the populace. The Arian ecclesiastics who ventured to show themselves in the streets, were exposed to the most imminent danger of their lives ; and Ambrose enjoyed the merit and reputation of rescuing his personal enemies from the hands of the enraged multitude.

But while he laboured to restrain the effects of their zeal, the pathetic vehemence of his sermons continually inflamed the angry and seditious temper of the people of Milan. The characters of Eve, of the wife of Job, of

Jezebel, of Herodias, were indecently applied to the mother of the emperor; and her desire to obtain a church for the Arians was compared to the most cruel persecutions which Christianity had endured under the reign of Paganism. The measures of the court served only to expose the magnitude of the evil. A fine of two hundred pounds of gold was imposed on the corporate body of merchants and manufacturers: an order was signified, in the name of the emperor, to all the officers and inferior servants of the courts of justice, that, during the continuance of the public disorders, they should strictly confine themselves to their houses; and the ministers of Valentinian imprudently confessed, that the most respectable part of the citizens of Milan was attached to the cause of their archbishop. He was again solicited to restore peace to his country, by a timely compliance with the will of his sovereign. The reply of Ambrose was couched in the most humble and respectful terms, which might, however, be interpreted as a serious declaration of civil war. "His life and fortune were in the hands of the emperor; but he would never betray the church of Christ, or degrade the dignity of the episcopal character. In such a cause, he was prepared to suffer whatever the malice of the demon could inflict; and he only wished to die in the presence of his faithful flock, and at the foot of the altar: he had not contributed to excite, but it was in the power of God alone to appease, the rage of the people: he deprecated the scenes of blood and confusion which were likely to ensue; and it was his fervent prayer, that he might not survive to behold the ruin of a flourishing city, and perhaps the desolation of all Italy.*" The obstinate bigotry of Justina would have endangered the empire of her son, if, in this contest with the church and people of Milan, she could have depended on the active obedience of the troops of the palace. A large body of Goths had marched to occupy the Basilica, which was the object of the dispute; and it might be expected from the Arian principles, and barbarous manners, of these foreign mercenaries, that they would not entertain any scruples in

* Retz had a similar message from the queen, to request that he would appease the tumult of Paris. It was no longer in his power, &c. *A quoi j'ajoutai tout ce que vous pouvez vous imaginer de respect, de douleur, de regret, et de soumission, &c. (Mémoires, tom. i, p. 140).* Certainly I do not compare either the causes or the men; yet the coadjutor himself had some idea (p. 84) of imitating St. Ambrose.

the execution of the most sanguinary orders. They were encountered, on the sacred threshold, by the archbishop, who thundering against them a sentence of excommunication, asked them, in the tone of a father and a master, whether it was to invade the house of God, that they had implored the hospitable protection of the republic? The suspense of the barbarians allowed some hours for a more effectual negotiation; and the empress was persuaded, by the advice of her wisest counsellors, to leave the Catholics in possession of all the churches of Milan; and to dissemble, till a more convenient season, her intentions of revenge. The mother of Valentinian could never forgive the triumph of Ambrose; and the royal youth uttered a passionate exclamation, that his own servants were ready to betray him into the hands of an insolent priest.

The laws of the empire, some of which were inscribed with the name of Valentinian, still condemned the Arian heresy, and seemed to excuse the resistance of the Catholics. By the influence of Justina, an edict of toleration was promulgated in all the provinces which were subject to the court of Milan: the free exercise of their religion was granted to those who professed the faith of Rimini; and the emperor declared, that all persons who should infringe this sacred and salutary constitution, should be capitally punished, as the enemies of the public peace.* The character and language of the archbishop of Milan may justify the suspicion, that his conduct soon afforded a reasonable ground, or at least a specious pretence, to the Arian ministers, who watched the opportunity of surprising him in some act of disobedience to a law, which he strangely represents as a law of blood and tyranny. A sentence of easy and honourable banishment was pronounced, which enjoined Ambrose to depart from Milan without delay; whilst it permitted him to choose the place of his exile, and the number of his companions. But the authority of the saints who have preached and practised the maxims of passive loyalty, appeared to Ambrose of less moment than the extreme and pressing danger of the church. He boldly refused to obey; and his refusal was supported by the unanimous consent of his faithful people.† They guarded by turns the person of

* Sozomen alone (l. 7, c. 13) throws this luminous fact into a dark and perplexed narrative.

† *Excubabat pia plebs in ecclesiâ mori*

their archbishop; the gates of the cathedral and the episcopal palace were strongly secured; and the imperial troops, who had formed the blockade, were unwilling to risk the attack of that impregnable fortress. The numerous poor, who had been relieved by the liberality of Ambrose, embraced the fair occasion of signalizing their zeal and gratitude; and as the patience of the multitude might have been exhausted by the length and uniformity of nocturnal vigils, he prudently introduced into the church of Milan the useful institution of a loud and regular psalmody. While he maintained this arduous contest, he was instructed, by a dream, to open the earth in a place where the remains of two martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius,* had been deposited above three hundred years. Immediately under the pavement of the church two perfect skeletons were found,† with the heads separated from their bodies, and a plentiful effusion of blood. The holy relics were presented, in solemn pomp, to the veneration of the people: and every circumstance of this fortunate discovery was admirably adapted to promote the designs of Ambrose. The bones of the martyrs, their blood, their garments, were supposed to contain a healing power; and their preternatural influence was communicated to the most distant objects, without losing any part of its original virtue. The extraordinary cure of a blind man,‡ and the reluctant confessions of several demoniacs, appeared to justify the faith and sanctity of Ambrose; and the truth of those miracles is attested by Ambrose himself, by his secretary

parata cum episcopo suo . . . Nos adhuc frigidi excitabamur tamen civitate attonita atque turbata. Augustin. Confes. l. 9, c. 7.

* Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. ii, p. 78. 498. Many churches in Italy, Gaul, &c., were dedicated to these unknown martyrs, of whom St. Gervase seems to have been more fortunate than his companion.

† *Invenimus miræ magnitudinis viros duos, ut prisca ætas ferebat*, tom. ii, *epist.* 22, p. 875. The size of these skeletons was fortunately, or skilfully, suited to the popular prejudice of the gradual decrease of the human stature: which has prevailed in every age since the time of Homer.

Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.

‡ *Ambros.* tom. ii, *epist.* 22, p. 875. Augustin. *Confes.* l. 9, c. 7. *De Civitat. Dei*, l. 22, c. 8. Paulin. in *Vita St. Ambros.* c. 14, in *Append. Benedict.* p. 4. The blind man's name was Severus; he touched the holy garment, recovered his sight, and devoted the rest of his life (at least twenty-five years) to the service of the church. I should recommend this miracle to our divines, if it did not prove the worship of

Paulinus, and by his proselyte, the celebrated Augustin, who at that time professed the art of rhetoric in Milan. The reason of the present age may possibly approve the incredulity of Justina and her Arian court; who derided the theatrical representations, which were exhibited by the contrivance, and at the expense, of the archbishop.* Their effect, however, on the minds of the people, was rapid and irresistible; and the feeble sovereign of Italy found himself unable to contend with the favourite of heaven. The powers likewise of the earth interposed in the defence of Ambrose; the disinterested advice of Theodosius was the genuine result of piety and friendship; and the mask of religious zeal concealed the hostile and ambitious designs of the tyrant of Gaul.†

The reign of Maximus might have ended in peace and prosperity, could he have contented himself with the possession of three ample countries, which now constitute the three most flourishing kingdoms of modern Europe. But the aspiring usurper, whose sordid ambition was not dignified by the love of glory and of arms, considered his actual forces as the instruments only of his future greatness; and his success was the immediate cause of his destruction. The wealth which he extorted‡ from the oppressed provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was employed in levying and maintaining a formidable army of barbarians, collected, for the most part, from the fiercest nations of Germany. The conquest of Italy was the object of his hopes and preparations; and he secretly meditated the ruin of an innocent youth, whose government was abhorred and despised by his Catholic subjects. But as Maximus wished to occupy, without resistance, the passes of the Alps, he received, with perfidious smiles, Domninus of Syria, the ambassador of Valentinian, and pressed him to accept the aid of a considerable body of troops for the service of a Pannonian war. The penetration of Ambrose had discovered the snares of an enemy under the professions of

relics as well as the Nicene creed.

c. 5, in Append. Benedict. p. 5.

p. 120. 750. He partially allows the mediation of Theodosius; and capriciously rejects that of Maximus, though it is attested by Prosper, Sozomen, and Theodoret.

* Paulin. in tit. St. Ambros. † Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. x, ‡ The modest censure of Sulpicius (Dialog. 3 15) inflicts a much deeper wound than the feeble declama-

friendship;* but the Syrian Domninus was corrupted, or deceived, by the liberal favour of the court of Treves; and the council of Milan obstinately rejected the suspicion of danger, with a blind confidence, which was the effect, not of courage, but of fear. The march of the auxiliaries was guided by the ambassador; and they were admitted, without distrust, into the fortresses of the Alps. But the crafty tyrant followed, with hasty and silent footsteps, in the rear; and, as he diligently intercepted all intelligence of his motions, the gleam of armour, and the dust excited by the troops of cavalry, first announced the hostile approach of a stranger to the gates of Milan. In this extremity, Justina and her son might accuse their own imprudence, and the perfidious arts of Maximus; but they wanted time, and force, and resolution, to stand against the Gauls and Germans, either in the field or within the walls of a large and disaffected city. Flight was their only hope, Aquileia their only refuge; and as Maximus now displayed his genuine character, the brother of Gratian might expect the same fate from the hands of the same assassin. Maximus entered Milan in triumph: and if the wise archbishop refused a dangerous and criminal connection with the usurper, he might indirectly contribute to the success of his arms, by inculcating, from the pulpit, the duty of resignation rather than that of resistance.† The unfortunate Justina reached Aquileia in safety; but she distrusted the strength of the fortifications; she dreaded the event of a siege; and she resolved to implore the protection of the great Theodosius, whose power and virtue were celebrated in all the countries of the west. A vessel was secretly provided to transport the imperial family; they embarked with precipitation in one of the obscure harbours of Venetia or Istria; traversed the whole extent of the Adriatic and Ionian seas; turned the extreme promontory of Peloponnesus; and, after a long but successful navigation, reposed themselves in the port of Thessalonica. All the subjects of Valentinian deserted the cause of a prince, who, by his

tion of Pacatus (12. 25, 26).

* *Esto tutior adversus hominem, paci involucra tegentem*, was the wise caution of Ambrose (tom. ii. p. 891), after his return from his second embassy.

† Baronius (A.D. 387. No. 63) applies to this season of public distress some of the penitential sermons of the archbishop.

abdication, had absolved them from the duty of allegiance; and if the little city of Æmona, on the verge of Italy, had not presumed to stop the career of his inglorious victory, Maximus would have obtained, without a struggle, the sole possession of the western empire.

Instead of inviting his royal guests to the palace of Constantinople, Theodosius had some unknown reasons to fix their residence at Thessalonica; but these reasons did not proceed from contempt or indifference, as he speedily made a visit to that city, accompanied by the greatest part of his court and senate. After the first tender expressions of friendship and sympathy, the pious emperor of the east gently admonished Justina, that the guilt of heresy was sometimes punished in this world, as well as in the next; and that the public profession of the Nicene faith would be the most efficacious step to promote the restoration of her son, by the satisfaction which it must occasion both on earth and in heaven. The momentous question of peace or war was referred, by Theodosius, to the deliberation of his council; and the arguments which might be alleged on the side of honour and justice, had acquired, since the death of Gratian, a considerable degree of additional weight. The persecution of the imperial family, to which Theodosius himself had been indebted for his fortune, was now aggravated by recent and repeated injuries. Neither oaths nor treaties could restrain the boundless ambition of Maximus; and the delay of vigorous and decisive measures, instead of prolonging the blessings of peace, would expose the eastern empire to the danger of a hostile invasion. The barbarians, who had passed the Danube, had lately assumed the character of soldiers and subjects, but their native fierceness was yet untamed; and the operations of a war, which would exercise their valour, and diminish their numbers; might tend to relieve the provinces from an intolerable oppression. Notwithstanding these specious and solid reasons, which were approved by a majority of the council, Theodosius still hesitated, whether he should draw the sword in a contest, which could no longer admit any terms of reconciliation; and his magnanimous character was not disgraced by the apprehensions which he felt for the safety of his infant sons, and the welfare of his exhausted people. In this moment of anxious doubt, while the fate of the Roman

world depended on the resolution of a single man, the charms of the princess Galla most powerfully pleaded the cause of her brother Valentinian.* The heart of Theodosius was softened by the tears of beauty; his affections were insensibly engaged by the graces of youth and innocence; the art of Justina managed and directed the impulse of passion; and the celebration of the royal nuptials was the assurance and signal of the civil war. The unfeeling critics, who consider every amorous weakness as an indelible stain on the memory of a great and orthodox emperor, are inclined, on this occasion, to dispute the suspicious evidence of the historian Zosimus. For my own part, I shall frankly confess, that I am willing to find, or even to seek, in the revolutions of the world, some traces of the mild and tender sentiments of domestic life; and, amidst the crowd of fierce and ambitious conquerors, I can distinguish, with peculiar complacency, a gentle hero, who may be supposed to receive his armour from the hands of love. The alliance of the Persian king was secured by the faith of treaties; the martial barbarians were persuaded to follow the standard, or to respect the frontiers, of an active and liberal monarch; and the dominions of Theodosius, from the Euphrates to the Hadriatic, resounded with the preparations of war both by land and sea. The skilful disposition of the forces of the east seemed to multiply their numbers, and distracted the attention of Maximus. He had reason to fear that a chosen body of troops, under the command of the intrepid Arbogastes, would direct their march along the banks of the Danube, and

* The flight of Valentinian, and the love of Theodosius for his sister, are related by Zosimus, (l. 4, p. 263, 264.) Tillemont produces some weak and ambiguous evidence to antedate the second marriage of Theodosius, (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v, p. 740,) and consequently to refute "*ces contes de Zosime, qui seroient trop contraires à la piété de Theodose.*" [According to Marcellinus, Galla visited Constantinople in the consulship of Honorius and Euodius, A.D. 386, the year before the invasion of Maximus. The "*altera uxor*" of Marcellinus evidently refers, not to that time, but to what subsequently took place. During that visit, Theodosius, whose first empress, *Ælia Flaccilla*, was recently dead, was struck with the charms of Valentinian's youthful sister. She returned to her mother; but when Theodosius heard of their flight, he hastened to meet them at Thessalonica, and contract the marriage which he contemplated. This explains his conduct, which Gibbon ascribes to "some unknown reasons."—Ed.]

boldly penetrate through the Rætian provinces into the centre of Gaul. A powerful fleet was equipped in the harbours of Greece and Epirus, with an apparent design, that as soon as a passage had been opened by a naval victory, Valentinian and his mother should land in Italy, proceed without delay to Rome, and occupy the majestic seat of religion and empire. In the meanwhile Theodosius himself advanced at the head of a brave and disciplined army, to encounter his unworthy rival, who after the siege of Æmona, had fixed his camp in the neighbourhood of Siscia, a city of Pannonia, strongly fortified by the broad and rapid stream of the Save.

The veterans who still remembered the long resistance, and successive resources, of the tyrant Magnentius, might prepare themselves for the labours of three bloody campaigns. But the contest with his successor, who, like him, had usurped the throne of the west, was easily decided in the term of two months,* and within the space of two hundred miles. The superior genius of the emperor of the east might prevail over the feeble Maximus; who, in this important crisis, shewed himself destitute of military skill, or personal courage; but the abilities of Theodosius were seconded by the advantage which he possessed of a numerous and active cavalry. The Huns, the Alani, and, after their example, the Goths themselves, were formed into squadrons of archers; who fought on horseback, and confounded the steady valour of the Gauls and Germans, by the rapid motions of a Tartar war. After the fatigue of a long march, in the heat of summer, they spurred their foaming horses into the waters of the Save, swam the river in the presence of the enemy, and instantly charged and routed the troops who guarded the high ground on the opposite side. Marcellinus, the tyrant's brother, advanced to support them with the select cohorts, which were considered as the hope and strength of the army. The action, which had been interrupted by the approach of night, was renewed in the morning; and, after a sharp conflict, the surviving remnant of the bravest soldiers of Maximus threw down their arms at the feet of the conqueror. Without suspending his march, to receive the loyal acclamations of the citizens of Æmona, Theodosius pressed forward, to ter-

* See Godefroy's Chronology of the Laws, Cod. Theodos. tom. i, p. 19.

minate the war by the death or captivity of his rival, who fled before him with the diligence of fear. From the summit of the Julian Alps, he descended with such incredible speed into the plain of Italy, that he reached Aquileia on the evening of the first day; and Maximus, who found himself encompassed on all sides, had scarcely time to shut the gates of the city. But the gates could not long resist the effort of a victorious enemy; and the despair, the disaffection, the indifference of the soldiers and people, hastened the downfall of the wretched Maximus. He was dragged from his throne, rudely stripped of the imperial ornaments, the robe, the diadem, and the purple slippers; and conducted, like a malefactor, to the camp and presence of Theodosius, at a place about three miles from Aquileia. The behaviour of the emperor was not intended to insult, and he shewed some disposition to pity and forgive, the tyrant of the west, who had never been his personal enemy, and was now become the object of his contempt. Our sympathy is the most forcibly excited by the misfortunes to which we are exposed; and the spectacle of a proud competitor, now prostrate at his feet, could not fail of producing very serious and solemn thoughts in the mind of the victorious emperor. But the feeble emotion of involuntary pity was checked by his regard for public justice and the memory of Gratian; and he abandoned the victim to the pious zeal of the soldiers, who drew him out of the imperial presence, and instantly separated his head from his body. The intelligence of his defeat and death was received with sincere or well-dissembled joy: his son Victor, on whom he had conferred the title of Augustus, died by the order, perhaps by the hand, of the bold Arbogastes; and all the military plans of Theodosius were successfully executed. When he had thus terminated the civil war, with less difficulty and bloodshed than he might naturally expect, he employed the winter months of his residence at Milan, to restore the state of the afflicted provinces; and early in the spring he made, after the example of Constantine and Constantius, his triumphal entry into the ancient capital of the Roman empire.*

* Besides the hints which may be gathered from chronicles and ecclesiastical history, Zosimus (l. 4, p. 259—267), Orosius (l. 7, c. 35), and Pacatus (Panegy. Vet. 12. 30—47), supply the loose and scanty materials of this civil war. Ambrose (tom. ii, epist. 40, p. 952—953),

The orator, who may be silent without danger, may praise without difficulty and without reluctance;* and posterity will confess, that the character of Theodosius† might furnish the subject of a sincere and ample panegyric. The wisdom of his laws and the success of his arms, rendered his administration respectable in the eyes both of his subjects and of his enemies. He loved and practised the virtues of domestic life, which seldom hold their residence in the palaces of kings. Theodosius was chaste and temperate; he enjoyed, without excess, the sensual and social pleasures of the table; and the warmth of his amorous passions was never diverted from their lawful objects. The proud titles of imperial greatness were adorned by the tender names of a faithful husband, an indulgent father; his uncle was raised, by his affectionate esteem, to the rank of a second parent: Theodosius embraced, as his own, the children of his brother and sister; and the expressions of his regard were extended to the most distant and obscure branches of his numerous kindred. His familiar friends were judiciously selected from among those persons, who, in the equal intercourse of private life, had appeared before his eyes without a mask: the consciousness of personal and superior merit enabled him to despise the accidental distinction of the purple; and he proved, by his conduct, that he had forgotten all the injuries, while he most gratefully remembered all the favours and services, which he had received before he

darkly alludes to the well-known events of a magazine surprised, an action at Petovio, a Sicilian, perhaps a naval, victory, &c. Ausonius (p. 256, edit. Toll.) applauds the peculiar merit and good fortune of Aquileia. [Maximus wore his purple five years. This term of *usurped* dominion, Pacatus designated, in his panegyric oration to Theodosius, by the somewhat affected, but not unauthorized phrase, "*lustrale justitium*."—ED.]

* Quam promptum laudare principem, tam tutum siluisse de principe. (Pacat. in Panegyr. Vet. 12. 2.) Latinus Pacatus Drepanius, a native of Gaul, pronounced this oration at Rome (A.D. 388). He was afterwards proconsul of Africa; and his friend Ausonius praises him as a poet, second only to Virgil. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v, p. 303. [Clinton (F. R. i, p. 579) fixes the date of this oration to between June 13th and September 1st, A.D. 389. It was spoken before the Senate, and in the presence of Theodosius, whose visit to Rome, as stated by Gibbon, was in the spring of that year.—ED.]

† See the fair portrait of Theodosius, by the younger Victor; the strokes are distinct, and the colours are mixed. The praise of Pacatus is too vague, and Claudian always seems afraid of exalting the father above the son.

ascended the throne of the Roman empire. The serious or lively tone of his conversation, was adapted to the age, the rank, or the character of his subjects whom he admitted into his society; and the affability of his manners displayed the image of his mind. Theodosius respected the simplicity of the good and virtuous; every art, every talent, of a useful or even of an innocent nature, was rewarded by his judicious liberality; and, except the heretics, whom he persecuted with implacable hatred, the diffusive circle of his benevolence was circumscribed only by the limits of the human race. The government of a mighty empire may assuredly suffice to occupy the time and the abilities of a mortal; yet the diligent prince, without aspiring to the unsuitable reputation of profound learning, always reserved some moments of his leisure for the instructive amusement of reading. History, which enlarged his experience, was his favourite study. The annals of Rome, in the long period of eleven hundred years, presented him with a various and splendid picture of human life; and it has been particularly observed, that whenever he perused the cruel acts of Cinna, of Marius, or of Sylla, he warmly expressed his generous detestation of those enemies of humanity and freedom. His disinterested opinion of past events was usefully applied as the rule of his own actions; and Theodosius has deserved the singular commendation, that his virtues always seemed to expand with his fortune: the season of his prosperity was that of his moderation; and his clemency appeared the most conspicuous after the danger and success of the civil war. The Moorish guards of the tyrant had been massacred in the first heat of the victory, and a small number of the most obnoxious criminals suffered the punishment of the law. But the emperor shewed himself much more attentive to relieve the innocent, than to chastise the guilty. The oppressed subjects of the west, who would have deemed themselves happy in the restoration of their lands, were astonished to receive a sum of money equivalent to their losses; and the liberality of the conqueror supported the aged mother, and educated the orphan daughters, of Maximus.* A character thus accomplished, might almost

* Ambros. tom. ii, epist. 40, p. 955. Pacatus, from the want of skill, or of courage, omits this glorious circumstance. [If this good work had been commenced, it could scarcely have gained publicity, when Pacatus spoke. Ambrose wrote at a later period.—Ed.]

excuse the extravagant supposition of the orator Pacatus; that if the elder Brutus could be permitted to revisit the earth, the stern republican would abjure, at the feet of Theodosius, his hatred of kings; and ingenuously confess, that such a monarch was the most faithful guardian of the happiness and dignity of the Roman people.*

Yet the piercing eye of the founder of the republic must have discerned two essential imperfections, which might perhaps have abated his recent love of despotism. The virtuous mind of Theodosius was often relaxed by indolence,† and it was sometimes inflamed by passion.‡ In the pursuit of an important object, his active courage was capable of the most vigorous exertions; but, as soon as the design was accomplished, or the danger was surmounted, the hero sunk into inglorious repose; and, forgetful that the time of a prince is the property of his people, resigned himself to the enjoyment of the innocent but trifling pleasures of a luxurious court. The natural disposition of Theodosius was hasty and choleric; and, in a station where none could resist, and few would dissuade, the fatal consequence of his resentment, the humane monarch was justly alarmed by the consciousness of his infirmity, and of his power. It was the constant study of his life to suppress or regulate the intemperate sallies of passion; and the success of his efforts enhanced the merit of his clemency. But the painful virtue which claims the merit of victory, is exposed to the danger of defeat; and the reign of a wise and merciful prince was polluted by an act of cruelty which would stain the annals of Nero or Domitian. Within the space of three years, the inconsistent historian of Theodosius must relate the generous pardon of the citizens of Antioch, and the inhuman massacre of the people of Thessalonica.

The lively impatience of the inhabitants of Antioch was

* Pacat. in Panegy. Vet. 12. 20.

† Zosimus, l. 4, p. 271,

272. His partial evidence is marked by an air of candour and truth. He observes these vicissitudes of sloth and activity, not as a vice, but as a singularity, in the character of Theodosius.

‡ This choleric temper is acknowledged, and excused, by Victor. *Sed habes* (says Ambrose, in decent and manly language, to his sovereign) *naturæ impetum, quem si quis lenire velit, cito vertes ad misericordiam: si quis stimulet, in magis exsuscitas, ut eum revocare vix possis* (tom. ii, epist. 51, p. 993). Theodosius (Claud. in 4 Cons. Hon. 266, &c.) exhorts his son to moderate his anger.

never satisfied with their own situation, or with the character and conduct of their successive sovereigns. The Arian subjects of Theodosius deplored the loss of their churches; and, as three rival bishops disputed the throne of Antioch, the sentence which decided their pretensions excited the murmurs of the two unsuccessful congregations. The exigencies of the Gothic war, and the inevitable expense that accompanied the conclusion of the peace, had constrained the emperor to aggravate the weight of the public impositions; and the provinces of Asia, as they had not been involved in the distress, were the less inclined to contribute to the relief of Europe. The auspicious period now approached of the tenth year of his reign; a festival more grateful to the soldiers, who received a liberal donative, than to the subjects, whose voluntary offerings had been long since converted into an extraordinary and oppressive burden. The edicts of taxation interrupted the repose and pleasures of Antioch; and the tribunal of the magistrate was besieged by a suppliant crowd, who, in pathetic, but, at first, in respectful language, solicited the redress of their grievances. They were gradually incensed by the pride of their haughty rulers, who treated their complaints as a criminal resistance; their satirical wit degenerated into sharp and angry invectives; and, from the subordinate powers of government, the invectives of the people insensibly rose to attack the sacred character of the emperor himself. Their fury, provoked by a feeble opposition, discharged itself on the images of the imperial family, which were erected, as objects of public veneration, in the most conspicuous places of the city. The statues of Theodosius, of his father, of his wife Flaccilla, of his two sons Arcadius and Honorius, were insolently thrown down from their pedestals, broken in pieces, or dragged with contempt through the streets: and the indignities which were offered to the representations of imperial majesty, sufficiently declared the impious and treasonable wishes of the populace. The tumult was almost immediately suppressed by the arrival of a body of archers; and Antioch had leisure to reflect on the nature and consequences of her crime.*

* The Christians and Pagans agreed in believing that the sedition of Antioch was excited by the demons. A gigantic woman (says Sozomen, l. 7, c. 23) paraded the streets with a scourge in her hand.

According to the duty of his office, the governor of the province dispatched a faithful narrative of the whole transaction; while the trembling citizens intrusted the confession of their crime and the assurances of their repentance, to the zeal of Flavian their bishop, and to the eloquence of the senator Hilarius, the friend, and most probably the disciple, of Libanius, whose genius, on this melancholy occasion, was not useless to his country.* But the two capitals, Antioch and Constantinople, were separated by the distance of eight hundred miles; and, notwithstanding the diligence of the imperial posts, the guilty city was severely punished by a long and dreadful interval of suspense. Every rumour agitated the hopes and fears of the Antiochians, and they heard with terror, that their sovereign, exasperated by the insult which had been offered to his own statues, and more especially to those of his beloved wife, had resolved to level with the ground the offending city; and to massacre, without distinction of age or sex, the criminal inhabitants,† many of whom were actually driven, by their apprehensions, to seek a refuge in the mountains of Syria and the adjacent desert. At length, twenty-four days after the sedition, the general Hellebicus, and Cæsarius, master of the offices, declared the will of the emperor, and the sentence of Antioch. That proud capital was degraded from the rank of a city; and the metropolis of the east, stripped of its lands, its privileges, and its revenues, was subjected, under the humiliating denomination of a village, to the jurisdiction of Laodicea.‡ The baths, the circus, and the theatres were shut; and, that every source of plenty and pleasure might at the same time be intercepted, the distribution of corn was abolished, by the severe instructions of Theodosius. His commissioners

An old man (says Libanius, *Orat.* 12, p. 396,) transformed himself into a youth, then a boy, &c.

* Zosimus, in his short and disingenuous account (l. 4, p. 258, 259), is certainly mistaken in sending Libanius himself to Constantinople. His own orations fix him at Antioch.

† Libanius (*Orat.* 1, p. 6, edit. Venet.) declares, that, under such a reign, the fear of a massacre was groundless and absurd, especially in the emperor's absence; for his presence, according to the eloquent slave, might have given a sanction to the most bloody acts.

‡ Laodicea, on the sea-coast, sixty-five miles from Antioch, (see Norris, *Epoch. Syro-Maced. Dissert.* 3, p. 239). The Antiochians were offended, that the dependent city of Seleucia should presume to inter-

then proceeded to inquire into the guilt of individuals; of those who had perpetrated, and of those who had not prevented, the destruction of the sacred statues. The tribunal of Hellebicus and Cæsarius, encompassed with armed soldiers, was erected in the midst of the forum. The noblest and most wealthy of the citizens of Antioch, appeared before them in chains; the examination was assisted by the use of torture, and their sentence was pronounced or suspended according to the judgment of these extraordinary magistrates. The houses of the criminals were exposed to sale, their wives and children were suddenly reduced from affluence and luxury to the most abject distress; and a bloody execution was expected to conclude the horrors of a day,* which the preacher of Antioch, the eloquent Chrysostom, has represented as a lively image of the last and universal judgment of the world. But the ministers of Theodosius performed, with reluctance, the cruel task which had been assigned them; they dropped a gentle tear over the calamities of the people; and they listened with reverence to the pressing solicitations of the monks and hermits, who descended in swarms from the mountains.† Hellebicus and Cæsarius were persuaded to suspend the execution of their sentence; and it was agreed, that the former should remain at Antioch, while the latter returned, with all possible speed, to Constantinople, and presumed once more to consult the will of his sovereign. The resentment of Theodosius had already subsided; the deputies of the people, both the bishop and the orator, had obtained a favourable audience; and the reproaches of the emperor were the complaints of injured friendship, rather than the stern menaces of pride and power. A free and general pardon was granted to the city and citizens of Antioch; the prison-doors were thrown open; the senators who despaired of their lives, recovered the possession of their houses and estates; and the capital of the east was restored to the enjoyment of her ancient dignity and splen-

cede for them.

* As the days of the tumult depend on the moveable festival of Easter, they can only be determined by the previous determination of the year. The year 387 has been preferred, after a laborious inquiry by Tillemont (*Hist. des. Emp. tom. v, p. 741—744.*) and Montfaucon (*Chrysostom. tom. xiii, p. 105. 110.*)

† Chrysostom opposes *their* courage, which was not attended with

dour. Theodosius condescended to praise the senate of Constantinople, who had generously interceded for their distressed brethren: he rewarded the eloquence of Hilarius with the government of Palestine; and dismissed the bishop of Antioch with the warmest expressions of his respect and gratitude. A thousand new statues arose to the clemency of Theodosius; the applause of his subjects was ratified by the approbation of his own heart: and the emperor confessed that, if the exercise of justice is the most important duty, the indulgence of mercy is the most exquisite pleasure of a sovereign.*

The sedition of Thessalonica is ascribed to a more shameful cause, and was productive of much more dreadful consequences. That great city, the metropolis of all the Illyrian provinces, had been protected from the dangers of the Gothic war by strong fortifications and a numerous garrison. Botheric, the general of those troops, and, as it should seem from his name, a barbarian, had among his slaves a beautiful boy, who excited the impure desires of one of the charioteers of the circus. The insolent and brutal lover was thrown into prison by the order of Botheric; and he sternly rejected the importunate clamours of the multitude, who, on the day of the public games, lamented the absence of their favourite; and considered the skill of a charioteer as an object of more importance than his virtue. The resentment of the people was imbibited by some previous disputes; and, as the strength of the garrison had been drawn away for the service of the Italian war, the feeble remnant, whose numbers were reduced by desertion, could not save the unhappy general from their licentious fury. Botheric, and several of his principal officers, were inhumanly murdered: their mangled bodies were dragged about the streets; and the emperor, who

much risk, to the cowardly flight of the Cynics. * The sedition of Antioch is represented in a lively, and almost dramatic, manner, by two orators, who had their respective shares of interest and merit. See Libanius, (*Orat.* 14, 15, p. 389—420, edit. Morel. *Orat.* 1, p. 1—14. Venet. 1754,) and the twenty orations of St. John Chrysostom, *de Statuis*. (tom. ii, p. 1—225, edit. Montfaucon). I do not pretend to much personal acquaintance with Chrysostom; but Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v, p. 263—283,) and Hermant (*Vie de St. Chrysostome*, tom. i, p. 137—224,) had read him with pious curiosity and diligence.

then resided at Milan, was surprised by the intelligence of the audacious and wanton cruelty of the people of Thessalonica. The sentence of a dispassionate judge would have inflicted a severe punishment on the authors of the crime; and the merit of Botheric might contribute to exasperate the grief and indignation of his master. The fiery and choleric temper of Theodosius was impatient of the dilatory forms of a judicial inquiry; and he hastily resolved, that the blood of his lieutenant should be expiated by the blood of the guilty people. Yet his mind still fluctuated between the counsels of clemency and of revenge; the zeal of the bishops had almost extorted from the reluctant emperor the promise of a general pardon; his passion was again inflamed by the flattering suggestions of his minister, Rufinus; and, after Theodosius had dispatched the messengers of death, he attempted, when it was too late, to prevent the execution of his orders. The punishment of a Roman city was blindly committed to the undistinguishing sword of the barbarians; and the hostile preparations were concerted with the dark and perfidious artifice of an illegal conspiracy. The people of Thessalonica were treacherously invited, in the name of their sovereign, to the games of the circus; and such was their insatiate avidity for those amusements, that every consideration of fear, or suspicion, was disregarded by the numerous spectators. As soon as the assembly was complete, the soldiers, who had been secretly posted round the circus, received the signal, not of the races, but of a general massacre. The promiscuous carnage continued three hours, without discrimination of strangers or natives, of age or sex, of innocence or guilt; the most moderate accounts state the number of the slain at seven thousand; and it is affirmed by some writers, that more than fifteen thousand victims were sacrificed to the manes of Botheric. A foreign merchant, who had probably no concern in his murder, offered his own life, and all his wealth, to supply the place of *one* of his two sons; but, while the father hesitated with equal tenderness, while he was doubtful to choose, and unwilling to condemn, the soldiers determined his suspense, by plunging their daggers at the same moment into the breasts of the defenceless youths. The apology of the assassins that they were obliged to produce the prescribed number of heads, serves

only to increase, by an appearance of order and design, the horrors of the massacre, which was executed by the commands of Theodosius. The guilt of the emperor is aggravated by his long and frequent residence at Thessalonica. The situation of the unfortunate city, the aspect of the streets and buildings, the dress and faces of the inhabitants, were familiar, and even present to his imagination; and Theodosius possessed a quick and lively sense of the existence of the people whom he destroyed.*

The respectful attachment of the emperor for the orthodox clergy, had disposed him to love and admire the character of Ambrose; who united all the episcopal virtues in the most eminent degree. The friends and ministers of Theodosius imitated the example of their sovereign; and he observed, with more surprise than displeasure, that all his secret counsels were immediately communicated to the archbishop; who acted from the laudable persuasion that every measure of civil government may have some connexion with the glory of God and the interests of the true religion. The monks and populace of Callinicum, an obscure town on the frontier of Persia, excited by their own fanaticism, and by that of their bishop, had tumultuously burnt a conventicle of the Valentinians, and a synagogue of the Jews. The seditious prelate was condemned, by the magistrate of the province, either to rebuild the synagogue or to repay the damage; and this moderate sentence was confirmed by the emperor. But it was not confirmed by the archbishop of Milan.† He dictated an epistle of censure and reproach, more suitable, perhaps, if the emperor had received the mark of circumcision, and renounced the faith of his baptism. Ambrose considers the toleration of the Jewish, as the persecution of the Christian, religion; boldly declares, that he himself, and every true believer, would eagerly dispute with the bishop of Callinicum the

* The original evidence of Ambrose (tom. ii, epist. 51, p. 998), Augustin (de Civitat. Dei 5, 26), and Paulinus (in Vit. Ambros. c. 24), is delivered in vague expressions of horror and pity. It is illustrated by the subsequent and unequal testimonies of Sozomen (lib. 7, c. 25), Theodoret (lib. 5, c. 17), Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 62), Cedrenus (p. 317), and Zonaras (tom. ii, lib. 13, p. 34). Zosimus alone, the partial enemy of Theodosius, most unaccountably passes over in silence the worst of his actions. † See the whole transactions in Ambrose (tom. ii, epist. 40, 41, p. 946—956), and his biographer Paulinus (c. 23).

merit of the deed, and the crown of martyrdom; and laments in the most pathetic terms, that the execution of the sentence would be fatal to the fame and salvation of Theodosius. As this private admonition did not produce an immediate effect, the archbishop, from his pulpit,* publicly addressed the emperor on his throne;† nor would he consent to offer the oblation of the altar, till he had obtained from Theodosius a solemn and positive declaration, which secured the impunity of the bishop and monks of Callinicum. The recantation of Theodosius was sincere;‡ and during the term of his residence at Milan, his affection for Ambrose was continually increased by the habits of pious and familiar conversation.

When Ambrose was informed of the massacre of Thessalonica, his mind was filled with horror and anguish. He retired into the country to indulge his grief, and to avoid the presence of Theodosius. But as the archbishop was satisfied that a timid silence would render him the accomplice of his guilt, he represented, in a private letter, the enormity of the crime; which could only be effaced by the tears of penitence. The episcopal vigour of Ambrose was tempered by prudence; and he contented himself with signifying§ an indirect sort of excommunication, by the assurance, that he had been warned in a vision, not to offer the oblation in the name, or in the presence, of Theodosius; and by the advice, that he would confine himself to the use of prayer, without presuming to approach the altar of Christ, or to receive the holy Eucharist with those hands that were still polluted with the blood of an innocent people. The

Bayle and Barbeyrac (*Morale des Pères*, c. 17, p. 325, &c.) have justly condemned the archbishop.

* His sermon is a strange allegory of Jeremiah's rod, of an almond-tree, of the woman who washed and anointed the feet of Christ. But the peroration is direct and personal.

† *Hodie, episcopo, de me proposuisti.* Ambrose modestly confessed it: but he sternly reprimanded Timasius, general of the horse and foot, who had presumed to say that the monks of Callinicum deserved punishment.

‡ Yet, five years afterwards, when Theodosius was absent from his spiritual guide, he tolerated the Jews, and condemned the destruction of their synagogues. (*Cod. Theodos. lib. 16, tit. 8, leg. 9*, with Godefroy's Commentary, tom. vi, p. 225.) § Ambrose, tom. ii, epist. 51, p. 997—1001. His epistle is a miserable rhapsody on a noble subject. Ambrose could act better than he could write. His compositions are destitute of taste or genius; without the spirit of Tertullian, the copious elegance of Lactantius, the lively wit of Jerome,

emperor was deeply affected by his own reproaches and by those of his spiritual father; and, after he had bewailed the mischievous and irreparable consequences of his rash fury, he proceeded, in the accustomed manner, to perform his devotions in the great church of Milan. He was stopped in the porch by the archbishop; who, in the tone and language of an ambassador of heaven, declared to his sovereign, that private contrition was not sufficient to atone for a public fault, or to appease the justice of the offended Deity. Theodosius humbly represented, that if he had contracted the guilt of homicide, David, the man after God's own heart, had been guilty, not only of murder, but of adultery. "You have imitated David in his crime, imitate then his repentance," was the reply of the undaunted Ambrose. The rigorous conditions of peace and pardon were accepted; and the public penance of the emperor Theodosius has been recorded as one of the most honourable events in the annals of the church. According to the mildest rules of ecclesiastical discipline, which were established in the fourth century, the crime of homicide was expiated by the penitence of twenty years;* and as it was impossible, in the period of human life, to purge the accumulated guilt of the massacre of Thessalonica, the murderer should have been excluded from the holy communion till the hour of his death. But the archbishop, consulting the maxims of religious policy, granted some indulgence to the rank of his illustrious penitent, who humbled in the dust the pride of the diadem; and the public edification might be admitted as a weighty reason to abridge the duration of his punishment. It was sufficient that the emperor of the Romans, stripped of the ensigns of royalty, should appear in a mournful and suppliant posture; and that, in the midst of the church of Milan, he should humbly solicit, with sighs and tears, the pardon of his sins.† or the grave energy of Augustin.

* According to the discipline of St. Basil (Canon. 56), the voluntary homicide was *four* years a mourner; *five* a hearer, *seven* in a prostrate state, and *four* in a standing posture. I have the original (Beveridge, Pandect. tom. ii, p. 47—151) and a translation (Chardon, Hist. des Sacrements, tom. iv, p. 219—277) of the Canonical Epistles of St. Basil.

† The penance of Theodosius is authenticated by Ambrose (tom. vi, de Obiit. Theodos. c. 34, p. 1207), Augustin (de Civitat. Dei, 5, 26), and Paulinus (in Vit. Ambros. c. 24). Socrates is ignorant; Sozomen (lib. 7, c. 25) concise; and the copious narrative of Theodoret (lib. 5, 15) must be used with precaution.

In this spiritual cure, Ambrose employed the various methods of mildness and severity. After a delay of about eight months, Theodosius was restored to the communion of the faithful; and the edict, which interposes a salutary interval of thirty days between the sentence and the execution, may be accepted as the worthy fruits of his repentance.* Posterity has applauded the virtuous firmness of the archbishop: and the example of Theodosius may prove the beneficial influence of those principles which could force a monarch, exalted above the apprehension of human punishment, to respect the laws and ministers of an invisible Judge. "The prince" (says Montesquieu) "who is actuated by the hopes and fears of religion, may be compared to a lion, docile only to the voice, and tractable to the hand, of his keeper."† The motions of the royal animal will, therefore, depend on the inclination and interest of the man who has acquired such dangerous authority over him; and the priest who holds in his hand the conscience of a king, may inflame, or moderate, his sanguinary passions. The cause of humanity, and that of persecution, have been asserted by the same Ambrose, with equal energy and with equal success.‡

* Codex Theodos. lib. 9, tit. 40, leg. 13. The date and circumstances of this law are perplexed with difficulties; but I feel myself inclined to favour the honest efforts of Tillemont (*Hist. des Emp. tom. v, p. 721*) and Pagi (*Critica, tom. 1, p. 578*). † Un prince qui aime la religion, et qui la craint, est un lion qui cède à la main qui le flatte, ou à la voix qui l'appaise. *Espirit des Loix, lib. 24, c. 2*.

‡ The whole course of the hierarchy was gradual in its approaches, and bold in maintaining its ground. In such manner Ambrose proceeded with successive emperors. Gratian, on ascending the throne, withdrew the usual state allowances and other privileges from the heathen priesthood. A part of the senate of Rome deputed Symmachus to intercede for them, and implore a revocation of the harsh decree. Ambrose presented a counter-memorial from Damasus, bishop of Rome, and prevailed on the emperor to reject the petition of the profane. On the accession of Valentinian II., this petition was repeated. Ambrose then ventured a stride further. "If you yield," he said to the young prince and his advisers; "we, bishops, could not quietly tolerate it. You might come to the church; but you would find there no priest, or, if any, one who would forbid your approach." (*Symmach. lib. 2, epist. 7; lib. 10, epist. 61. Ambros. epist. 57.*) Gibbon has shewn that his subsequent progress was still more daring. From his triumph over a weak youth and a woman, he went on to control the manlier intellect of Theodosius

After the defeat and death of the tyrant of Gaul, the Roman world was in the possession of Theodosius. He derived from the choice of Gratian his honourable title to the provinces of the east: he had acquired the west by the right of conquest; and the three years which he spent in Italy, were usefully employed to restore the authority of the laws, and to correct the abuses which had prevailed with impunity under the usurpation of Maximus, and the minority of Valentinian. The name of Valentinian was regularly inserted in the public acts; but the tender age and doubtful faith of the son of Justina, appeared to require the prudent care of an orthodox guardian; and his specious ambition might have excluded the unfortunate youth, without a struggle, and almost without a murmur, from the administration, and even from the inheritance, of the empire. If Theodosius had consulted the rigid maxims of interest and policy, his conduct would have been justified by his friends; but the generosity of his behaviour on this memorable occasion has extorted the applause of his most inveterate enemies. He seated Valentinian on the throne of Milan; and, without stipulating any present or future advantages, restored him to the absolute dominion of all the provinces from which he had been driven by the arms of Maximus. To the restitution of his ample patrimony, Theodosius added the free and generous gift of the countries beyond the Alps, which his successful valour had recovered.

Crimes as horrid as the Thessalonian massacre have often been passed over in silence by the priesthood, sanctioned by their applause, or instigated by their vengeance, as circumstances required. But Ambrose saw an opportunity for a proud display of his own power, which would also confirm and extend that of his order. The penance of Theodosius, the Roman, prepared the future humiliation of Henry, the German. If a mind, like that of the former, capable of wielding the sceptre of the world, and arresting for a time the fall of a tottering state, could thus bow down from the height of imperial greatness, to humble itself before a priest, armed only with the terrors of a corrupt religion, we may judge how all inferior classes quailed in abject prostration before the same stern authority. The voice which dooms to eternal misery those whom it excludes from the rites of the church, quells every energy, and unfits the trembling devotee for the business of life. Stupefied, enervated, paralyzed, he can neither avert calamity nor achieve good; and if at times roused to action, at the bidding and for the purposes of his subduer, all his efforts evaporate in empty clamour, or the

from the assassin of Gratian.* Satisfied with the glory which he had acquired, by revenging the death of his benefactor and delivering the west from the yoke of tyranny, the emperor returned from Milan to Constantinople; and, in the peaceful possession of the east, insensibly relapsed into his former habits of luxury and indolence. Theodosius discharged his obligation to the brother, he indulged his conjugal tenderness to the sister, of Valentinian; and posterity, which admires the pure and singular glory of his elevation, must applaud his unrivalled generosity in the use of victory.

The empress Justina did not long survive her return to Italy; and, though she beheld the triumph of Theodosius, she was not allowed to influence the government of her son.† The pernicious attachment to the Arian sect, which Valentinian had imbibed from her example and instructions, was soon erased by the lessons of a more orthodox education. His growing zeal for the faith of Nice, and his filial reverence for the character and authority of Ambrose, disposed the Catholics to entertain the most favourable opinion of the virtues of the young emperor of the west.‡ They applauded his chastity and temperance, his contempt of pleasure, his application to business, and his tender affection for his two sisters; which could not, however, seduce his impartial equity to pronounce an unjust sentence against the meanest of his subjects. But this amiable youth, before he had accomplished the twentieth year of his age, was oppressed by domestic treason; and the empire was again involved in the horrors of a civil war. Arbogastes,§

transient paroxysms of maddened ferocity. Such was the state of the Roman world fifteen centuries ago, and such is, even now, the dark picture that presents itself to our view, wherever like hierarchies trample on subdued mind.—ED.

* Τοῦτο περὶ τοῖς ἀνέχουσιν καθήκον ἐποίησεν εἶναι, is the niggard praise of Zosimus himself (lib. 4, p. 267). Augustin says, with some happiness of expression: Valentinianum . . . misericordissimā veneratione restituit.

† Sozomen, lib. 7, c. 14. His chronology is very irregular.

‡ See Ambrose (tom. ii, de Obit. Valentinian. c. 15, &c. p. 1178, c. 36, &c. p. 1184). When the young emperor gave an entertainment, he fasted himself; he refused to see a handsome actress, &c. Since he ordered his wild beasts to be killed, it is ungenerous in Philostorgius (lib. 11, c. 1) to reproach him with the love of that amusement.

§ Zosimus (lib. 4, p. 275) praises the enemy of Theodosius. But he is detested by Socrates (lib. 5, c. 25) and Orosius (lib. 7, c. 35).

a gallant soldier of the nation of the Franks, held the second rank in the service of Gratian. On the death of his master, he joined the standard of Theodosius; contributed by his valour and military conduct, to the destruction of the tyrant; and was appointed, after the victory, master-general of the armies of Gaul. His real merit, and apparent fidelity, had gained the confidence both of the prince and people; his boundless liberality corrupted the allegiance of the troops; and, whilst he was universally esteemed as the pillar of the state, the bold and crafty barbarian was secretly determined, either to rule, or to ruin, the empire of the west. The important commands of the army were distributed among the Franks; the creatures of Arbogastes were promoted to all the honours and offices of the civil government; the progress of the conspiracy removed every faithful servant from the presence of Valentinian; and the emperor, without power, and without intelligence, insensibly sank into the precarious and dependent condition of a captive.* The indignation which he expressed, though it might arise only from the rash and impatient temper of youth, may be candidly ascribed to the generous spirit of a prince who felt that he was not unworthy to reign. He secretly invited the archbishop of Milan to undertake the office of a mediator; as the pledge of his sincerity and the guardian of his safety. He contrived to apprize the emperor of the east of his helpless situation; and he declared, that unless Theodosius could speedily march to his assistance, he must attempt to escape from the palace, or rather prison, of Vienna, in Gaul, where he had imprudently fixed his residence in the midst of the hostile faction. But the hopes of relief were distant and doubtful; and as every day furnished some new provocation, the emperor, without strength or counsel, too hastily resolved to risk an immediate contest with his powerful general. He received Arbogastes on the throne; and, as the count approached with some appearance of respect, delivered to him a paper, which dismissed him from all his employments. "My authority," replied Arbogastes, with insulting coolness, "does not depend on the smile or the frown of a

* Gregory of Tours (lib. 2, c. 9, p. 165, in the second volume of the historians of France) has preserved a curious fragment of Sulpicius Alexander, an historian far more valuable than himself.

monarch;" and he contemptuously threw the paper on the ground. The indignant monarch snatched at the sword of one of the guards, which he struggled to draw from its scabbard; and it was not without some degree of violence that he was prevented from using the deadly weapon against his enemy, or against himself. A few days after this extraordinary quarrel, in which he had exposed his resentment and his weakness, the unfortunate Valentinian was found strangled in his apartment: and some pains were employed to disguise the manifest guilt of Arbogastes, and to persuade the world that the death of the young emperor had been the voluntary effect of his own despair.* His body was conducted with decent pomp to the sepulchre of Milan; and the archbishop pronounced a funeral oration to commemorate his virtue and his misfortunes.† On this occasion, the humanity of Ambrose tempted him to make a singular breach in his theological system; and to comfort the weeping sisters of Valentinian, by the firm assurance that their pious brother, though he had not received the sacrament of baptism, was introduced, without difficulty, into the mansions of eternal bliss.‡

The prudence of Arbogastes had prepared the success of his ambitious designs; and the provincials, in whose breasts every sentiment of patriotism or loyalty was extinguished, expected, with tame resignation, the unknown master, whom the choice of a Frank might place on the imperial throne. But some remains of pride and prejudice still opposed the elevation of Arbogastes himself; and the judicious barbarian thought it more advisable to reign under the name of some dependent Roman. He bestowed the purple on the rhetorician Eugenius,§ whom he had already raised from the

* Godefroy (*Dissertat. ad Philostorg. p. 429—434*) has diligently collected all the circumstances of the death of Valentinian II. The variations, and the ignorance, of contemporary writers, prove that it was secret.

† *De Obitu Valentinian. tom. ii, p. 1173—1196.* He is forced to speak a discreet and obscure language; yet he is much bolder than any layman, or perhaps any other ecclesiastic, would have dared to be.

‡ See c. 51, p. 1188; c. 75, p. 1193. Dom Chardon (*Hist. des Sacrements, tom. i, p. 86*), who owns that St. Ambrose most strenuously maintains the indispensable necessity of baptism, labours to reconcile the contradiction.

§ *Quem sibi Germanus famulum delegerat exul,* is the contemptuous expression of Claudian (4 *Cons. Hon. 74*). Eugenius professed Christianity; but his secret attachment to Paganism

place of his domestic secretary, to the rank of master of the offices. In the course both of his private and public service, the count had always approved the attachment and abilities of Eugenius; his learning and eloquence, supported by the gravity of his manners, recommended him to the esteem of the people; and the reluctance with which he seemed to ascend the throne, may inspire a favourable prejudice of his virtue and moderation. The ambassadors of the new emperor were immediately dispatched to the court of Theodosius, to communicate, with affected grief, the unfortunate accident of the death of Valentinian; and without mentioning the name of Arbogastes, to request that the monarch of the east would embrace, as his lawful colleague, the respectable citizen, who had obtained the unanimous suffrage of the armies and provinces of the west.* Theodosius was justly provoked, that the perfidy of a barbarian should have destroyed, in a moment, the labours and the fruit of his former victory; and he was excited by the tears of his beloved wife,† to avenge the fate of her unhappy brother, and once more to assert by arms the violated majesty of the throne. But as the second conquest of the west was a task of difficulty and danger, he dismissed, with splendid presents and an ambiguous answer, the ambassadors of Eugenius; and almost two years were consumed in the preparations of the civil war. Before he formed any decisive resolution, the pious emperor was anxious to discover the will of heaven; and as the progress of Christianity had silenced the oracles of Delphi and Dodona, he consulted an Egyptian monk, who possessed, in the opinion of the age, the gift of miracles and the knowledge of futurity. Eutro-

(Sozomen, lib. 7, c. 22. Philostorg. lib. 11, c. 2) is probable in a grammarian, and would secure the friendship of Zosimus (lib. 4, p. 277). [Niebuhr (Lect. vol. iii, p. 321) makes Eugenius "a courtier of rank, who was *tribunus notariorum*, that is to say, very much what we should call a cabinet councillor." Theodoret (Hist. Ecc. l. 5, c. 24) says, that a statue of Hercules was borne at the head of his army, as the deity on whose protection he relied. But Eckhel shows that none of the coins, issued during his short reign, have this or any other sign of Paganism. (Num. Vet. vol. viii, p. 167.)—Ed.]

* Zosimus (lib. 4, p. 278) mentions this embassy; but he is diverted by another story from relating the event.

† Συνετάραξεν ἡ τοῦτου γαμετὴ Γαλλὰ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὀλοφυνόμενῃ. (Zosim. lib. 4, p. 277.) He afterwards says (p. 80) that Galla died in childbed; and intimates, that the affliction of her husband was extreme, but short.

pius, one of the favourite eunuchs of the palace of Constantinople, embarked for Alexandria, from whence he sailed up the Nile as far as the city of Lycopolis, or of Wolves, in the remote province of Thebais.* In the neighbourhood of that city and on the summit of a lofty mountain, the holy John† had constructed, with his own hands, an humble cell, in which he had dwelt above fifty years, without opening his door, without seeing the face of a woman, and without tasting any food that had been prepared by fire, or any human art. Five days of the week he spent in prayer and meditation; but on Saturdays and Sundays he regularly opened a small window, and gave audience to the crowd of suppliants, who successively flowed from every part of the Christian world. The eunuch of Theodosius approached the window with respectful steps, proposed his questions concerning the event of the civil war, and soon returned with a favourable oracle, which animated the courage of the emperor by the assurance of a bloody, but infallible, victory.‡ The accomplishment of the prediction was forwarded by all the means that human prudence could supply. The industry of the two master-generals, Stilicho and Timasius, was directed to recruit the numbers, and to revive the discipline, of the Roman legions. The formidable troops of barbarians marched under the ensigns of their national chieftains. The Iberian, the Arab, and the Goth, who gazed on each other with mutual astonishment, were enlisted in the service of the same prince; and the renowned Alaric acquired, in the school of Theodosius, the knowledge of the art of war, which he afterwards so fatally exerted for the destruction of Rome.§

The emperor of the west, or, to speak more properly, his

* Lycopolis is the modern Siut, or Osiot, a town of Said, about the size of St. Denys, which drives a profitable trade with the kingdom of Sennaar, and has a very convenient fountain, "*cujus potu signa virginittis eripiuntur.*" See D'Auville, *Description de l'Égypte*, p. 181. Abulfeda, *Descript. Egypt.* p. 14, and the curious Annotations (p. 25, 92), of his editor Michaelis.

† The life of John of Lycopolis is described by his two friends, Rufinus (lib. 2, c. 1, p. 449) and Palladius (*Hist. Lausiac.* c. 42, p. 735), in Rosweyde's great collection of the *Vitæ Patrum*. Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclési.* tom. 10, p. 718, 720) has settled the chronology.

‡ Sozomen, lib. 7, c. 22. Claudian (in *Eutrop.* lib. 1, 312) mentions the eunuch's journey; but he most contemptuously derides the Egyptian dreams, and the oracles of the Nile.

§ Zosimus, lib. 4, p. 280. Socrates, lib. 7, 10. Alarik

general, Arbogastes, was instructed, by the misconduct and misfortune of Maximus, how dangerous it might prove to extend the line of defence against a skilful antagonist, who was free to press or to suspend, to contract or to multiply, his various methods of attack.* Arbogastes fixed his station on the confines of Italy: the troops of Theodosius were permitted to occupy, without resistance, the provinces of Pannonia, as far as the foot of the Julian Alps; and even the passes of the mountains were negligently, or perhaps artfully, abandoned to the bold invader. He descended from the hills, and beheld, with some astonishment, the formidable camp of the Gauls and Germans, that covered with arms and tents the open country, which extends to the walls of Aquileia, and the banks of the Frigidus,† or Cold River.‡ This narrow theatre of the war, circumscribed by the Alps and the Hadriatic, did not allow much room for the operations of military skill; the spirit of Arbogastes would have disdained a pardon; his guilt extinguished the hope of a negotiation; and Theodosius was impatient to satisfy his glory and revenge, by the chastisement of the assassins of Valentinian. Without weighing the natural and artificial obstacles that opposed his efforts, the emperor of the east immediately attacked the fortifications of his rival, assigned the post of honourable danger to the Goths, and cherished a secret wish that the bloody conflict might diminish the pride and numbers of the conquerors. Ten thousand of those himself (de Bell. Getico, 524) dwells with more complacency on his early exploits against the Romans.

. . . Tot Augustos Hebro qui teste fugavi.

Yet his vanity could scarcely have proved this *plurality* of flying emperors.

* Claudian (in 4 Cons. Honor. 77, &c.) contrasts the military plans of the two usurpers:

. . . Novitas audere priori

Suadebat; cautumque dabant exempla sequentem.

Hic nova moliri præceps: hic quærere tuta

Providus. Hic fuis; collectis viribus ille.

Hic vagus excurrrens; hic intra claustra reductus.

Dissimiles; sed morte pares.

† The Frigidus, a small though memorable stream in the country of Goretz, now called the Vipao, falls into the Sontius, or Lisonzo, above Aquileia, some miles from the Hadriatic. See D'Anville's Ancient and Modern Maps, and the Italia Antiqua of Cluverius (tom. i, p. 188).

‡ Claudian's wit is intolerable: the snow was dyed red; the cold river smoked; and the channel must have been choked with carcasses, if the current had not been swelled with blood.

auxiliaries, and Bacurius, general of the Iberians, died bravely on the field of battle. But the victory was not purchased by their blood; the Gauls maintained their advantage; and the approach of night protected the disorderly flight or retreat, of the troops of Theodosius. The emperor retired to the adjacent hills, where he passed a disconsolate night, without sleep, without provisions, and without hopes;* except that strong assurance which, under the most desperate circumstances, the independent mind may derive from the contempt of fortune and of life. The triumph of Eugenius was celebrated by the insolent and dissolute joy of his camp; whilst the active and vigilant Arbogastes secretly detached a considerable body of troops to occupy the passes of the mountains, and to encompass the rear of the eastern army. The dawn of day discovered to the eyes of Theodosius the extent and the extremity of his danger: but his apprehensions were soon dispelled by a friendly message from the leaders of those troops, who expressed their inclination to desert the standard of the tyrant. The honourable and lucrative rewards which they stipulated as the price of their perfidy, were granted without hesitation; and as ink and paper could not easily be procured, the emperor subscribed, on his own tablets, the ratification of the treaty. The spirit of his soldiers was revived by this seasonable reinforcement; and they again marched, with confidence, to surprise the camp of a tyrant, whose principal officers appeared to distrust, either the justice, or the success of his arms. In the heat of the battle, a violent tempest,† such as is often felt among the Alps, suddenly

* Theodoret affirms that St. John and St. Philip appeared to the waking or sleeping emperor, on horseback, &c. This is the first instance of apostolic chivalry, which afterwards became so popular in Spain, and in the crusades.

† *Te propter gelidis Aquilo de monte procellis
Obruit adversas acies; revolutaque tela
Vertit in auctores, et turbine reppulit hastas.
O nimium dilecte Deo, cui fundit ab antris
Æolus armatas hyemes; cui militat Æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.*

These famous lines of Claudian (in 3 Cons. Honor. 93, &c., A.D. 396.) are alleged by his contemporaries, Augustin and Orosius; who suppress the Pagan deity of Æolus, and add some circumstances from the information of eye-witnesses. Within four months after the victory, it was compared by Ambrose to the miraculous victories of Moses and

arose from the east. The army of Theodosius was sheltered by their position from the impetuosity of the wind, which blew a cloud of dust in the faces of the enemy, disordered their ranks, wrested their weapons from their hands, and diverted, or repelled, their ineffectual javelins. This accidental advantage was skilfully improved; the violence of the storm was magnified by the superstitious terrors of the Gauls; and they yielded without shame to the invisible powers of Heaven, who seemed to militate on the side of the pious emperor. His victory was decisive; and the deaths of his two rivals were distinguished only by the difference of their characters. The rhetorician Eugenius, who had almost acquired the dominion of the world, was reduced to implore the mercy of the conqueror; and the unrelenting soldiers separated his head from his body as he lay prostrate at the feet of Theodosius. Arbogastes, after the loss of a battle in which he had discharged the duties of a soldier and a general, wandered several days among the mountains. But when he was convinced that his cause was desperate, and his escape impracticable, the intrepid barbarian imitated the example of the ancient Romans, and turned his sword against his own breast. The fate of the empire was determined in a narrow corner of Italy; and the legitimate successor of the house of Valentinian embraced the archbishop of Milan, and graciously received the submission of the provinces of the west. Those provinces were involved in the guilt of rebellion; while the inflexible courage of Ambrose alone had resisted the claims of successful usurpation. With a manly freedom, which might have been fatal to any other subject, the archbishop rejected the gifts of Eugenius; declined his correspondence, and withdrew himself from Milan, to avoid the odious presence of a tyrant, whose downfall he predicted in discreet and ambiguous language. The merit of Ambrose was applauded by the conqueror, who secured the attachment of the people by his alliance with the church; and the clemency of Theodosius is ascribed to the humane intercession of the archbishop of Milan.*

Joshua.

* The events of this civil war are gathered from Ambrose (tom. ii, epist. 62, p. 1022), Paulinus (in Vit. Ambros. c. 26—34), Augustin (de Civitat. Dei, 5. 26), Orosius (l. 7, c. 35), Sozomen (l. 7, c. 24), Theodoret (l. 5, c. 24), Zosimus (l. 4, p. 231,

After the defeat of Eugenius, the merit, as well as the authority, of Theodosius, was cheerfully acknowledged by all the inhabitants of the Roman world. The experience of his past conduct encouraged the most pleasing expectations of his future reign; and the age of the emperor, which did not exceed fifty years, seemed to extend the prospect of the public felicity. His death, only four months after his victory, was considered by the people as an unforeseen and fatal event, which destroyed, in a moment, the hopes of the rising generation. But the indulgence of ease and luxury had secretly nourished the principles of disease.* The strength of Theodosius was unable to support the sudden and violent transition from the palace to the camp; and the increasing symptoms of a dropsy announced the speedy dissolution of the emperor. The opinion, and perhaps the interest, of the public, had confirmed the division of the eastern and western empires; and the two royal youths, Arcadius and Honorius, who had already obtained from the tenderness of their father the title of Augustus, were destined to fill the thrones of Constantinople and of Rome. Those princes were not permitted to share the danger and glory of the civil war;† but as soon as Theodosius had triumphed over his unworthy rivals, he called his younger son, Honorius, to enjoy the fruits of the victory, and to receive the sceptre of the west from the hands of his dying father. The arrival of Honorius at Milan was welcomed by a splendid exhibition of the games of the circus; and the emperor, though he was oppressed by the weight of his disorder, contributed by his presence to the public joy. But the remains of his strength were exhausted by the painful effort which he made, to assist at the spectacles of the morning. Honorius supplied, during the rest of the

252), Claudian (in 3 Cons. Hon. 63—105; in 4 Cons. Hon. 70—117), and the *Chronicles* published by Scaliger.

* This disease, ascribed by Socrates (l. 5, c. 26) to the fatigues of war, is represented by Philostorgius (l. 11, c. 2) as the effect of sloth and intemperance; for which Photius calls him an impudent liar. (Godefroy, *Dissert.* p. 435.)

† Zosimus supposes that the boy Honorius accompanied his father, (l. 4, p. 280.) Yet the quanto flagrant pectora voto, is all that flattery would allow to a contemporary poet; who clearly describes the emperor's refusal, and the journey of Honorius, after the victory. (Claudian in 3 Cons. 78—125.) [Zosimus and Marcellinus both say that Honorius accompanied his father. Socrates (v. 25, 26), Sozomen (vii. 24), Philostorgius (xi. 2), Ambrose (Concio de Obitu Theod. p. 122)]

day, the place of his father; and the great Theodosius expired in the ensuing night. Notwithstanding the recent animosities of a civil war, his death was universally lamented. The barbarians whom he had vanquished, and the churchmen by whom he had been subdued, celebrated, with loud and sincere applause, the qualities of the deceased emperor, which appeared the most valuable in their eyes. The Romans were terrified by the impending dangers of a feeble and divided administration; and every disgraceful moment of the unfortunate reigns of Arcadius and Honorius, revived the memory of their irreparable loss.

In the faithful picture of the virtues of Theodosius, his imperfections have not been dissembled; the act of cruelty, and the habits of indolence, which tarnished the glory of one of the greatest of the Roman princes. An historian, perpetually adverse to the fame of Theodosius, has exaggerated his vices, and their pernicious effects; he boldly asserts, that every rank of subjects imitated the effeminate manners of their sovereign; that every species of corruption polluted the course of public and private life; and that the feeble restraints of order and decency were insufficient to resist the progress of that degenerate spirit, which sacrifices, without a blush, the consideration of duty and interest to the base indulgence of sloth and appetite.* The complaints of contemporary writers, who deplore the increase of luxury and depravation of manners, are commonly expressive of their peculiar temper and situation. There are few observers who possess a clear and comprehensive view of the revolutions of society; and who are capable of discovering the nice and secret springs of action, which impel, in the same uniform direction, the blind and capricious passions of a multitude of individuals. If it can be affirmed, with any degree of truth, that the luxury of the Romans was more shameless and dissolute in the reign of Theodosius than in the age of Constantine, perhaps, or of Augustus, the alteration cannot be ascribed to any beneficial improvements, which had gradually increased the stock of national riches. A long period of calamity or decay must have checked the industry, and diminished the wealth, of the people; and their profuse luxury must have been the result all confirm Claudian, as above quoted, and in 4. Cons. Hon. 353—357. —Ed.]

* Zosimus, l. 4, p. 244.

of that indolent despair which enjoys the present hour and declines the thoughts of futurity. The uncertain condition of their property discouraged the subjects of Theodosius from engaging in those useful and laborious undertakings which require an immediate expense, and promise a slow and distant advantage. The frequent examples of ruin and desolation tempted them not to spare the remains of a patrimony, which might, every hour, become the prey of the rapacious Goth. And the mad prodigality, which prevails in the confusion of a shipwreck or a siege, may serve to explain the progress of luxury amidst the misfortunes and terrors of a sinking nation.

The effeminate luxury which infected the manners of courts and cities had instilled a secret and destructive poison into the camps of the legions; and their degeneracy has been marked by the pen of a military writer, who had accurately studied the genuine and ancient principles of Roman discipline. It is the just and important observation of Vegetius, that the infantry was invariably covered with defensive armour, from the foundation of the city to the reign of the emperor Gratian. The relaxation of discipline, and the disuse of exercise, rendered the soldiers less able, and less willing, to support the fatigues of the service; they complained of the weight of the armour, which they seldom wore: and they successively obtained the permission of laying aside both their cuirasses and their helmets. The heavy weapons of their ancestors, the short sword, and the formidable *pilum*, which had subdued the world, insensibly dropped from their feeble hands. As the use of the shield is incompatible with that of the bow, they reluctantly marched into the field; condemned to suffer either the pain of wounds, or the ignominy of flight, and always disposed to prefer the more shameful alternative. The cavalry of the Goths, the Huns, and the Alani, had felt the benefits, and adopted the use, of defensive armour; and, as they excelled in the management of missile weapons, they easily overwhelmed the naked and trembling legions, whose heads and breasts were exposed, without defence, to the arrows of the barbarians. The loss of armies, the destruction of cities, and the dishonour of the Roman name, ineffectually solicited the successors of Gratian to restore the helmets and cuirasses of the infantry. The enervated soldiers abandoned

their own, and the public, defence; and their pusillanimous indolence may be considered as the immediate cause of the downfall of the empire.*

CHAPTER XXVIII.—FINAL DESTRUCTION OF PAGANISM.—INTRODUCTION OF THE WORSHIP OF SAINTS AND RELICS, AMONG THE CHRISTIANS.

THE ruin of Paganism, in the age of Theodosius, is perhaps the only example of the total extirpation of any ancient and popular superstition; and may, therefore, deserve to be considered as a singular event in the history of the human mind. The Christians, more especially the clergy, had impatiently supported the cruel delays of Constantine, and the equal toleration of the elder Valentinian; nor could they deem their conquest perfect or secure, as long as their adversaries were permitted to exist. The influence which Ambrose and his brethren had acquired over the youth of Gratian and the piety of Theodosius, was employed to infuse the maxims of persecution into the breasts of their imperial proselytes. Two specious principles of religious jurisprudence were established, from whence they deduced a direct and rigorous conclusion against the subjects of the empire who still adhered to the ceremonies of their ancestors: *that* the magistrate is, in some measure, guilty of the crimes which he neglects to prohibit or to punish; and *that* the idolatrous worship of fabulous deities, and real demons, is the most abominable crime against the supreme majesty of the Creator. The laws of Moses, and the examples of Jewish history,† were hastily, perhaps erroneously applied, by the clergy, to the mild and universal reign of Christianity.‡ The zeal of the emperors was

* Vegetius, de Re Militari, l. 1, c. 10. The series of calamities which he marks, compel us to believe, that the *hero*, to whom he dedicates his book, is the last and most inglorious of the Valentinians.

† St. Ambrose (tom. ii, de Obiit. Theodos. p. 1208) expressly praises and recommends the zeal of Josiah in the destruction of Idolatry. The language of Julius Firmicus Maternus on the same subject (de Errore Profan. Relig. p. 467, edit. Gronov.) is piously inhuman. Nec filio jubet (the Mosaic Law) parci, nec fratri, et per amatam conjugem gladium vindicem ducit, &c.

‡ Bayle (tom. ii, p. 406, in his Com-mentaire Philosophique) justifies and limits these intolerant laws by the temporal reign of Jehovah over the Jews. The attempt is laudable.

excited to vindicate their own honour and that of the Deity; and the temples of the Roman world were subverted about sixty years after the conversion of Constantine.

From the age of Numa to the reign of Gratian, the Romans preserved the regular succession of the several colleges of the sacerdotal order.* Fifteen PONTIFFS exercised their supreme jurisdiction over all things and persons that were consecrated to the service of the gods; and the various questions which perpetually arose in a loose and traditionary system, were submitted to the judgment of their holy tribunal. Fifteen grave and learned AUGURS observed the face of the heavens, and prescribed the actions of heroes, according to the flight of birds. Fifteen keepers of the Sybilline books (their name of QUINDECIMVIRI was derived from their number) occasionally consulted the history of future, and, as it should seem, of contingent, events. Six VESTALS devoted their virginity to the guard of the sacred fire, and of the unknown pledges of the duration of Rome; which no mortal had been suffered to

* See the outlines of the Roman hierarchy in Cicero (*de Legibus*, 2. 7, 8), Livy (1. 20), Dionysius Halicarnassensis (l. 2, p. 119-201, edit. Hudson), Beaufort (*République Romaine*, tom. i, p. 1-90), and Moyle, (vol. i, p. 10-55). The last is the work of an English whig, as well as of a Roman antiquary. [These colleges though regularly kept up, had not uniformly the same number of members. In the vicissitudes of the Republic, they underwent various changes. Numa instituted four Pontifices and four Augures, two of each for the Ramnes, or Latin tribe, and as many for the Tities, or Sabine tribe, who constituted, together, the first nobility of Rome. By the Ogulnian law, so called from its authors, Q. and Cn. Ogulnius, who were Tribunes of the People, A.U.C. 453, each of these two colleges was increased to nine members, by the addition of four plebes, with a Pontifex Maximus for the priests; and a Magister Collegii for the Augures. It was not till about 220 years afterwards, that their numbers were raised to 15 by Sylla, during his dictatorship. (A.U.C. 673. Niebuhr's *Lectures*, vol. i, pp. 124. 130. 523; vol. ii, p. 389.) The vestals were six from the time of the second Tarquin, who either, according to Livy, added two to Numa's four, or according to Festus, reduced them to that number. The first confraternity or college of Salii, appointed by Numa, consisted of twelve, called Palatini, from their residence on mount Palatine. Tullus Hostilius added a second college of Salii, named Collini or Quirinales, being located on the Quirinal hill. The two original confraternities of the Luperci were designated Fabii and Quinctiliani, after their two first presidents. Julius Cæsar added a third, whom he denominated Julii, in honour of his own family.—ED.]

behold with impunity.* Seven *ÆPULOS* prepared the table of the gods, conducted the solemn procession, and regulated the ceremonies of the annual festival. The three *FLAMENS* of Jupiter, of Mars, and of Quirinus, were considered as the peculiar ministers of the three most powerful deities, who watched over the fate of Rome and of the universe. The *KING* of the *SACRIFICES* represented the person of Numa and of his successors, in the religious functions which could be performed only by royal hands. The confraternities of the *SALIANS*, the *LUPERCALS*, &c., practised such rites as might extort a smile of contempt from every reasonable man, with a lively confidence of recommending themselves to the favour of the immortal gods. The authority which the Roman priests had formerly obtained in the councils of the republic, was gradually abolished by the establishment of monarchy, and the removal of the seat of empire. But the dignity of their sacred character was still protected by the laws and manners of their country; and they still continued, more especially the college of pontiffs, to exercise in the capital, and sometimes in the provinces, the rights of their ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction. Their robes of purple, chariots of state, and sumptuous entertainments, attracted the admiration of the people; and they received, from the consecrated lands, and the public revenue, an ample stipend, which liberally supported the splendour of the priesthood, and all the expenses of the religious worship of the state. As the service of the altar was not incompatible with the command of armies, the Romans, after their consulships and triumphs, aspired to the place of pontiff, or of augur; the seats of Cicero† and Pompey were filled, in

* These mystic, and perhaps imaginary, symbols, have given birth to various fables and conjectures. It seems probable, that the *Palladium* was a small statue (three cubits and a half high) of Minerva, with a lance and distaff; that it was usually enclosed in a *seria*, or barrel; and that a similar barrel was placed by its side, to disconcert curiosity or sacrilege. See Mezeriac (*Commen. sur les Epîtres d'Ovide*, tom. i, p. 60—66,) and Lipsius, (tom. iii, p. 610, de *Vestâ*, &c., c. 10.) † Cicero frankly, (ad Atticum. l. 2, epist. 5,) or indirectly, (ad Familiâr. l. 15, epist. 4,) confesses, that the *augurate* is the supreme object of his wishes. Pliny is proud to tread in the footsteps of Cicero, (l. 4, epist. 8,) and the chain of tradition might be continued from history and marbles. [These colleges were the heads only of that establishment, whose motives for instigating the perse-

the fourth century, by the most illustrious members of the senate; and the dignity of their birth reflected additional splendour on their sacerdotal character. The fifteen priests who composed the college of pontiffs, enjoyed a more distinguished rank as the companions of their sovereign; and the Christian emperors condescended to accept the robe and ensigns, which were appropriated to the office of supreme pontiff. But when Gratian ascended the throne, more scrupulous, or more enlightened, he sternly rejected those profane symbols;* applied to the service of the state, or of the church, the revenues of the priests and vestals;† abolished their honours and immunities; and dissolved the ancient fabric of Roman superstition, which was supported by the opinions and habits of eleven hundred years. Paganism was still the constitutional religion of the senate. The hall or temple in which they assembled, was adorned by the statue and altar of Victory;‡ a majestic female standing on a globe, with flowing garments, expanded wings, and a crown of laurel in her outstretched hand.§

cution of their Christian rivals, have been the subject of foregoing notes. Here are seen the endowments and the splendour which they strove to protect, and their wide connections with the powerful families whom they interested in their cause. The reader must add to them, the many similar bodies, distributed throughout the empire, their numerous dependents, their subordinate functionaries, and the multitudes whose gains and livelihood were obtained by supplying the materials of a worship, which consumed solid testimonials of piety more largely than any other. If he considers these, he will probably arrive at the conclusion, that the pagan hostility to Christianity was attributable to mercenary rather than religious causes.—ED.]

* Zosimus, l. 4, p. 249—250. I have suppressed the foolish pun about *Pontifex* and *Maximus*.

† The arbitrary and oppressive character of these proceedings seems to have been in turning adrift the recipients of income, without any provision for compensation or support. The state has an unquestionable right to deal with revenues which it bestows, or which, if bestowed by others, would be invalid without its sanction. But it is equally bound to respect and maintain the tenures which it creates. It is only when the term of tenure expires, that the property and the right to dispose of it, revert to the state. The abstract claim of corporations, which exist only by the authority of the state, to a perpetuity of possession, beyond the lives of their members, is visionary. The immunity of private, cannot be extended to public, property.—ED.

‡ This statue was transported from Tarentum to Rome, placed on the *Curia Julia* by Cæsar, and decorated by Augustus with the spoils of Egypt.

§ Prudentius (l. 2, in *ir'tio*) has drawn a very

The senators were sworn, on the altar of the goddess, to observe the laws of the emperor and of the empire; and a solemn offering, of wine and incense, was the ordinary prelude of their public deliberations.* The removal of this ancient monument was the only injury which Constantius had offered to the superstition of the Romans. The altar of Victory was again restored by Julian, tolerated by Valentinian, and once more banished from the senate by the zeal of Gratian.† But the emperor yet spared the statues of the gods, which were exposed to the public veneration; four hundred and twenty-four temples or chapels still remained to satisfy the devotion of the people; and, in every quarter of Rome, the delicacy of the Christians was offended by the fumes of idolatrous sacrifice.‡

But the Christians formed the least numerous party in the senate of Rome;§ and it was only by their absence, that they could express their dissent from the legal though profane acts of a majority. In that assembly the dying embers of freedom were, for a moment, revived and inflamed by the breath of fanaticism. Four respectable deputations were successively voted to the imperial court,¶ to represent the grievances of the priesthood and the senate; and to solicit the restoration of the altar of Victory. The conduct of this important business was intrusted to the eloquent Symmachus,** a wealthy and noble senator, who united the sacred characters of pontiff and augur with the civil dignities of proconsul of Africa, and prefect of the awkward portrait of Victory; but the curious reader will obtain more satisfaction from Montfaucon's Antiquities, (tom. i, p. 341.)

* See Suetonius (in August. c. 35,) and the Exordium of Pliny's Panegyric.

† These facts are mutually allowed by the two advocates, Symmachus and Ambrose.

‡ The *Notitia Urbis*, more recent than Constantine, does not find one Christian church worthy to be named among the edifices of the city. Ambrose (tom. ii, epist. 17, p. 825) deploras the public scandals of Rome, which continually offended the eyes, the ears, and the nostrils of the faithful.

§ Ambrose repeatedly affirms, in contradiction to common sense, (Moyle's Works, vol. ii, p. 147,) that the Christians had a majority in the senate.

¶ The first (A.D. 382,) to Gratian who refused them audience. The second (A.D. 384,) to Valentinian, when the field was disputed by Symmachus and Ambrose. The third (A.D. 388,) to Theodosius, and the fourth (A.D. 392,) to Valentinian. Lardner (Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv, p. 372—399,) fairly represents the whole transaction.

** Symmachus, who was invested with all the civil and sacerdotal honours, represented the emperor under the two cha-

city. The breast of Symmachus was animated by the warmest zeal for the cause of expiring Paganism; and his religious antagonists lamented the abuse of his genius, and the inefficacy of his moral virtues.* The orator, whose petition to the emperor Valentinian is extant, was conscious of the difficulty and danger of the office which he had assumed. He cautiously avoids every topic which might appear to reflect on the religion of his sovereign; humbly declares, that prayers and entreaties are his only arms; and artfully draws his arguments from the schools of rhetoric, rather than from those of philosophy. Symmachus endeavours to seduce the imagination of a young prince, by displaying the attributes of the goddess of Victory: he insinuates, that the confiscation of the revenues, which were consecrated to the service of the gods, was a measure unworthy of his liberal and disinterested character; and he maintains, that the Roman sacrifices would be deprived of their force and energy, if they were no longer celebrated at the expense, as well as in the name of the republic. Even scepticism is made to supply an apology for superstition. The great and incomprehensible *secret* of the universe eludes the inquiry of man. Where reason cannot instruct, custom may be permitted to guide; and every nation seems to consult the dictates of prudence, by a faithful attachment to those rites and opinions which have received the sanction of ages. If those ages have been crowned with glory and prosperity, if the devout people have frequently obtained the blessings which they have solicited at the altars of the gods, it must appear still more advisable to persist in the same salutary practice, and not to risk the unknown perils that may attend any rash innovations. The test of antiquity and success was applied with singular advantage to the religion of Numa; and ROME herself, the celestial genius that presided over the fates of the city, is introduced by the orator to plead her own cause before the tribunal of the emperors. "Most

racters of *Pontifex Maximus*, and *Princeps Senatus*. See the proud inscription at the head of his works.

* As if any one, says Prudentius, (in Symmach. l. 630,) should dig in the mud with an instrument of gold and ivory. Even saints, and polemic saints, treat this adversary with respect and civility.

excellent princes (says the venerable matron), fathers of your country! pity and respect my age, which has hitherto flowed in an uninterrupted course of piety. Since I do not repent, permit me to continue in the practice of my ancient rites. Since I am born free, allow me to enjoy my domestic institutions. This religion has reduced the world under my laws. These rites have repelled Hannibal from the city, and the Gauls from the Capitol. Were my grey hairs reserved for such intolerable disgrace? I am ignorant of the new system that I am required to adopt; but I am well assured that the correction of old age is always an ungrateful and ignominious office."* The fears of the people supplied what the discretion of the orator had suppressed; and the calamities which afflicted or threatened the declining empire, were unanimously imputed, by the Pagans, to the new religion of Christ and of Constantine.

But the hopes of Symmachus were repeatedly baffled by the firm and dexterous opposition of the archbishop of Milan; who fortified the emperors against the fallacious eloquence of the advocate of Rome. In this controversy, Ambrose condescends to speak the language of a philosopher, and to ask, with some contempt, why it should be thought necessary to introduce an imaginary and invisible power, as the cause of those victories, which were sufficiently explained by the valour and discipline of the legions. He justly derides the absurd reverence for antiquity, which could only tend to discourage the improvements of art, and to replunge the human race into their original barbarism. From thence gradually rising to a more lofty and theological tone, he pronounces that Christianity alone is the doctrine of truth and salvation; and that every mode of Polytheism conducts its deluded votaries, through the paths of error, to the abyss of eternal perdition.† Arguments

* See the fifty-fourth epistle of the tenth book of Symmachus. In the form and disposition of his ten books of epistles, he imitated the younger Pliny: whose rich and florid style he was supposed, by his friends, to equal or excel. (Macrob. Saturnal. l. 5, c. 1.) But the luxuriance of Symmachus consists of barren leaves, without fruits, and even without flowers. Few facts, and few sentiments, can be extracted from his verbose correspondence.

† See Ambrose (tom. ii, epist. 17, 18, p. 825—833). The former of these epistles is a short caution; the latter is a formal reply to the

like these, when they were suggested by a favourite bishop, had power to prevent the restoration of the altar of Victory; but the same arguments fell, with much more energy and effect, from the mouth of a conqueror; and the gods of antiquity were dragged in triumph at the chariot-wheels of Theodosius.* In a full meeting of the senate, the emperor proposed, according to the forms of the republic, the important question, Whether the worship of Jupiter, or that of Christ, should be the religion of the Romans? The liberty of suffrages, which he affected to allow, was destroyed by the hopes and fears that his presence inspired; and the arbitrary exile of Symmachus was a recent admonition, that it might be dangerous to oppose the wishes of the monarch. On a regular division of the senate, Jupiter was condemned and degraded by the sense of a very large majority; and it is rather surprising, that any members should be found bold enough to declare, by their speeches and votes, that they were still attached to the interest of an abdicated deity.†

petition or *libel* of Symmachus. The same ideas are more copiously expressed in the poetry, if it may deserve that name, of Prudentius; who composed his two books against Symmachus (A.D. 404) while that senator was still alive. It is whimsical enough, that Montesquieu (*Considerations*, &c., c. 19, tom. iii, p. 487) should overlook the two professed antagonists of Symmachus; and amuse himself with descending on the more remote and indirect confutations of Orosius, St. Augustin, and Salvian. [Gibbon omits the threat held out to Valentinian, of turning him away at the door of the church, and excluding him from the rites of religion.—Ed.] * See Prudentius (in *Symmach.* l. 1, 545, &c.). The Christian agrees with the Pagan Zosimus, (l. 4, p. 253,) in placing this visit of Theodosius after the *second* civil war, gemini bis victor cæde tyranni. (l. 1, 410.) But the time and circumstances are better suited to his first triumph.

† Prudentius, after proving that the sense of the senate is declared by a legal majority, proceeds to say (609, &c.) :

Adspice quam pleno subsellia nostra Senatû
 Deernant infame Jovis pulvinar, et omne
 Idolium longe purgatû ex urbe fugandum.
 Qua vocat egregii sententia Principis illuc
 Libera, cum pedibus, tum eorde, frequentia transit.

Zosimus ascribes to the conscript fathers a heathenish courage, which few of them are found to possess. [In a note on this passage, Dean Milman says, that M. Beugnot "questions altogether the truth of the statement." Neander takes a middle course (*Hist. of Chris.* vol. iii, p. 111), which is probably the most correct. He says: "When Theodo-

The hasty conversion of the senate must be attributed either to supernatural or to sordid motives; and many of these reluctant proselytes betrayed, on every favourable occasion, their secret disposition to throw aside the mask of odious dissimulation. But they were gradually fixed in the new religion, as the cause of the ancient became more hopeless; they yielded to the authority of the emperor, to the fashion of the times, and to the entreaties of their wives and children,* who were instigated and governed by the clergy of Rome and the monks of the east. The edifying example of the Anician family was soon imitated by the rest of the nobility: the Bassi, the Paullini, the Gracchi, embraced the Christian religion; and "the luminaries of the world, the venerable assembly of Catos, (such are the high-flown expressions of Prudentius) were impatient to strip themselves of their pontifical garment; to cast the skin of the old serpent; to assume the snowy robes of baptismal innocence; and to humble the pride of the consular fasces before the tombs of the martyrs."† The citizens who subsisted by their own industry, and the populace who were supported by the public liberality, filled the churches of the Lateran and Vatican, with an incessant throng of

sus marched into Rome, after the death of Eugenius, in the year 394, he made a speech before the assembled senate, in which he called upon the Pagans, who, under the short reign of Eugenius, had once more enjoyed the free exercise of their religion, to desist from their idolatry, and to embrace the faith in which alone they could find forgiveness of their sins. In spite of all their representations, he withdrew from the Pagans what Eugenius had accorded to them." Disregarding the testimony of Prudentius, he accepts that of Zosimus, which admits no other construction; but he acknowledges him, at the same time, to be "in this case, a suspicious witness," and therefore discredits all that he reports respecting the courage of the Pagan senators. Neander suspects also, that "what the pseudo-Prosper says (de promiss. et predict. Dei, pars 3, 33) of the disgraceful banishment of Symmachus, may be a fable."—ED.] * Jerome specifies the pontiff Albinus, who was surrounded with such a believing family of children and grandchildren, as would have been sufficient to convert even Jupiter himself: an extraordinary proselyte! (tom. i, ad Lætiam, p. 54.)

† Exultare Patres videas, pulcherrima mundi
Lumina; Conciliumque senum gestire Catonum
Candidiore togâ niveum pietatis amictum
Sumere; et exuvias deponere pontificales.

The fancy of Prudentius is warm and elevated by victory.

devout proselytes. The decrees of the senate, which proscribed the worship of idols, were ratified by the general consent of the Romans;* the splendour of the Capitol was defaced, and the solitary temples were abandoned to ruin and contempt.† Rome submitted to the yoke of the gospel; and the vanquished provinces had not yet lost their reverence for the name and authority of Rome.

The filial piety of the emperors themselves engaged them to proceed, with some caution and tenderness, in the reformation of the eternal city. Those absolute monarchs acted with less regard to the prejudices of the provincials. The pious labour, which had been suspended near twenty years since the death of Constantius,‡ was vigorously resumed, and finally accomplished, by the zeal of Theodosius. Whilst that warlike prince yet struggled with the Goths, not for the glory, but for the safety, of the republic, he ventured to offend a considerable party of his subjects, by some acts, which might perhaps secure the protection of Heaven, but which must seem rash and unseasonable in the eye of human prudence. The success of his first experiment against the Pagans, encouraged the pious emperor to reiterate and enforce his edicts of proscription: the same laws, which had been originally published in the provinces of the east, were applied, after the defeat of Maximus, to the whole extent of the western empire; and every victory of the orthodox Theodosius contributed to the triumph of the Christian and Catholic faith.§ He attacked superstition in her most vital part, by prohibiting the use of sacrifices, which he declared to be criminal as well as infamous; and if the terms of his edicts more strictly condemned the impious curiosity which examined the entrails of the vic-

* Prudentius, after he has described the conversion of the senate and people, asks, with some truth and confidence:

Et dubitamus adhuc Romam, tibi, Christe, dicatam
In leges transisse tuas?

† Jerome exults in the desolation of the Capitol, and the other temples of Rome. (tom. i, p. 54; tom. ii, p. 95.)

‡ Libanius (Orat. pro Templis, p. 10, Genev. 1634, published by James Godefroy, and now extremely scarce) accuses Valentinian and Valens of prohibiting sacrifices. Some partial order may have been issued by the eastern emperor: but the idea of any general law is contradicted by the silence of the code, and the evidence of ecclesiastical history. § See his laws in the Theod. Code, l. 16, tit. 10, leg. 7—11.

tims,* every subsequent explanation tended to involve, in the same guilt, the general practice of *immolation*, which essentially constituted the religion of the Pagans. As the temples had been erected for the purpose of sacrifice, it was the duty of a benevolent prince to remove from his subjects the dangerous temptation of offending against the laws which he had enacted. A special commission was granted to Cynegius, the prætorian prefect of the east, and afterwards to the counts Jovius and Gaudentius, two officers of distinguished rank in the west; by which they were directed to shut the temples, to seize or destroy the instruments of idolatry, to abolish the privileges of the priests, and to confiscate the consecrated property for the benefit of the emperor, of the church, or of the army.† Here the

* Homer's sacrifices are not accompanied with any inquisition of entrails. (See Feithius, *Antiquitat. Homer.* l. 1, c. 10. 16.) The Tuscans, who produced the first *Haruspices*, subdued both the Greeks and the Romans. (Cicero de *Divinatione*, 2. 23.)

† Zosimus, l. 4, p. 245. 249. Theodoret, l. 5, c. 21. Idatius in Chron. Prosper. Aquitan. l. 3, c. 38, apud Baronium, *Annal. Eccles. A.D.* 389, No. 52. Libanius (pro *Templis*, p. 10) labours to prove, that the commands of Theodosius were not direct and positive. [Which of the three parties had the largest share of the spoil and manifested the greatest avidity for it? The ascendant hierarchy considered themselves to be defrauded of whatever was bestowed on their pagan rivals, and therefore not only denounced every such act as impious and sacrilegious, but demanded the revenues, which they deflected from their previous course. Ecclesiastics were the keepers of the imperial conscience; they dictated the decrees, strained the interpretations of them to authorize acts of violence, assumed the power of executing the laws which they so perverted, led tumultuous bands to plunder and destroy heathen temples, Jewish synagogues, and heretical churches, and when the government was roused to check and punish such enormities, interfered to stop the correcting hand of justice. When any such merciful disposition was manifested by Theodosius, "his purpose was counteracted by the powerful influence of the bishops." (Neander, *Hist. of Christ.* vol. iii, p. 105). Gibbon cites as an instance of this, the reversal of the judgment on the "seditious prelate," and monks of Callinicum in Mesopotamia, whom the mighty Ambrose of Milan successfully defended, against the majesty both of the law, which they had broken, and of the emperor who had condemned them. Still the mischief became so intolerable, that five years afterwards Theodosius was obliged to enact a law (*Code*, l. 16, tit. 8, l. 9), ordering punishment for those who, "in the name of Christianity, committed such illegal spoliations." The worldly spirit, which puts on the mask of religion, sometimes found it most profitable in those days, not

desolation might have stopped; and the naked edifices, which were no longer employed in the service of idolatry, might have been protected from the destructive rage of fanaticism. Many of those temples were the most splendid and beautiful monuments of Grecian architecture: and the emperor himself was interested not to deface the splendour of his own cities, or to diminish the value of his own possessions. Those stately edifices might be suffered to remain as so many lasting trophies of the victory of Christ. In the decline of the arts, they might be usefully converted into magazines, manufactures, or places of public assembly; and perhaps, when the walls of the temple had been sufficiently purified by holy rites, the worship of the true Deity might be allowed to expiate the ancient guilt of idolatry. But as long as they subsisted, the Pagans fondly cherished the secret hope, that an auspicious revolution, a second Julian, might again restore the altars of the gods; and the earnestness with which they addressed their unavailing prayers to the throne,* increased the zeal of the Christian reformers to extirpate, without mercy, the root of superstition. The laws of the emperors exhibit some symptoms of a milder disposition:† but their cold and languid efforts were insufficient to stem the torrent of enthusiasm and rapine, which was conducted, or rather impelled, by the spiritual rulers of the church. In Gaul, the holy Martin, bishop of Tours,‡ marched, at the head

merely to allow Pagan temples to remain, but even to connive at the worship practised in them. There were Christian land-owners, who permitted their peasants to offer sacrifice, because there were imposts on the temples, which produced a revenue to the landlord. Neander, *Hist. of Christ.* vol. iii, p. 113.—Ed.]

* Cod. Theodos. l. 16, tit. 10, leg. 8. 18. There is room to believe, that this temple of Edessa, which Theodosius wished to save for civil uses, was soon afterwards a heap of ruins. (Libanius *pro Templis*, p. 26, 27, and Godefroy's notes, p. 59).

† See this curious oration of Libanius *pro Templis*, pronounced, or rather composed, about the year 390. I have consulted, with advantage, Dr. Lardner's version and remarks. (*Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv, p. 135—163.) [Neander thinks, that Libanius "could scarcely have ventured to utter before the emperor" such a discourse, which he conjectures to have been "delivered or written, only as a specimen of rhetorical art." *Hist. of Christ.* vol. iii, p. 107.—Ed.] ‡ See the *Life of Martin*, by Sulpicius Severus, c. 9—14. The saint once mistook (as Don Quixote might have done) a harmless funeral for an idolatrous procession, and

of his faithful monks, to destroy the idols, the temples, and the consecrated trees, of his extensive diocese: and in the execution of this arduous task, the prudent reader will judge whether Martin was supported by the aid of miraculous powers, or of carnal weapons. In Syria, the divine and excellent Marcellus,* as he is styled by Theodoret, a bishop animated with apostolic fervour, resolved to level with the ground the stately temples within the diocese of Apamea. His attack was resisted by the skill and solidity with which the temple of Jupiter had been constructed. The building was seated on an eminence: on each of the four sides, the lofty roof was supported by fifteen massy columns, sixteen feet in circumference; and the large stones of which they were composed, were firmly cemented with lead and iron. The force of the strongest and sharpest tools had been tried without effect. It was found necessary to undermine the foundations of the columns, which fell down as soon as the temporary wooden props had been consumed with fire; and the difficulties of the enterprise are described under the allegory of a black dæmon, who retarded, though he could not defeat, the operations of the Christian engineers. Elated with victory, Marcellus took the field in person against the powers of darkness; a numerous troop of soldiers and gladiators marched under the episcopal banner, and he successively attacked the villages and country temples of the diocese of Apamea. Whenever any resistance or danger was apprehended, the champion of the faith, whose lameness would not allow him either to fight or fly, placed himself at a convenient distance, beyond the reach of darts. But this prudence was the occasion of his death: he was surprised and slain by a body of exasperated rustics; and the synod of the province pronounced, without hesitation, that the holy Marcellus had sacrificed his life in the cause of God. In the support of this cause the monks, who rushed with tumultuous fury from the desert, distinguished themselves by their zeal and diligence. They deserved the enmity of the Pagans; and some of them might deserve the reproaches of avarice and intemperance; of avarice, which they gratified with holy plunder, imprudently committed a miracle.

* Compare Sozomen (l. 7, c. 15,) with Theodoret. (l. 5, c. 21.) Between them, they relate the crusade and death of Marcellus.

and of intemperance, which they indulged at the expence of the people, who foolishly admired their tattered garments, loud psalmody, and artificial paleness.* A small number of temples were protected by the fears, the venality, the taste, or the prudence, of the civil and ecclesiastical governors. The temple of the celestial Venus at Carthage, whose sacred precincts formed a circumference of two miles, was judiciously converted into a Christian church;† and a similar consecration has preserved inviolate the majestic dome of the Pantheon at Rome.‡ But in almost every province of the Roman world, an army of fanatics, without authority and without discipline, invaded the peaceful inhabitants: and the ruin of the fairest structures of antiquity still displays the ravages of those barbarians who alone had time and inclination to execute such laborious destruction.

In this wide and various prospect of devastation, the spectator may distinguish the ruins of the temple of Serapis, at Alexandria.§ Serapis does not appear to have been one of the native gods, or monsters, who sprang from the fruitful soil of superstitious Egypt.¶ The first of the Ptolemies had been commanded, by a dream, to import the mysterious stranger from the coast of Pontus, where he had been long adored by the inhabitants of Sinope: but his attributes and his reign were so imperfectly understood, that it became a subject of dispute, whether he represented the bright orb of day, or the gloomy monarch of the subterraneous regions.**

* Libanius, *pro Templis*, p. 10—13. He rails at these black-garbed men, the Christian monks, who eat more than elephants. Poor elephants, *they* are temperate animals.

† Prosper Aquitan. l. 3, c. 38, apud Baronium, *Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 389, No. 58, &c. The temple had been shut some time, and the access to it was overgrown with brambles.

‡ Donatus, *Roma Antiqua*, l. 4, c. 4, p. 468. This consecration was performed by pope Boniface IV. I am ignorant of the favourable circumstances which had preserved the Pantheon above two hundred years after the reign of Theodosius.

§ Sophronius composed a recent and separate history (Jerom. in *Script. Eccles.* tom. i, p. 303,) which had furnished materials to Sozrates (l. 5, c. 16), Theodoret (l. 5, c. 22), and Rufinus (l. 2, c. 22). Yet the last, who had been at Alexandria before and after the event, may deserve the credit of an original witness.

¶ Gerard Vossius (*Opera*, tom. v, p. 80, and *de Idololatria*, l. 1, c. 29) strives to support the strange notion of the fathers, that the patriarch Joseph was adored in Egypt, as the bull Apis, and the god Serapis.

** Origo dei nondum nostris celebrata. *Aegyptiorum antistites sic memorant*, &c. Tacit. *Hist.* 4. 83. The Greeks who had travelled into Egypt were

The Egyptians, who were obstinately devoted to the religion of their fathers, refused to admit this foreign deity within the walls of their cities.* But the obsequious priests, who were seduced by the liberality of the Ptolemies, submitted, without resistance, to the power of the god of Pontus: an honourable and domestic genealogy was provided; and this fortunate usurper was introduced into the throne and bed of Osiris,† the husband of Isis, and the celestial monarch of Egypt. Alexandria, which claimed his peculiar protection, gloried in the name of the city of Serapis. His temple,‡ which rivalled the pride and magnificence of the Capitol, was erected on the spacious summit of an artificial mount, raised one hundred steps above the level of the adjacent parts of the city; and the interior cavity was strongly supported by arches, and distributed into vaults and subterraneous apartments. The consecrated buildings were surrounded by a quadrangular portico; the stately halls, and exquisite statues, displayed the triumph of the arts; and the treasures of ancient learning were preserved in the famous Alexandrian library, which had arisen with new splendour from its ashes.§ After the edicts of Theodosius had severely prohibited the sacrifices of the Pagans, they were still tolerated in the city and temple of Serapis; and this singular indulgence was imprudently ascribed to the superstitious terrors of the Christians themselves, as if they had feared to abolish those ancient rites, which could alone secure the inundations of the Nile, the harvests of Egypt, and the subsistence of Constantinople.¶

alike ignorant of this new deity.

* Macrobinus, Saturnal. l. 1, c. 7.

Such a living fact decisively proves his foreign extraction.

† At Rome, Isis and Serapis were united in the same temple. The precedency which the queen assumed, may seem to betray her unequal alliance with the stranger of Pontus. But the superiority of the female sex was established in Egypt as a civil and religious institution (Diodor. Sicul. tom. i, l. 1, p. 31, edit. Wesselingi; and the same order is observed in Plutarch's Treatise of Isis and Osiris, whom he identifies with Serapis.

‡ Ammianus. (22. 16.) The *Expositio totius Mundi*, (p. 8, in Hudson's Geograph. Minor. tom. iii.) and Rufinus, (l. 2, c. 22,) celebrate the *Serapeum*, as one of the wonders of the world.

§ See *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, tom. ix, p. 397—416. The old library of the Ptolemies was totally consumed in Caesar's Alexandrian war. Marc Antony gave the whole collection of Pergamus (two hundred thousand volumes) to Cleopatra, as the foundation of the new library of Alexandria.

¶ Libanius (pro Templis, p. 22, 27) indiscreetly provokes his Christian masters by this insulting remark.

At that time,* the archiepiscopal throne of Alexandria was filled by Theophilus,† the perpetual enemy of peace and virtue; a bold, bad man, whose hands were alternately polluted with gold and with blood. His pious indignation was excited by the honours of Serapis; and the insults which he offered to an ancient chapel of Bacchus, convinced the Pagans that he meditated a more important and dangerous enterprise. In the tumultuous capital of Egypt, the slightest provocation was sufficient to inflame a civil war. The votaries of Serapis, whose strength and numbers were much inferior to those of their antagonists, rose in arms at the instigation of the philosopher Olympius,‡ who exhorted them to die in the defence of the altars of the gods. These Pagan fanatics fortified themselves in the temple, or rather fortress, of Serapis; repelled the besiegers by daring sallies, and a resolute defence; and, by the inhuman cruelties which they exercised on their Christian prisoners, obtained the last consolation of despair. The efforts of the prudent magistrate were usefully exerted for the establishment of a truce, till the answer of Theodosius should determine the fate of Serapis. The two parties assembled, without arms, in the principal square; and the

* We may choose between the date of Marcellinus (A.D. 359), or that of Prosper (A.D. 391). Tillemont (Hist. des Emp. tom. v, p. 310. 756) prefers the former, and Pagi the latter. [Clinton (F. R. i, 522) says 390.—Ed.]

† Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. xi, p. 441—500. The ambiguous situation of Theophilus, a *saint*, as the friend of Jerome; a *devil*, as the enemy of Chrysostom, produces a sort of impartiality: yet, upon the whole, the balance is justly inclined against him. [Some ecclesiastical writers have feared to lower the credit of Jerome, by exhibiting Theophilus in his true colours. Even Mosheim was tender of him, and gives little more than an account of his crusade with an armed force against a troop of itinerant monks, whose admiration of Origen led them to maintain some heretical opinions. His English translator, however, says in a note, that Theophilus was “a man of a strong, active, courageous mind, but crafty, unscrupulous, artful and ambitious.” Neander is the most honest, and describes him (Hist. of Chris. vol. iii, p. 108) as “a man of an altogether worldly spirit, who had little or no hearty interest in the cause of Christ, and whose manner of administering the episcopal office was least of all calculated to exert a good influence, in building up the temple of the Lord in the hearts of men.” Such were the materials out of which in those days one Saint made another.—Ed.]

‡ Lardner (Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv, p. 411) has alleged a beautiful passage from Suidas, or rather from Damasius, which shows the devout and virtuous Olympius, not in the light of a warrior, but of a prophet.

imperial rescript was publicly read. But when a sentence of destruction against the idols of Alexandria was pronounced, the Christians sent up a shout of joy and exultation; whilst the unfortunate Pagans, whose fury had given way to consternation, retired with hasty and silent steps, and eluded, by their flight or obscurity, the resentment of their enemies. Theophilus proceeded to demolish the temple of Serapis, without any other difficulties than those which he found in the weight and solidity of the materials; but these obstacles proved so insuperable, that he was obliged to leave the foundations; and to content himself with reducing the edifice itself to a heap of rubbish, a part of which was soon afterwards cleared away to make room for a church erected in honour of the Christian martyrs. The valuable library of Alexandria was pillaged or destroyed; and, near twenty years afterwards, the appearance of the empty shelves excited the regret and indignation of every spectator, whose mind was not totally darkened by religious prejudice.* The compositions of ancient genius, so many of which have irretrievably perished, might surely have been excepted from the wreck of idolatry, for the amusement and instruction of succeeding ages; and either the zeal or the avarice of the archbishop,† might have been satiated with the rich spoils which were the reward of his victory. While the images and vases of gold and silver were carefully melted, and those of a less valuable metal were contemptuously broken, and cast into the streets, Theophilus laboured to expose the frauds and vices of the ministers of the idols; their dexterity in the management of the loadstone; their secret methods of introducing a human actor into a hollow statue; and their scandalous abuse of the

* Nos vidimus armaria librorum, quibus direptis, exinanita ex nostris hominibus, nostris temporibus memorant. (Orosius, lib. 6, c. 15, p. 421, edit. Havercamp. Though a bigot, and a controversial writer, Orosius seems to blench. [Two hundred and forty years after this event, the literary treasures of Alexandria are said to have been destroyed by another barbarian. But those who represent the Saracenic desolation as one of the causes of the "dark ages" that ensued, are silent on the earlier havoc committed by a pseudo-Christian bishop.—ED.] † Eunapius, in the lives of Antoninus and Ædesius, execrates the sacrilegious rapine of Theophilus. Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiii, p. 453) quotes an epistle of Isidore of Pelusium, which reproaches the primate with the *idolatrous* worship of gold, the *auri sacra fames*.

confidence of devout husbands and unsuspecting females.* Charges like these may seem to deserve some degree of credit, as they are not repugnant to the crafty and interested spirit of superstition. But the same spirit is equally prone to the base practice of insulting and calumniating a fallen enemy; and our belief is naturally checked by the reflection, that it is much less difficult to invent a fictitious story, than to support a practical fraud. The colossal statue of Serapis† was involved in the ruin of his temple and religion. A great number of plates of different metals, artificially joined together, composed the majestic figure of the deity, who touched on either side the walls of the sanctuary. The aspect of Serapis, his sitting posture, and the sceptre which he bore in his left hand, were extremely similar to the ordinary representations of Jupiter. He was distinguished from Jupiter by the basket or bushel which was placed on his head; and by the emblematic monster which he held in his right hand: the head and body of a serpent branching into three tails, which were again terminated by the triple heads of a dog, a lion, and a wolf. It was confidently affirmed, that if an impious hand should dare to violate the majesty of the god, the heavens and the earth would instantly return to their original chaos. An intrepid soldier, animated by zeal and armed with a weighty battle-axe, ascended the ladder; and even the Christian multitude expected, with some anxiety, the event of the combat.‡ He aimed a vigorous stroke against the

* Rufinus names the priest of Saturn, who, in the character of the god, familiarly conversed with many pious ladies of quality; till he betrayed himself in a moment of transport, when he could not disguise the tone of his voice. The authentic and impartial narrative of Æschines (see Bayle, *Dictionnaire Critique*, Scamandre,) and the adventures of Mundus (Josephi *Antiquitat. Judaic.* lib. 18, c. 3, p. 877, edit. Havercamp.) may prove that such amorous frauds have been practised with success.

† See the images of Serapis, in Montfaucon (tom. ii, p. 297); but the description of Macrobius (*Saturnal.* lib. 1, c. 20) is much more picturesque and satisfactory.

‡ Sed fortes tremuere manus, motique verendi
Majestate loci, si robora sacra ferirent

In sua credebant redituras membra secures.

(Lucan. 3, 429.) "Is it true (said Augustus to a veteran of Italy, at whose house he supped) that the man who gave the first blow to the golden statue of Anaitis, was instantly deprived of his eyes, and of his life!"—"I was that man (replied the clear-sighted veteran), and you now sup on one of the legs of the goddess." (Plin. *Hist. Natur.* 33, 24.)

cheek of Serapis; the cheek fell to the ground; the thunder was still silent, and both the heavens and the earth continued to preserve their accustomed order and tranquillity. The victorious soldier repeated his blows; the huge idol was overthrown and broken in pieces; and the limbs of Serapis were ignominiously dragged through the streets of Alexandria. His mangled carcase was burnt in the amphitheatre, amidst the shouts of the populace; and many persons attributed their conversion to this discovery of the impotence of their tutelar deity. The popular modes of religion, that propose any visible and material objects of worship, have the advantage of adapting and familiarizing themselves to the senses of mankind: but this advantage is counterbalanced by the various and inevitable accidents to which the faith of the idolater is exposed: It is scarcely possible, that, in every disposition of mind, he should preserve his implicit reverence for the idols, or the relics, which the naked eye and the profane hand are unable to distinguish from the most common productions of art or nature; and if, in the hour of danger, their secret and miraculous virtue does not operate for their own preservation, he scorns the vain apologies of his priests, and justly derides the object and the folly of his superstitious attachment.* After the fall of Serapis, some hopes were still entertained by the Pagans, that the Nile would refuse his annual supply to the impious masters of Egypt; and the extraordinary delay of the inundation seemed to announce the displeasure of the river-god. But this delay was soon compensated by the rapid swell of the waters. They suddenly rose to such an unusual height, as to comfort the discontented party with the pleasing expectation of a deluge; till the peaceful river again subsided to the well-known and fertilizing level of sixteen cubits, or about thirty English feet.†

* The history of the Reformation affords frequent examples of the sudden change from superstition to contempt. [When Boniface cut down the "Thunder-Oak" of the German Pagans, a similar scene was witnessed. (Neander, *Hist. of Christ.* vol. iii, p. 109.)—Ed.] † Sozomen, lib. 7, c. 20. I have supplied the measure. The same standard of the inundation, and consequently of the cubit, has uniformly subsisted since the time of Herodotus. See Freret, in the *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xvi, p. 344—353. Greaves's *Miscellaneous Works*, vol. i, p. 233. The Egyptian cubit is about twenty-two inches of the English measure. [Dr. Lepsius, in July, 1843, discovered rock inscrip-

The temples of the Roman empire were deserted or destroyed; but the ingenious superstition of the Pagans still attempted to elude the laws of Theodosius, by which all sacrifices had been severely prohibited. The inhabitants of the country, whose conduct was less exposed to the eye of malevolent curiosity, disguised their *religious*, under the appearance of *convivial*, meetings. On the days of solemn festivals, they assembled in great numbers under the spreading shade of some consecrated trees; sheep and oxen were slaughtered and roasted; and this rural entertainment was sanctified by the use of incense, and by the hymns which were sung in honour of the gods. But it was alleged, that as no part of the animal was made a burnt-offering, as no altar was provided to receive the blood, and as the previous oblation of salt cakes, and the concluding ceremony of libations, were carefully omitted, these festal meetings did not involve the guests in the guilt or penalty of an illegal sacrifice.* Whatever might be the truth of the

tions near Semneh, which prove that the Nile "above four thousand years ago rose more than twenty-four feet higher than now." (Letters from Egypt, &c. p. 239, edit. Bohn.) See also observations on this discovery by L. Horner, Esq. and the reply of Dr. Lepsius (ib. p. 530). The fact is important, and seems to indicate the gradual depression of the Mediterranean, the basin into which the floods of the Nile are drained. (See note, vol. i. of this History, p. 273, and Humboldt's Views of Nature, p. 264, edit. Bohn.)—Ed.]

* Libanius (pro Templis, p. 15—17) pleads their cause with gentle and insinuating rhetoric. From the earliest age, such feasts had enlivened the country; and those of Bacchus (Georgic. 2, 380) had produced the theatre of Athens. See Godefroy. ad. loc. Liban. and Cod. Theodos. tom. vi, p. 284. [Amid all its absurdities, the heathenism of antiquity had one redeeming quality; it was a cheerful religion. The song, the dance, and the banquet, intermingled with its rites; and to conduct these was the only duty that devolved on some of its priests. Sacrifices were preludes to well-spread tables and social repasts, whether on occasions of public rejoicing, or in the hilarious communions of private hospitality. When Horace called upon the Romans to celebrate the victory of Actium (Carm. i, 37), it was by dancing and feasting in the temples; when he invited Mæcenas to commemorate with him his escape from the falling tree (Carm. 3, 8), the altar of green turf was prepared for the incense and the white goat; and again (Carm. 4, 11), bound with garlands, it stood ready for the lamb, when he called Phillis to share his festivities on his patron's birthday. Sacrifices thus contributed to prolong the attachment of the ancients to their Pagan worship, after the general discovery of its intrinsic insufficiency for the wants of the age. This was more particularly

facts, or the merit of the distinction,* these vain pretences were swept away by the last edict of Thodosius; which inflicted a deadly wound on the superstition of the Pagans.† This prohibitory law is expressed in the most absolute and comprehensive terms. "It is our will and pleasure (says the emperor), that none of our subjects, whether magistrates or private citizens, however exalted or however humble may be their rank and condition, shall presume, in any city, or in any place, to worship an inanimate idol, by the sacrifice of a guiltless victim." The act of sacrificing and the practice of divination by the entrails of the victim, are declared (without any regard to the object of the inquiry) a crime of high treason against the state; which can be expiated only by the death of the guilty. The rites of Pagan superstition, which might seem less bloody and atrocious, are abolished, as highly injurious to the truth and honour of religion; luminaries, garlands, frankincense, and libations of wine, are specially enumerated and condemned; and the harmless claims of the domestic genius, of the household gods, are included in this rigorous proscription. The use of any of these profane and illegal ceremonies subjects the offender to the forfeiture of the house or estate where they have been performed; and if he

the case with the country population. Neither their proverbial antipathy to a change of habits, nor the impediments to instruction opposed by their servile condition, will so well account for this, as their desire to retain the "rustic holiday," which nothing but the services of the temple allowed them. In their sequestered homes, they could not share the amusements of the circus, and the other games and exhibitions by which the citizens were so often entertained; and therefore they prized the more every relaxation of toil and animation of pleasure. By these associated practices, as also by the perquisites, which it brought in for interested parties, "the use of sacrifice" helped to keep superstition alive; but it was not "its most vital part." So long as it retained allowances from the state, and consecrated lands, it never wanted priests to give it a decent appearance of vigour, and gather votaries before its idols. It was by the withdrawal of the first and the confiscation of the last, that the fatal blow was given.—ED.]

* Honorius tolerated these rustic festivals. (A.D. 399.) "Absque ullo sacrificio, atque ullâ superstitione damnabili." But nine years afterwards he found it necessary to reiterate and enforce the same proviso. (Codex Theodos. lib. 16, tit. 10, leg. 17, 19.)

† Cod. Theodos. lib. 16, tit. 10, leg. 12. Jortin (Remarks on Eccles. History, vol. iv, p. 134) censures, with becoming asperity, the style and sentiments of this intolerant law.

has artfully chosen the property of another for the scene of his impiety, he is compelled to discharge, without delay, a heavy fine of twenty-five pounds of gold, or more than one thousand pounds sterling. A fine not less considerable is imposed on the connivance of the secret enemies of religion, who shall neglect the duty of their respective stations, either to reveal or to punish the guilt of idolatry. Such was the persecuting spirit of the laws of Theodosius, which were repeatedly enforced by his sons and grandsons, with the loud and unanimous applause of the Christian world.*

In the cruel reigns of Decius and Diocletian, Christianity had been proscribed as a revolt from the ancient and hereditary religion of the empire; and the unjust suspicions which were entertained of a dark and dangerous faction, were in some measure countenanced by the inseparable union and rapid conquests of the Catholic church. But the same excuses of fear and ignorance cannot be applied to the Christian emperors, who violated the precepts of humanity and of the gospel. The experience of ages had betrayed the weakness as well as folly of Paganism: the light of reason and of faith had already exposed, to the greatest part of mankind, the vanity of idols; and the declining sect, which still adhered to their worship, might have been permitted to enjoy, in peace and obscurity, the religious customs of their ancestors. Had the Pagans been animated by the undaunted zeal which possessed the minds of the primitive believers, the triumph of the church must have been stained with blood; and the martyrs of Jupiter and Apollo might have embraced the glorious opportunity of devoting their lives and fortunes at the foot of their altars. But such obstinate zeal was not congenial to the loose and careless temper of Polytheism. The violent and repeated strokes of the orthodox princes were broken by the soft and yielding substance against which they were directed; and the ready obedience of the Pagans protected them from the pains and penalties of the

* Such a charge should not be lightly made; but it may surely be justified by the authority of St. Augustin, who thus addresses the Donatists:—"Quis nostrum, quis vestrum non laudat leges ab imperatoribus datas adversus sacrificia paganorum? Et certe longe ibi poena æverior constituta est; illius quippe impietatis capitale supplicium est." Epist. 93, No. 10, quoted by Le Clerc (*Bibliothèque Choisie*, tom. viii, p. 277), who adds some judicious reflections on the intolerance of the

Theodosian code.* Instead of asserting, that the authority of the gods was superior to that of the emperor, they desisted, with a plaintive murmur, from the use of those sacred rites which their sovereign had condemned. If they were sometimes tempted by a sally of passion, or by the hopes of concealment, to indulge their favourite superstition, their humble repentance disarmed the severity of the Christian magistrate; and they seldom refused to atone for their rashness, by submitting, with some secret reluctance, to the yoke of the gospel. The churches were filled with the increasing multitude of these unworthy proselytes, who had conformed, from temporal motives, to the reigning religion; and whilst they devoutly imitated the postures, and recited the prayers; of the faithful, they satisfied their conscience by the silent and sincere invocation of the gods of antiquity.† If the Pagans wanted patience to suffer, they wanted spirit to resist; and the scattered myriads, who deplored the ruin of the temples, yielded, without a contest, to the fortune of their adversaries. The disorderly opposition‡ of the peasants of Syria, and the populace of Alexandria, to the rage of private fanaticism, was silenced by the name and authority of the emperor. The Pagans of the west, without contributing to the elevation of Eugenius, disgraced, by their partial attachment, the cause and character of the usurper. The clergy vehemently exclaimed, that he aggravated the crime of rebellion by the guilt of apostacy; that, by his permission, the altar of Victory was again restored; and that the idolatrous symbols of Jupiter and Hercules were displayed

victorious Christians. * *Grosius*, lib. 7, c. 23, p. 537. *Augustin* (*Enarrat. in Psalm. cxi*, apud *Lardner*, *Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv, p. 458) insults their cowardice. "Quis eorum comprehensus est in sacrificio (cum his legibus ista prohiberentur) et non negavit?" [Without the artificial support of the state, and unsustained by the external accessories of wealth and revenue, heathenism had no internal strength to have induced, if it could have provoked, persecution. Thrown upon its own resources, it is not surprising that its decline was so rapid, its extinction so complete. After-traces of it, which some archæologists have turned up, are but insignificant—ED.]

† *Libanius* (*pro Templis*, p. 17, 18) mentions, without censure, the occasional conformity, and as it were theatrical play, of these hypocrites.

‡ *Libanius* concludes his apology (p. 32) by declaring to the emperor, that unless he expressly warrants the destruction of the temples, ἰσθὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀγῶν θεοπότας, καὶ

in the field, against the invincible standard of the cross. But the vain hopes of the Pagans were soon annihilated by the defeat of Eugenius; and they were left exposed to the resentment of the conqueror, who laboured to deserve the favour of heaven, by the extirpation of idolatry.*

A nation of slaves is always prepared to applaud the elation of their master, who, in the abuse of absolute power, does not proceed to the last extremes of injustice and oppression. Theodosius might undoubtedly have proposed to his Pagan subjects the alternative of baptism or of death; and the eloquent Libanius has praised the moderation of a prince, who never enacted, by any positive law, that all his subjects should immediately embrace and practise the religion of their sovereign.† The profession of Christianity was not made an essential qualification for the enjoyment of the civil rights of society, nor were any peculiar hardships imposed on the sectaries who credulously received the fables of Ovid and obstinately rejected the miracles of the gospel. The palace, the schools, the army, and the senate, were filled with declared and devout Pagans; they obtained, without distinction, the civil and military honours of the empire. Theodosius distinguished his liberal regard for virtue and genius, by the consular dignity which he bestowed on Symmachus;‡ and by the personal friendship which he expressed to Libanius;§ and the two eloquent apologists of Paganism

αὐτοῖς καὶ τῷ νόμῳ βοηθήσαντας, the proprietors will defend themselves and the laws.

* Paulinus, in Vit. Ambros. c. 26. Augustin de Civitat. Dei, lib. 5, c. 26. Theodoret, lib. 5, c. 24.

† Libanius suggests the form of a persecuting edict, which Theodosius might enact (pro Templis, p. 32.): a rash joke and a dangerous experiment. Some princes would have taken his advice.

‡ Denique pro meritis terrestribus æqua rependens
Munera, sacricolis summos impertit honores.

Ipse magistratum tibi consulis, ipse tribunal
Contulit.

Prudent. in Symmach. 1, 617, &c.

[The reader may here call to mind Neander's doubts respecting the asserted banishment of Symmachus. He was not only consul in 391, but also at different periods prefect of the city, corrector of Lucania and Bruttium, proconsul of Africa, and held other offices commemorated in an inscription by his son. (Clin. F. R. 1, 523.)—ED.]

§ Libanius (pro Templis, p. 32) is proud that Theodosius should thus distinguish a man, who even in his presence would swear by Jupiter. Yet this presence seems no more than a figure of rhetoric.

were never required either to change, or to dissemble, their religious opinions. The Pagans were indulged in the most licentious freedom of speech and writing; the historical and philosophical remains of Eunapius, Zosimus,* and the fanatic teachers of the school of Plato, betray the most furious animosity, and contain the sharpest invectives, against the sentiments and conduct of their victorious adversaries. If these audacious libels were publicly known, we must applaud the good sense of the Christian princes, who viewed, with a smile of contempt, the last struggles of superstition and despair.† But the imperial laws, which prohibited the sacrifices and ceremonies of Paganism, were rigidly executed: and every hour contributed to destroy the influence of a religion, which was supported by custom rather than by argument. The devotion of the poet or the philosopher, may be secretly nourished by prayer, meditation, and study; but the exercise of public worship appears to be the only solid foundation of the religious sentiments of the people, which derive their force from imitation and habit. The interruption of that public exercise may consummate, in the period of a few years, the important work of a national revolution. The memory of theological opinions cannot long be preserved, without the artificial helps of priests, of temples, and of books.‡ The ignorant and vulgar, whose minds are still agitated by the blind hopes and terrors of superstition, will be soon persuaded by their superiors, to direct their vows to the reigning deities of the age; and will insensibly imbibe an ardent zeal for the support and propagation of the new doctrine, which spiritual hunger at first compelled them to accept. The generation that arose in the world after the promulgation of the impe-

* Zosimus, who styles himself Count and ex-Advocate of the Treasury, reviles with partial and indecent bigotry, the Christian princes, and even the father of his sovereign. His work must have been privately circulated, since it escaped the invectives of the ecclesiastical historians prior to Evagrius (lib. 3. c. 40—42), who lived towards the end of the sixth century. † Yet the Pagans of Africa complained, that the times would not allow them to answer with freedom the City of God; nor does St. Augustin (5, 26) deny the charge. ‡ The Moors of Spain, who secretly preserved the Mahometan religion above a century, under the tyranny of the Inquisition, possessed the Koran, with the peculiar use of the Arabic tongue. See the curious and honest story of their expulsion in Geddes (Miscellanies,

rial laws, was attracted within the pale of the Catholic church; and so rapid, yet so gentle, was the fall of Paganism, that only twenty-eight years after the death of Theodosius, the faint and minute vestiges were no longer visible to the eye of the legislator.*

The ruin of the Pagan religion is described by the sophists as a dreadful and amazing prodigy, which covered the earth with darkness and restored the ancient dominion of chaos and of night. They relate, in solemn and pathetic strains, that the temples were converted into sepulchres; and that the holy places, which had been adorned by the statues of the gods, were basely polluted by the relics of Christian martyrs. "The monks," a race of filthy animals, to whom Eunapius is tempted to refuse the name of men, "are the authors of the new worship, which, in the place of those deities who are conceived by the understanding, has substituted the meanest and most contemptible slaves. The heads, salted and pickled, of those infamous malefactors, who, for the multitude of their crimes, have suffered a just and ignominious death; their bodies, still marked by the impression of the lash and the scars of those tortures which were inflicted by the sentence of the magistrate; such" continues Eunapius "are the gods which the earth produces in our days; such are the martyrs, the supreme arbitrators of our prayers and petitions to the Deity, whose tombs are now consecrated as the objects of the veneration of the people."† Without approving the malice, it is natural enough to share the surprise, of the sophist, the spectator of a revolution, which raised those obscure victims of the laws of Rome to the rank of celestial and invisible protectors of the Roman empire. The grateful respect of the Christians for the martyrs of the faith was exalted, by time and victory, into religious adoration; and the most illustrious of the saints and prophets were deservedly associated to the honours of the martyrs. One hundred and fifty years after the glorious deaths of St. Peter and St. Paul, the Vatican and the Ostian road were distinguished by the tombs, or rather by

vol. i, p. 1—198.) * Paganos qui supersunt, quanquam jam nullos esse credamus, &c. Cod. Theod. lib. 16, tit. 10, leg. 22, A.D. 423. The younger Theodosius was afterwards satisfied, that his judgment had been somewhat premature.

† See Eunapius, in the life of the sophist Hedesius; in that of Eustathius he foretels the ruin of Paganism, καὶ τὴν μὴ οὐκ ἔτι ἀνθρώπων ἀπορίας τὰ ἐν

the trophies, of those spiritual heroes.* In the age which followed the conversion of Constantine, the emperors, the consuls, and the generals of armies, devoutly visited the sepulchres of a tent maker and a fisherman,† and their venerable bones were deposited under the altars of Christ, on which the bishops of the royal city continually offered the unbloody sacrifice.‡ The new capital of the eastern world, unable to produce any ancient and domestic trophies, was enriched by the spoils of dependent provinces. The bodies of St. Andrew, St. Luke, and St. Timothy, had reposed, near three hundred years, in the obscure graves from whence they were transported, in solemn pomp, to the church of the apostles, which the magnificence of Constantine had founded on the banks of the Thracian Bosphorus.§ About fifty years afterwards, the same banks were honoured by the presence of Samuel, the judge and prophet of the people of Israel. His ashes, deposited in a golden vase and covered with a silken veil, were delivered by the bishops into each other's hands. The relics of Samuel were received by the people with the same joy and reverence which they would have shown to the living prophet; the highways, from Palestine to the gates of Constantinople, were filled with an uninterrupted procession; and the emperor Arcadius himself, at the head of the most illustrious members of the clergy and senate, advanced to meet his extraordinary guest, who had always deserved and claimed the homage of kings.¶ The example of Rome and Con-
γῆς κάλλιστα.

* Caius (apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 2, c. 25), a Roman presbyter, who lived in the time of Zephyrinus, A.D. 202—219, is an early witness of the superstitious practice.

† Chrysostom. Quod Christus sit Deus, tom. i. nov. edit. No. 9. I am indebted for this quotation to Benedict XIV.'s pastoral letter on the jubilee of the year 1750. See the curious and entertaining letters of M. Chais, tom. iii.

‡ Male facit ergo Romanus episcopus? qui, super mortuorum hominum, Petri et Pauli, secundum nos, ossa veneranda . . . offert Domino sacrificia, et tumulos eorum, Christi arbitratur altaria. (Jerom. tom. ii, advers. Vigilant. p. 153.)

§ Jerome (tom. ii, p. 122) bears witness to these translations, which are neglected by the ecclesiastical historians. The passion of St. Andrew, at Patræ, is described in an epistle from the clergy of Achaia, which Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 60, No. 34) wishes to believe, and Tillemont is forced to reject. St. Andrew was adopted as the spiritual founder of Constantinople. (Mém. Ecclés. tom. i, p. 317—323, 588—594.)

¶ Jerome (tom. ii, p. 122) pompously describes the translation of Samuel, which is noticed in all the chronicles of the times.

stantinople confirmed the faith and discipline of the Catholic world. The honours of the saints and martyrs, after a feeble and ineffectual murmur of profane reason,* were universally

* The presbyter Vigilantius, the Protestant of his age, firmly, though ineffectually, withstood the superstition of monks, relics, saints, fasts, &c. for which Jerome compares him to the Hydra, Cerberus, the Centaurs, &c. and considers him only as the organ of the daemon (tom. ii, p. 120—126). Whoever will peruse the controversy of St. Jerome and Vigilantius, and St. Augustin's account of the miracles of St. Stephen, may speedily gain some idea of the spirit of the fathers. [This controversy attracts more particular notice, since it illustrates the most important feature of the age and some other interesting facts. Vigilantius was guilty of the deadly sin of not thinking as Jerome did, respecting the celibacy of the clergy and other points of church discipline, as well as on the subjects mentioned by Gibbon. The heretic was therefore painted in the darkest colours that polemical ingenuity could invent. Although at that time an ecclesiastic of Spain, he was a native of Conveux, a Gallic canton at the foot of the Pyrenees, denominated Cominges by the modern French. There was a tradition that Pompey, returning from his victorious career in Spain, had planted a colony of his prisoners on this spot and given the community its Latin name. Julius Cæsar (De Bell. Civ. l. 3, c. 17) referred obscurely to a treaty with some lawless banditti among the wilds of the Pyrenees. In the bitterness of controversial rancour, Jerome availed himself of these grounds, for a furious assault on his adversary. "Worthy," he says, "is Vigilantius of his descent from that rabble of thieves, whom Cn. Pompey, on his return to celebrate his triumph for the conquest of Spain, collected among the Pyrenean mountains and planted in one town, to which he gave the name of Conveux." (Hieron. adv. Vig. Op. tom. i, p. 589.) This vituperative ebullition of provoked sainthood has since been taken by our classical critics, among them Oudendorp and D'Anville, as sound historical evidence of a fact unknown to earlier writers. Neither Strabo nor Pliny had heard of this origin of Conveux. The former is remarkable for having collected and recorded every current tradition relative to the early history of tribes and cities. In this instance he is silent. But he has used an expression, which, as he seems to have travelled through the region, probably indicates the true derivation of the name. He calls it (lib. 4) *τὸν Κορυβαίων συγκαλύψων*, a term which his different editors and annotators are at a loss to explain, and for which they have proposed to substitute various readings. The meaning of it is, *confutrum*, a flowing together of waters. The whole district is full of torrents rushing down from the heights of the Pyrenees, and successively uniting to form the head of the Garonne. The *Aquæ Convenarum* and streams that are formed in that tract of country are mentioned by Cellarius (tom. i, p. 145). Instead, therefore, of affording the delusive grounds on which Jerome relied, in the gratification of his malignity, it is evident that the Latin *Comitana* and the French *Cominges* are corrupted forms of the *Coman* or *Coran*, by which

established; and in the age of Ambrose and Jerome, something was still deemed wanting to the sanctity of a Christian church, till it had been consecrated by some portion of holy relics, which fixed and inflamed the devotion of the faithful. In the long period of twelve hundred years, which elapsed between the reign of Constantine and the reformation of Luther, the worship of saints and relics corrupted the pure and perfect simplicity of the Christian model; and some symptoms of degeneracy may be observed even in the first generations which adopted and cherished this pernicious innovation.

I. The satisfactory experience, that the relics of saints were more valuable than gold or precious stones,* stimulated the clergy to multiply the treasures of the church. Without much regard for truth or probability, they invented names for skeletons, and actions for names. The fame of the apostles and of the holy men who had imitated their virtues, was darkened by religious fiction. To the invincible band of genuine and primitive martyrs, they added myriads of imaginary heroes who had never existed, except in the fancy of crafty or credulous legendaries; and there is reason to suspect, that Tours might not be the only diocese in which the bones of a malefactor were adored, instead of those of a saint.† A superstitious practice, which tended to increase the temptations of fraud and credulity, insensibly extinguished the light of history and of reason in the Christian world.

II. But the progress of superstition would have been much less rapid and victorious, if the faith of the people had not been assisted by the seasonable aid of visions and miracles, to ascertain the authenticity and virtue of the most suspicious relics. In the reign of the younger Theodoric the Celtic inhabitants designated the *meetings of waters* in that region. Their language supplied also the name of the river which finally issues from these waters, for the Garonne is their *Garwan* (see Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary), *the rough water*, so graphically and characteristically described by Pomponius Mela (lib. 3, c. 2).—Ed.] * M. de Beausobre (Hist. du Manichéisme, tom. ii, p. 648) has applied a worldly sense to the pious observation of the clergy of Smyrna, who carefully preserved the relics of St. Polycarp the martyr. † Martin of Tours (see his Life, c. 8, by Sulpicius Severus) extorted this confession from the mouth of the dead man. The error is allowed to be natural; the discovery is supposed to be miraculous. Which of the two was liable

dosius, Lucian,* a presbyter of Jerusalem, and the ecclesiastical minister of the village of Caphargamala, about twenty miles from the city, related a very singular dream, which, to remove his doubts, had been repeated on three successive Saturdays. A venerable figure stood before him, in the silence of the night, with a long beard, a white robe, and a gold rod; announced himself by the name of Gamaliel, and revealed to the astonished presbyter, that his own corpse, with the bodies of his son Abibas, his friend Nicodemus, and the illustrious Stephen, the first martyr of the Christian faith, were secretly buried in the adjacent field. He added, with some impatience, that it was time to release himself, and his companions, from their obscure prison; that their appearance would be salutary to a distressed world; and that they had made choice of Lucian to inform the bishop of Jerusalem of their situation and their wishes. The doubts and difficulties which still retarded this important discovery, were successively removed by new visions: and the ground was opened by the bishop, in the presence of an innumerable multitude. The coffins of Gamaliel, of his son, and of his friend, were found in regular order; but when the fourth coffin, which contained the remains of Stephen, was shown to the light, the earth trembled, and an odour, such as that of Paradise, was smelt, which instantly cured the various diseases of seventy-three of the assistants. The companions of Stephen were left in their peaceful residence of Caphargamala; but the relics of the first martyr were transported, in solemn procession, to a church constructed in their honour on mount Sion; and the minute particles of those relics, a drop of blood,† or the scrapings of a bone, were acknowledged; in almost every province of the Roman world, to possess a divine and miraculous virtue. The grave and learned Augustin, whose‡ understanding to happen most frequently?

* Lucian composed in Greek his original narrative, which has been translated by Avitus, and published by Baronius. (*Annal. Eccles. A.D. 415, No. 7—16.*) The Benedictine editors of St. Augustin have given (at the end of the work *de Civitate Dei*) two several copies, with many various readings. It is the character of falsehood to be loose and inconsistent. The most incredible parts of the legend, &c. are smoothed and softened by Tillemont (*Mém. Eccles. tom. ii, p. 9, &c.*).

† A phial of St. Stephen's blood was annually liquefied at Naples till he was superseded by St. Januarius. (*Ruinart, Hist. Persecut. Vandal. p. 529.*)

‡ Augustin composed the two-and-twenty

scarcely admits the excuse of credulity, has attested the innumerable prodigies which were performed in Africa by the relics of St. Stephen; and this marvellous narrative is inserted in the elaborate work of the City of God, which the bishop of Hippo designed as a solid and immortal proof of the truth of Christianity. Augustin solemnly declares, that he had selected those miracles only which were publicly certified by the persons who were either the objects, or the spectators, of the power of the martyr. Many prodigies were omitted or forgotten; and Hippo had been less favourably treated than the other cities of the province. And yet the bishop enumerates above seventy miracles, of which three were resurrections from the dead, in the space of two years, and within the limits of his own diocese.* If we enlarge our view to all the dioceses, and all the saints of the Christian world, it will not be easy to calculate the fables and the errors which issued from this inexhaustible source. But we may surely be allowed to observe, that a *miracle, in that age of superstition and credulity, lost its name and its merit, since it could scarcely be considered as a deviation from the ordinary and established laws of nature.*

III. The innumerable miracles, of which the tombs of the martyrs were the perpetual theatre, revealed to the pious believer the actual state and constitution of the invisible world; and his religious speculations appeared to be founded on the firm basis of fact and experience. Whatever might be the condition of vulgar souls, in the long interval between the dissolution and the resurrection of their bodies, it was evident that the superior spirits of the saints and martyrs did not consume that portion of their existence in silent and inglorious sleep.† It was evident

books de Civitate Dei in the space of thirteen years, A.D. 413—426. (Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiv, p. 608, &c.) His learning is too often borrowed, and his arguments are too often his own; but the whole work claims the merit of a magnificent design, vigorously, and not unskilfully, executed. [Clinton shows that Augustin was employed on this work seventeen years, from A.D. 411 to 428. See F. H. i, p. 291; F. R. i, p. 465.—ED.] * See Augustin. de Civitat. Dei. l. 22, c. 22, and the Appendix, which contains two books of St. Stephen's miracles, by Evodius, bishop of Uzalis. Freculphus (apud Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, tom. viii, p. 249,) has preserved a Gallic or a Spanish proverb, "Whoever pretends to have read all the miracles of St. Stephen, he lies." † Burzet (de Statu Mortuorum, p. 56—84,)

(without presuming to determine the place of their habitation, or the nature of their felicity) that they enjoyed the lively and active consciousness of their happiness, their virtue, and their powers; and that they had already secured the possession of their eternal reward. The enlargement of their intellectual faculties surpassed the measure of the human imagination; since it was proved by *experience*, that they were capable of hearing and understanding the various petitions of their numerous votaries; who, in the same moment of time, but in the most distant parts of the world, invoked the name and assistance of Stephen or of Martin.* The confidence of their petitioners was founded on the persuasion that the saints, who reigned with Christ, cast an eye of pity upon earth; that they were warmly interested in the prosperity of the Catholic church; and that the individuals who imitated the example of their faith and piety, were the peculiar and favourite objects of their most tender regard. Sometimes, indeed, their friendship might be influenced by considerations of a less exalted kind; they viewed with partial affection the places which had been consecrated by their birth, their residence, their death, their burial, or the possession of their relics. The meaner passions of pride, avarice, and revenge, may be deemed unworthy of a celestial breast: yet the saints themselves condescended to testify their grateful approbation of the liberality of their votaries: and the sharpest bolts of punishment were hurled against those impious wretches who violated their magnificent shrines, or disbelieved their supernatural power.† Atrocious, indeed, must have been the guilt, and strange would have been the scepticism, of collects the opinions of the fathers, as far as they assert the sleep, or repose, of human souls, till the day of judgment. He afterwards exposes (p. 91, &c.) the inconveniences which must arise, if they possessed a more active and sensible existence. * Vigilantius placed the souls of the prophets and martyrs, either in the bosom of Abraham (in loco refrigerii) or else under the altar of God. *Nec posset suis tumultis et ubi voluerunt adesse presentes.* But Jerome (tom. ii, p. 122) sternly refutes this *blasphemy*. *Tu Deo leges pones? Tu apostolis vincula iungis, ut usque ad diem iudicii teneantur custodiri, nec sint cum Domino suo; de quibus scriptum est, Sequuntur Agnum quocunque vadit. Si Agnus ubique, ergo, et hi qui cum Agno sunt, ubique esso credendi sunt. Et cum diabolus et demones toto vagentur in orbe, &c.* † Fleury, *Discours sur l'Hist. Ecclesiastique*, 3, p. 80.

those men, if they had obstinately resisted the proofs of a divine agency, which the elements, the whole range of the animal creation, and even the subtle and invisible operations of the human mind, were compelled to obey.* The immediate and almost instantaneous effects that were supposed to follow the prayer or the offence, satisfied the Christians, of the ample measure of favour and authority which the saints enjoyed in the presence of the supreme God; and it seemed almost superfluous to inquire whether they were continually obliged to intercede before the throne of grace; or whether they might not be permitted to exercise, according to the dictates of their benevolence and justice, the delegated powers of their subordinate ministry. The imagination, which had been raised by a painful effort to the contemplation and worship of the Universal Cause, eagerly embraced such inferior objects of adoration as were more proportioned to its gross conceptions and imperfect faculties. The sublime and simple theology of the primitive Christians was gradually corrupted: and the MONARCHY of heaven, already clouded by metaphysical subtleties, was degraded by the introduction of a popular mythology which tended to restore the reign of Polytheism.†

IV: As the objects of religion were gradually reduced to the standard of the imagination, the rites and ceremonies were introduced that seemed most powerfully to affect the senses of the vulgar. If, in the beginning of the fifth century,‡

* At Minorca, the relics of St. Stephen converted, in eight days, five hundred and forty Jews; with the help indeed of some wholesome severities, such as burning the synagogue, driving the obstinate infidels to starve among the rocks, &c. See the original letter of Severus, bishop of Minorca (ad calceam St. Augustin. de Civ. Dei.) and the judicious remark of Basnage (tom. viii, p. 245—251).

† Mr Hume (Essays, vol. ii, p. 434) observes, like a philosopher, the natural flux and reflux of Polytheism and Theism. [Such alternations are not the natural movements of the human mind. Its course is ever onward, nor does it halt or retrograde save by the pressure of external forces. Against these, though it may struggle for a time unavailingly, it finally prevails.—Ed.]

‡ D'Aubigné (see his own Memoirs, p. 156—160) frankly offered, with the consent of the Huguenot ministers, to allow the first four hundred years as the rule of faith. The cardinal Du Perron haggled for forty years more, which were in discreetly given. Yet neither party would have found their account in this foolish bargain.

Tertullian or Lactantius* had been suddenly raised from the dead, to assist at the festival of some popular saint or martyr,† they would have gazed with astonishment and indignation on the profane spectacle, which had succeeded to the pure and spiritual worship of a Christian congregation. As soon as the doors of the church were thrown open, they must have been offended by the smoke of incense, the perfume of flowers, and the glare of lamps and tapers, which diffused, at noon-day, a gaudy, superfluous, and, in their opinion, a sacrilegious light. If they approached the balustrade of the altar, they made their way through the prostrate crowd, consisting, for the most part, of strangers and pilgrims, who resorted to the city on the vigil of the feast; and who already felt the strong intoxication of fanaticism, and perhaps of wine. Their devout kisses were imprinted on the walls and pavement of the sacred edifice; and their fervent prayers were directed, whatever might be the language of their church, to the bones, the blood, or the ashes of the saint, which were usually concealed, by a linen or silk veil, from the eyes of the vulgar. The Christians frequented the tombs of the martyrs in the hope of obtaining, from their powerful intercession, every sort of spiritual, but more especially of temporal, blessings. They implored the preservation of their health, or the cure of their infirmities; the fruitfulness of their barren wives, or the safety and happiness of their children. Whenever they undertook any distant or dangerous journey, they requested that the holy martyrs would be their guides and protectors on the road; and if they returned without having experienced any misfortune, they again hastened to the tombs of the martyrs, to celebrate, with grateful thanksgivings, their obligations to the memory and relics of those heavenly patrons. The walls were hung round with symbols of the favours which they had received; eyes, and hands, and feet, of gold and silver: and edifying

* The worship practised and inculcated by Tertullian, Lactantius, Arnobius, &c. is so extremely pure and spiritual, that their declamations against the Pagan, sometimes glance against the Jewish, ceremonies.

† Faustus the Manichean accuses the Catholics of idolatry. *Vertitis idola in martyres . . . quos votis similibus colitis*. M. de Beausobre, (*Hist. Critique du Manichéisme*, tom. ii, p. 629—700) a Protestant, but a philosopher, has represented with candour and learning, the introduction of *Christian idolatry* in the fourth and fifth centuries.

pictures, which could not long escape the abuse of indiscreet or idolatrous devotion, represented the image, the attributes, and the miracles of the tutelar saint. The same uniform original spirit of superstition might suggest, in the most distant ages and countries, the same methods of deceiving the credulity, and of affecting the senses, of mankind;* but it must ingenuously be confessed, that the ministers of the Catholic church imitated the profane model which they were impatient to destroy. The most respectable bishops had persuaded themselves, that the ignorant rustics would more cheerfully renounce the superstitions of Paganism, if they found some resemblance, some compensation, in the bosom of Christianity. The religion of Constantine achieved, in less than a century, the final conquest of the Roman empire; but the victors themselves were insensibly subdued by the arts of their vanquished rivals.†

CHAPTER XXIX.—FINAL DIVISION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE BETWEEN THE SONS OF THEODOSIUS.—REIGN OF ARCADIUS AND HONORIUS.—ADMINISTRATION OF RUFINUS AND STILICHO.—REVOLT AND DEFEAT OF GILDO IN AFRICA.

THE genius of Rome expired with Theodosius, the last of the successors of Augustus and Constantine who appeared in the field at the head of their armies, and whose authority was universally acknowledged throughout the whole extent of the empire. The memory of his virtues still continued, however, to protect the feeble and inexperienced youth of his two sons. After the death of their father, Arcadius and Honorius were saluted, by the unanimous consent of mankind, as the lawful emperors of the east and of the west; and the oath of fidelity was eagerly taken by every order of the state: the senates of old and new Rome, the clergy, the magistrates, the soldiers and the

* The resemblance of superstition, which could not be imitated, might be traced from Japan to Mexico. Warburton has seized this idea, which he distorts, by rendering it too general and absolute. (Divine Legation, vol. iv, p. 126; &c.)

† The imitation of Paganism is the subject of Dr. Middleton's agreeable letter from Rome. Warburton's animadversions obliged him to connect (vol. iii,

people. Arcadius, who then was about eighteen years of age, was born in Spain, in the humble habitation of a private family. But he received a princely education in the palace of Constantinople; and his inglorious life was spent in that peaceful and splendid seat of royalty, from whence he appeared to reign over the provinces of Thraee, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, from the Lower Danube to the confines of Persia and Æthiopia. His younger brother, Honorius, assumed, in the eleventh year of his age, the nominal government of Italy, Africa, Gaul, Spain, and Britain; and the troops, which guarded the frontiers of his kingdom were opposed on one side to the Caledonians, and on the other to the Moors. The great and martial prefecture of Illyricum was divided between the two princes; the defence and possession of the provinces of Noricum, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, still belonged to the western empire; but the two large dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia, which Gratian had intrusted to the valour of Theodosius, were for ever united to the empire of the east. The boundary in Europe was not very different from the line which now separates the Germans and the Turks; and the respective advantages of territory, riches, populousness, and military strength, were fairly balanced and compensated, in this final

p. 120—122) the history of the two religions; and to prove the antiquity of the Christian copy. [That subjugation of mind, which the hierarchy had been for three centuries effecting, begins now to develop rapidly its necessary consequences. Delusions so gross, impostures so impudent, could only find credit where neglected education and stolid ignorance had prepared weakened intellects to receive them. They were the rivets and bolts of the deadly chain by which a worldly priesthood was dragging back enslaved mind into the barbarism whence it had been for eighteen centuries emerging. Well might Niebuhr say, when closing his review of learning and art in the time of Theodosius (Lectures, vol. iii, p. 327), "Ignorance and indifference to literature increased more and more among the higher classes, whilst the memory of the olden times had been entirely lost." Thus was it, that a generation had been trained so submissive to their enslavers, so spirit-broken, so helpless, that they were incapable of defending their country or themselves, and tamely yielded to the stern, rough, but manly invaders who crowded upon them. All this, be it remembered, had been in progress, long before the irruption of those unlettered races, who have been calumniated as the authors of the darkness which for the next thousand years overspread mankind.—Ed.]

and permanent division of the Roman empire. The hereditary sceptre of the sons of Theodosius appeared to be the gift of nature and of their father; the generals and ministers had been accustomed to adore the majesty of the royal infants; and the army and people were not admonished of their rights and of their power, by the dangerous example of a recent election. The gradual discovery of the weakness of Arcadius and Honorius, and the repeated calamities of their reign, were not sufficient to obliterate the deep and early impressions of loyalty. The subjects of Rome, who still revered the persons, or rather names, of their sovereigns, beheld, with equal abhorrence, the rebels who opposed, and the ministers who abused, the authority of the throne.*

* After many centuries of almost ceaseless distraction and the slaughter of millions in the ever-changing courses of domestic strife, we here see the Romans subsiding into a calm, which contrasts agreeably with past commotion. Yet no very penetrating eye is required to discern their true condition and the cause of the change. We find therein no lessons of practical wisdom teaching how the recurrence of misfortune might be prevented. We behold only a supine indifference, which left events to work their way, regardless of consequences. Niebuhr has concisely stated this in his *Lectures* (vol. iii, p. 330). "Not only literature and creative genius," he says, "but the spirit of bravery also had died away; the Italians were now a mere helpless rabble." Thus had the descendants of the world's conquerors and instructors degenerated in the space of four hundred years. Yet, during all that time, a religion was becoming ascendant among them, by which they ought to have been improved; and by which, in defiance of these incontestable facts, some strangely maintain and still more blindly believe, that they actually were improved. Why it had failed in its sublime vocation, and why its advancing steps were marked by growing depravity instead of maturing virtue, is the problem for history to solve. It cannot be alleged, that any Pagan destroyer had yet trodden down the institutions of civilized society; nor that the great mass of the nation had been enervated by the luxurious effeminacy of the higher classes. This, as is shown by Gibbon in a future chapter (31), was confined to a comparatively small number, among whom also, Christianity had not been able to repress the vices which it most severely condemns. All this confirms the tenor of former notes, that the cause of so signal a failure is to be found only in the tyrannical suppression of all freedom of thought and mental exertion, by an overbearing hierarchy. Such repeated instances of this will appear as we proceed, that it would be tedious to call attention to each. A passing reference, however, will be made to some

Theodosius had tarnished the glory of his reign by the elevation of Rufinus; an odious favourite, who, in an age of civil and religious faction, has deserved, from every party, the imputation of every crime. The strong impulse of ambition and avarice* had urged Rufinus to abandon his native country, an obscure corner of Gaul,† to advance his fortune in the capital of the east: the talent of bold and ready elocution‡ qualified him to succeed in the lucrative profession of the law; and his success in that profession was a regular step to the most honourable and important employments of the state. He was raised by just degrees, to the station of master of the offices. In the exercise of his various functions, so essentially connected with the whole system of civil government, he acquired the confidence of a monarch, who soon discovered his diligence and capacity in business, and who long remained ignorant of the pride, the malice, and the covetousness, of his disposition. These vices were concealed beneath the mask of profound dissimulation;§ his passions were subservient only to the passions of his master; yet, in the horrid massacre of Thessalonica, the cruel Rufinus inflamed the fury, without imitating the repentance, of Theodosius. The minister, who viewed with proud indifference the rest of mankind, never forgave the appearance of an injury; and his personal enemies had forfeited, in his opinion, the merit of all public services. Promotus, the master-general of the infantry, had saved the empire from the invasion of the Ostrogoths; but he indignantly supported the pre-eminence of a rival, whose character and pro-

of them, this being the most important and hitherto the most neglected truth which the fall of Rome and the subsequent annals of Europe present for our consideration.—ED.

* Alecto, envious of the public felicity, convenes an infernal synod. Megara recommends her pupil Rufinus, and excites him to deeds of mischief, &c. But there is as much difference between Claudian's fury, and that of Virgil, as between the characters of Turnus and Rufinus.

† It is evident (Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* tom. v, p. 770), though De Marca is ashamed of his countryman, that Rufinus was born at Elusa, the metropolis of Novempopulania, now a small village of Gascony. (D'Anville, *Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule*, p. 259.)

‡ Philostorgius, l. 11, c. 3, with Godefroy's *Dissert.* p. 440.

§ A passage of Suidas is expressive of his profound dissimulation: βαρυγνώμων ἀνθρώπος καὶ κρυψίνοος.

fession he despised; and, in the midst of a public council, the impatient soldier was provoked to chastise with a blow the indecent pride of the favourite. This act of violence was represented to the emperor as an insult, which it was incumbent on *his* dignity to resent. The disgrace and exile of Promotus were signified by a peremptory order, to repair, without delay, to a military station on the banks of the Danube; and the death of that general (though he was slain in a skirmish with the barbarians) was imputed to the perfidious arts of Rufinus.* The sacrifice of a hero gratified his revenge; the honours of the consulship elated his vanity; but his power was still imperfect and precarious, as long as the important posts of prefect of the east, and of prefect of Constantinople, were filled by Tatian,† and his son Proculus; whose united authority balanced, for some time, the ambition and favour of the master of the offices. The two prefects were accused of rapine and corruption in the administration of the laws and finances. For the trial of these illustrious offenders, the emperors constituted a special commission; several judges were named to share the guilt and reproach of injustice; but the right of pronouncing sentence was reserved to the president alone, and that president was Rufinus himself. The father, stripped of the prefecture of the east, was thrown into a dungeon; but the son, conscious that few ministers can be found innocent, where an enemy is their judge, had secretly escaped; and Rufinus must have been satisfied with the least obnoxious victim, if despotism had not condescended to employ the basest and most ungenerous artifice. The prosecution was conducted with an appearance of equity and moderation, which flattered Tatian with the hope of a favourable event; his confidence was fortified by the solemn assurances and perfidious oaths of the president, who presumed to interpose the sacred name of Theodosius himself; and the unhappy father wa-

* Zosimus, l. 4, p. 272, 273.

† Zosimus, who describes the fall of Tatian and his son (l. 4, p. 273, 274), asserts their innocence: and even *his* testimony may outweigh the charges of their enemies (Cod. Theodos. tom. iv, p. 489), who accuse them of oppressing the *Curia*. The connexion of Tatian with the Arians, while he was prefect of Egypt (A.D. 373), inclines Tillemont to believe that he was guilty of every crime. (Hist. des Emp. tom. v, p. 360. Mém. Ecclési. tom. vi, p. 589.)

at last persuaded to recall, by a private letter, the fugitive Proculus. He was instantly seized, examined, condemned, and beheaded, in one of the suburbs of Constantinople, with a precipitation which disappointed the clemency of the emperor. Without respecting the misfortunes of a consular senator, the cruel judges of Tatian compelled him to behold the execution of his son: the fatal cord was fastened round his own neck: but in the moment when he expected, and perhaps desired, the relief of a speedy death, he was permitted to consume the miserable remnant of his old age in poverty and exile.* The punishment of the two prefects might, perhaps, be excused by the exceptionable parts of their own conduct; the enmity of Rufinus might be palliated by the jealous and unsociable nature of ambition. But he indulged a spirit of revenge, equally repugnant to prudence and to justice, when he degraded their native country of Lycia from the rank of Roman provinces; stigmatized a guiltless people with a mark of ignominy; and declared that the countrymen of Tatian and Proculus should for ever remain incapable of holding any employment of honour or advantage, under the imperial government.† The new prefect of the east (for Rufinus instantly succeeded to the vacant honours of his adversary) was not diverted, however, by the most criminal pursuits, from the performance of the religious duties, which in that age were considered as the most essential to salvation. In the suburb of Chalcedon, surnamed the *Oak*, he had built a magnificent villa; to which he devoutly added a stately church, consecrated to the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and continually sanctified by the prayers and penance of a regular society of

* ——— Juvenum rorantia colla

Ante patrum vultus strictâ cecidere securi.

Ibat grandævus nato moriente superstes

Post trabes exsul.

In Rufin. 1. 248.

The *facts* of Zosimus explain the *allusions* of Claudian; but his classic interpreters were ignorant of the fourth century. The *fatal cord*, I found, with the help of Tillemont, in a sermon of St. Asterius of Amasia.

† This odious law is recited, and repealed, by Arcadius (A.D. 396), in the Theodosian Code, l. 9, tit. 38, leg. 9. The sense, as it is explained by Claudian (in Rufin. 1. 234) and Godefroy (tom. iii. p. 279,) is perfectly clear.

——— Exeindere cives

Funditus; et nomen gentis delere laborat.

The scruples of Pagi and Tillemont can arise only from their zeal for

monks. A numerous, and almost general, synod of the bishops of the eastern empire, was summoned to celebrate, at the same time, the dedication of the church, and the baptism of the founder. This double ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp; and when Rufinus was purified, in the holy font, from all the sins he had hitherto committed, a venerable hermit of Egypt rashly proposed himself as the sponsor of a proud and ambitious statesman.*

The character of Theodosius imposed on his minister the task of hypocrisy, which disguised, and sometimes restrained, the abuse of power; and Rufinus was apprehensive of disturbing the indolent slumber of a prince, still capable of exerting the abilities and the virtue which had raised him to the throne.† But the absence, and soon afterwards the death of the emperor, confirmed the absolute authority of Rufinus over the person and dominions of Arcadius; a feeble youth, whom the imperious prefect considered as his pupil, rather than his sovereign. Regardless of the public opinion, he indulged his passions without remorse and without resistance; and his malignant and rapacious spirit rejected every passion that might have contributed to his his own glory or the happiness of the people. His avarice,‡

the glory of Theodosius. * Ammonius . . . Rufinum propriis manibus suscepit sacro fonte mundatum. See Rosweyde's *Vitæ Patrum*, p. 947. Sozomen (l. 8, c. 17) mentions the church and monastery; and Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés. tom. ix, p. 593*) records this synod, in which St. Gregory of Nyssa performed a conspicuous part.

† Montesquieu (*Esprit des Loix*, l. 12, c. 12) praises one of the laws of Theodosius, addressed to the prefect Rufinus (l. 9, tit. 4, leg. unic.) to discourage the prosecution of treasonable or sacrilegious words. A tyrannical statute always proves the existence of tyranny; but a laudable edict may only contain the specious professions or ineffectual wishes of the prince or his ministers. This, I am afraid, is a just, though mortifying, canon of criticism. [This was a remarkable law for so tyrannical an age; but it evinces how little danger was apprehended from a broken-spirited people. It enacted, that if the words were thoughtlessly uttered, they were to be treated with contempt; if insanely, they were to be pitied; if with injurious intent, they were to be pardoned. "Si id ex levitate processerit, contemnendum est; si ex insania, miseratione dignissimum; si ab injuria, remittendum."—ED.]

‡ fluctibus auri

Expleri calor ille nequit

Congestæ cumulantur opes; orbisque rapinas
Accipit una domus.

This character (Claudian in *Rufin.* l. 184—220) is confirmed by

which seems to have prevailed in his corrupt mind over every other sentiment, attracted the wealth of the east by the various arts of partial and general extortion; oppressive taxes, scandalous bribery, immoderate fines, unjust confiscations, forced or fictitious testaments, by which the tyrant despoiled of their lawful inheritance the children of strangers or enemies; and the public sale of justice, as well as of favour, which he instituted in the palace of Constantinople. The ambitious candidate eagerly solicited, at the expense of the fairest part of his patrimony, the honours and emoluments of some provincial government: the lives and fortunes of the unhappy people were abandoned to the most liberal purchaser; and the public discontent was sometimes appeased by the sacrifice of an unpopular criminal, whose punishment was profitable only to the prefect of the east, his accomplice and his judge. If avarice were not the blindest of the human passions, the motives of Rufinus might excite our curiosity; and we might be tempted to inquire, with what view he violated every principle of humanity and justice, to accumulate those immense treasures, which he could not spend without folly, nor possess without danger. Perhaps he vainly imagined that he laboured for the interest of an only daughter, on whom he intended to bestow his royal pupil, and the august rank of empress of the east. Perhaps he deceived himself by the opinion that his avarice was the instrument of his ambition. He aspired to place his fortune on a secure and independent basis, which should no longer depend on the caprice of the young emperor; yet he neglected to conciliate the hearts of the soldiers and people, by the liberal distribution of those riches, which he had acquired with so much toil and with so much guilt. The extreme parsimony of Rufinus left him only the reproach and envy of ill-gotten wealth; his dependants served him without attachment; the universal hatred of mankind was repressed only by the influence of servile fear. The fate of Lucian proclaimed to the east, that the prefect, whose industry was much abated in the dispatch of ordinary business, was indefatigable in the pursuit of revenge. Lucian, the son of the prefect Florentius,

Jerome, a disinterested witness (*dedecus insatiabilis avaritiæ*, tom. i, ad Heliodor. p. 26), by Zosimus (l. 5, p. 286), and by Suidas, who copied the history of Eunapius.

the oppressor of Gaul and the enemy of Julian, had employed a considerable part of his inheritance, the fruit of rapine and corruption, to purchase the friendship of Rufinus, and the high office of count of the east. But the new magistrate imprudently departed from the maxims of the court and of the times; disgraced his benefactor by the contrast of a virtuous and temperate administration; and presumed to refuse an act of injustice, which might have tended to the profit of the emperor's uncle. Arcadius was easily persuaded to resent the supposed insult; and the prefect of the east resolved to execute in person the cruel vengeance which he meditated against this ungrateful delegate of his power. He performed with incessant speed the journey of seven or eight hundred miles, from Constantinople to Antioch, entered the capital of Syria at the dead of the night, and spread universal consternation among a people, ignorant of his design, but not ignorant of his character. The count of the fifteen provinces of the east was dragged, like the vilest malefactor, before the arbitrary tribunal of Rufinus. Notwithstanding the clearest evidence of his integrity, which was not impeached even by the voice of an accuser, Lucian was condemned, almost without a trial, to suffer a cruel and ignominious punishment. The ministers of the tyrant, by the order, and in the presence of their master, beat him on the neck with leather thongs, armed at the extremities with lead; and when he fainted under the violence of the pain, he was removed in a close litter, to conceal his dying agonies from the eyes of the indignant city. No sooner had Rufinus perpetrated this inhuman act, the sole object of his expedition, than he returned, amidst the deep and silent curses of a trembling people, from Antioch to Constantinople; and his diligence was accelerated, by the hope of accomplishing without delay, the nuptials of his daughter with the emperor of the East.*

But Rufinus soon experienced that a prudent minister should constantly secure his royal captive by the strong

* ———— *Cætera segnis;*

*Ad facinus velox; penitus regione remotæ
Impiger ire vias.*

This allusion of Claudian (in *Rufin.* l. 241) is again explained by the circumstantial narrative of Zosimus (l. 5, p. 288, 289).

though invisible chain of habit; and that the merit, and much more easily the favour, of the absent are obliterated in a short time from the mind of a weak and capricious sovereign. While the prefect satiated his revenge at Antioch, a secret conspiracy of the favourite eunuchs, directed by the great chamberlain Eutropius, undermined his power in the palace of Constantinople. They discovered that Arcadius was not inclined to love the daughter of Rufinus, who had been chosen, without his consent, for his bride; and they contrived to substitute in her place the fair Eudoxia, the daughter of Bauto,* a general of the Franks in the service of Rome; and who was educated, since the death of her father, in the family of the sons of Promotus. The young emperor, whose chastity had been strictly guarded by the pious care of his tutor Arsenius,† eagerly listened to the artful and flattering descriptions of the charms of Eudoxia: he gazed with impatient ardour on her picture, and he understood the necessity of concealing his amorous designs from the knowledge of a minister who was so deeply interested to oppose the consummation of his happiness. Soon after the return of Rufinus, the approaching ceremony of the royal nuptials was announced to the people of Constantinople, who prepared to celebrate, with false and hollow acclamations, the fortune of his daughter. A splendid train of eunuchs and officers issued, in hymeneal pomp, from the gates of the palace; bearing aloft the diadem, the robes, and the inestimable ornaments of the future empress. The solemn procession passed through the streets of the city, which were adorned with garlands, and filled with

* Zosimus (l. 4, p. 243) praises the valour, prudence, and integrity of Bauto the Frank. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v, p. 771. (Her name appears on coins as Eudocia, with *Ælia* prefixed. (Eckhel, *Num. Vet.* vol. viii, p. 170.) Eudoxia was the name taken by Athenais, after her nuptials with Theodosius II., as will be seen in ch. 32. Gibbon has reversed the two names, in common with other writers. But the evidence of coins is against him, as is shown by the learned investigator of the subject, in his above-quoted work. Bauto was the colleague of Arcadius in the consulship, A.D. 385.—Ed.]

† Arsenius escaped from the palace of Constantinople, and passed fifty-five years in rigid penance in the monasteries of Egypt. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xiv, p. 676—702, and Fleury, *Hist. Ecclés.* tom. v, p. 1, &c.; but the latter, for want of authentic materials, has given too much credit to the

spectators; but when it reached the house of the sons of Promotus, the principal eunuch respectfully entered the mansion, invested the fair Eudoxia with the imperial robes, and conducted her in triumph to the palace and bed of Arcadius.* The secrecy and success with which this conspiracy against Rufinus had been conducted, imprinted a mark of indelible ridicule on the character of a minister, who had suffered himself to be deceived in a post where the arts of deceit and dissimulation constitute the most distinguished merit. He considered, with a mixture of indignation and fear, the victory of an aspiring eunuch, who had secretly captivated the favour of his sovereign; and the disgrace of his daughter, whose interest was inseparably connected with his own, wounded the tenderness, or at least the pride, of Rufinus. At the moment when he flattered himself that he should become the father of a line of kings, a foreign maid, who had been educated in the house of his implacable enemies, was introduced into the imperial bed; and Eudoxia soon displayed a superiority of sense and spirit, to improve the ascendant which her beauty must acquire over the mind of a fond and youthful husband. The emperor would soon be instructed to hate, to fear, and to destroy, the powerful subject whom he had injured; and the consciousness of guilt deprived Rufinus of every hope, either of safety or comfort, in the retirement of a private life. But he still possessed the most effectual means of defending his dignity, and perhaps of oppressing his enemies. The prefect still exercised an uncontrolled authority over the civil and military government of the east: and his treasures, if he could resolve to use them, might be employed to procure proper instruments for the execution of the blackest designs that pride, ambition, and revenge, could suggest to a desperate statesman. The character of Rufinus seemed to justify the accusations, that he conspired against the person of his sovereign to seat himself on the vacant throne; and that he had secretly invited the Huns and the Goths to invade the provinces of the empire, and to increase the public

legend of Metaphrastes.

* This story (Zosimus, l. 5, p. 290) proves that the hymeneal rites of antiquity were still practised, without idolatry, by the Christians of the east; and the bride was *forcibly* conducted from the house of her parents to that of her husband. Our form of marriage requires, with less delicacy, the

confusion. The subtle prefect, whose life had been spent in the intrigues of the palace, opposed, with equal arms, the artful measures of the eunuch Eutropius; but the timid soul of Rufinus was astonished by the hostile approach of a more formidable rival, of the great Stilicho, the general, or rather the master, of the empire of the west.*

The celestial gift which Achilles obtained, and Alexander envied, of a poet worthy to celebrate the actions of heroes, has been enjoyed by Stilicho, in a much higher degree than might have been expected from the declining state of genius and of art. The muse of Claudian,† devoted to his service, was always prepared to stigmatize his adversaries, Rufinus or Eutropius, with eternal infamy; or to paint in the most splendid colours, the victories and virtues of a powerful benefactor. In the review of a period indifferently supplied with authentic materials, we cannot refuse to illustrate the annals of Honorius from the invectives or the panegyrics of a contemporary writer; but as Claudian appears to have indulged the most ample privilege of a poet and a courtier, some criticism will be requisite to translate the language of fiction or exaggeration, into the truth and simplicity of historic prose. His silence concerning the family of Stilicho may be admitted as a proof that his patron was neither able, nor desirous, to boast of a long series of illustrious progenitors; and the slight mention of his father, an officer of barbarian cavalry, in the service of Valens, seems to countenance the assertion, that the general, who so long commanded the armies of Rome, was descended from the savage and perfidious race of the Vandals.‡ If Stilicho had not possessed the external advantages of strength and stature, the most flattering bard, in the presence of so many thousand spectators, would have hesitated to affirm, that he

express and public consent of a virgin.

* Zosimus (l. 5, p. 290), Orosius (l. 7, c. 37), and the Chronicle of Marcellinus. Claudian (in Rufin. 2. 7—100,) paints in lively colours the distress and guilt of the prefect.

† Stilicho, directly or indirectly, is the perpetual theme of Claudian. The youth, and private life of the hero, are vaguely expressed in the poem on his first consulship (35—140).

‡ Vandalorum, imbellis, avaræ, perfidæ et-dolosæ, gentis, genere editus. (Orosius, l. 7, c. 38.) Jerome (tom. i, ad Gerontium, p. 93) calls him a semi-barbarian. [We must not implicitly receive as faithful, the characters ascribed to Gothic tribes by ecclesiastical writers, especially before their conversion to Christianity, or if after that change,

surpassed the measure of the demigods of antiquity; and, that, whenever he moved, with lofty steps, through the streets of the capital, the astonished crowd made room for the stranger, who displayed, in a private condition, the awful majesty of a hero. From his earliest youth he embraced the profession of arms; his prudence and valour were soon distinguished in the field; the horsemen and archers of the east admired his superior dexterity; and in each degree of his military promotions, the public judgment always prevented and approved the choice of the sovereign. He was named by Theodosius, to ratify a solemn treaty with the monarch of Persia: he supported during that important embassy, the dignity of the Roman name; and after his return to Constantinople, his merit was rewarded by an intimate and honourable alliance with the imperial family. Theodosius had been prompted, by a pious motive of fraternal affection, to adopt, for his own, the daughter of his brother Honorius; the beauty and accomplishments of Serena* were universally admired by the obsequious court; and Stilicho obtained the preference over a crowd of rivals, who ambitiously disputed the hand of the princess, and the favour of her adoptive father.† The assurance that the husband of Serena would be faithful to the throne which he was permitted to approach, engaged the emperor to exalt the fortunes and to employ the abilities of the sagacious and intrepid Stilicho. He rose through the successive steps of master of the horse, and count of the domestics, to the supreme rank of master-general of all the cavalry and infantry of the Roman, or at least of the western, empire;‡ and his enemies confessed, that he invariably disdained to barter for gold the rewards of merit, or to defraud the soldiers of the pay and gratifi-

they embraced Arianism.—ED.]

* Claudian, in an imperfect poem, has drawn a fair, perhaps a flattering, portrait of Serena. That favourite niece of Theodosius was born, as well as her sister Thermantia, in Spain; from whence, in their earliest youth, they were honourably conducted to the palace of Constantinople.

† Some doubt may be entertained, whether this adoption was legal, or only metaphorical, (see Ducange, *Fam. Byzant.* p. 75.) An old inscription gives Stilicho the singular title of *Progeni Divi Theodosii*.

‡ Claudian (*Laus Serenæ*, 190. 193) expresses in poetic language the “*dilectus equorum*,” and the “*gemino mox idem culmine, duxit agmina*.” The inscription adds, “count of the domestics,” an important command, which Stilicho, in the height of his grandeur, might

cations, which they deserved or claimed from the liberality of the state.* The valour and conduct which he afterwards displayed in the defence of Italy, against the arms of Alaric and Radagaisus, may justify the fame of his early achievements; and in an age less attentive to the laws of honour or of pride, the Roman generals might yield the pre-eminence of rank to the ascendant of superior genius.† He lamented and revenged the murder of Promotus, his rival and his friend: and the massacre of many thousands of the flying Bastarnæ is represented by the poet, as a bloody sacrifice which the Roman Achilles offered to the manes of another Patroclus. The virtues and victories of Stilicho deserved the hatred of Rufinus; and the arts of calumny might have been successful, if the tender and vigilant Serena had not protected her husband against his domestic foes, whilst he vanquished in the field the enemies of the empire.‡ Theodosius continued to support an unworthy minister, to whose diligence he delegated the government of the palace and of the east: but when he marched against the tyrant Eugenius, he associated his faithful general to the labours and glories of the civil war; and, in the last moments of his life, the dying monarch recommended to Stilicho the care of his sons and of the republic.§ The ambition and the abilities of Stilicho were not unequal to

prudently retain.

* The beautiful lines of Claudian (in 1. Cons. Stilich. 2. 113) display his genius; but the integrity of Stilicho (in the military administration) is much more firmly established by the unwilling evidence of Zosimus (l. 5, p. 345).

† ——— Si bellica moles

Ingrueret, quamvis annis et jure minori,

Cedere grandævus equitum peditumque magistros

Adspiceres.

Claudian, *Laus Seren.* p. 196, &c.

A modern general would deem their submission either heroic patriotism, or abject servility.

‡ Compare the poem on the first consulship (l. 95—115) with the *Laus Serenæ* (227—237, where it unfortunately breaks off). We may perceive the deep inveterate malice of Rufinus.

§

— Quem fratribus ipse

Discedens, clypeum defensoremque dedisti.

Yet the nomination (4 Cons. Hon. 432) was private, (3 Cons. Hon. 142) eunctos discedere . . . jubet; and may, therefore, be suspected. Zosimus and Suidas apply to Stilicho and Rufinus, the same equivocal title of *Ἐπιτρόποι*, guardians or procurators.

the important trust; and he claimed the guardianship of the two empires, during the minority of Arcadius and Honorius.* The first measure of his administration, or rather of his reign, displayed to the nations the vigour and activity of a spirit worthy to command. He passed the Alps in the depth of winter; descended the stream of the Rhine, from the fortress of Basil to the marshes of Batavia; reviewed the state of the garrisons; repressed the enterprises of the Germans; and, after establishing along the banks a firm and honourable peace, returned with incredible speed to the palace of Milan.† The person and court of Honorius were subject to the master-general of the west; and the armies and provinces of Europe obeyed, without hesitation, a regular authority, which was exercised in the name of their young sovereign. Two rivals only remained to dispute the claims, and to provoke the vengeance, of Stilicho. Within the limits of Africa, Gildo the Moor maintained a proud and dangerous independence; and the minister of Constantinople asserted his equal reign over the emperor, and the empire, of the east.

The impartiality which Stilicho affected, as the common guardian of the royal brothers, engaged him to regulate the equal division of the arms, the jewels, and the magnificent wardrobe and furniture of the deceased emperor.‡ But the most important object of the inheritance consisted of the numerous legions, cohorts, and squadrons of Romans, or barbarians, whom the event of the civil war had united under the standard of Theodosius. The various multitudes of Europe and Asia, exasperated by recent animosities, were overawed by the authority of a single man; and the rigid discipline of Stilicho protected the lands of the citizen

* The Roman law distinguishes two sorts of *minority*, which expired at the age of fourteen and of twenty-five. The one was subject to the *tutor* or guardian of the person; the other to the *curator* or trustee of the estate. (Heineccius, *Antiquitat. Rom. ad Jurisprudent. pertinent.* l. 1, tit. 22, 23, p. 218—232.) But these legal ideas were never accurately transferred into the constitution of an elective monarchy.

† See Claudian (1 Cons. Stilich. 1. 188—242), but he must allow more than fifteen days for the journey and return between Milan and Leyden.

‡ 1 Cons. Stilich. 2. 88—94. Not only the robes and diadem of the deceased emperor, but even the helmets, sword-hilts, belts, cuirasses, &c. were enriched with pearls, emeralds, and diamonds.

from the rapine of the licentious soldiers.* *Anxious*, however; and impatient to relieve Italy from the presence of this formidable host, which could be useful only on the frontiers of the empire, he listened to the just requisition of the minister of Arcadius, declared his intention of reconducting in person the troops of the east; and dexterously employed the rumour of a Gothic tumult, to conceal his private designs of ambition and revenge.† The guilty soul of Rufinus was alarmed by the approach of a warrior and a rival, whose enmity he deserved; he computed, with increasing terror, the narrow space of his life and greatness; and, as the last hope of safety, he interposed the authority of the emperor Arcadius. Stilicho, who appears to have directed his march along the sea-coast of the Adriatic, was not far distant from the city of Thessalonica, when he received a peremptory message, to recall the troops of the east, and to declare that *his* nearer approach would be considered by the Byzantine court as an act of hostility. The prompt and unexpected obedience of the general of the west, convinced the vulgar of his loyalty and moderation; and as he had already engaged the affection of the eastern troops, he recommended to their zeal the execution of his bloody design, which might be accomplished in his absence, with less danger, perhaps, and with less reproach. Stilicho left the command of the troops of the east to Gainas the Goth, on whose fidelity he firmly relied; with an assurance, at least, that the hardy barbarian would never be diverted from his purpose by any consideration of fear or remorse. The soldiers were easily persuaded to punish the enemy of Stilicho and of Rome; and such was the general hatred which Rufinus had excited, that the fatal secret, communicated to thousands, was faithfully preserved during the long march from Thessalonica to the gates of Constantinople. As soon as they had resolved his death, they

* — Tantoque remoto

Principe, mutatas orbis non sensit habenas.

This high commendation (1 Cons. Stil. 1. 149) may be justified by the fears of the dying emperor (De Bell. Gildon. 292—301), and the peace and good order which were enjoyed after his death, (1 Cons. Stil. 1. 150—168).

† Stilicho's march and the death of Rufinus, are described by Claudian (in Rufin. l. 2. 101—153); Zosimus (l. 5, p. 296, 297); Sozomen (l. 8, c. 1); Socrates (l. 6, c. 1); Philostorgius (l. 11, c. 3, with Godefroy, p. 441); and the Chronicle of Marcellinus.

condescended to flatter his pride; the ambitious prefect was seduced to believe that those powerful auxiliaries might be tempted to place the diadem on his head; and the treasures which he distributed with a tardy and reluctant hand, were accepted by the indignant multitude, as an insult rather than as a gift. At the distance of a mile from the capital, in the field of Mars, before the palace of Hebdomon, the troops halted; and the emperor, as well as his minister, advanced, according to ancient custom, respectfully to salute the power which supported their throne. As Rufinus passed along the ranks, and disguised with studied courtesy his innate haughtiness, the wings insensibly wheeled from the right and left, and inclosed the devoted victim within the circle of their arms. Before he could reflect on the danger of his situation, Gainas gave the signal of death; a daring and forward soldier plunged his sword into the breast of the guilty prefect, and Rufinus fell, groaned, and expired, at the feet of the affrighted emperor. If the agonies of a moment could expiate the crimes of a whole life, or if the outrages inflicted on a breathless corpse could be the object of pity, our humanity might perhaps be affected by the horrid circumstances which accompanied the murder of Rufinus. His mangled body was abandoned to the brutal fury of the populace of either sex, who hastened in crowds from every quarter of the city, to trample on the remains of the haughty minister, at whose frown they had so lately trembled. His right hand was cut off and carried through the streets of Constantinople, in cruel mockery, to extort contributions for the avaricious tyrant, whose head was publicly exposed, borne aloft on the point of a long lance.* According to the savage maxims of the Greek republics, his innocent family would have shared the punishment of his crimes. The wife and daughter of Rufinus were indebted for their safety to the influence of Religion. *Her* sanctuary protected them from the raging madness of the people; and they were permitted to spend the remainder of their lives in the exercise of Christian devotion, in the peaceful retirement of Jerusalem.†

* The *dissection* of Rufinus, which Claudian performs with the savage coolness of an anatomist, (in *Rufin.* 2. 405—415,) is likewise specified by Zosimus and Jerome, (tom. i, p. 26.)

† The Pagan

The servile poet of Stilicho applauds, with ferocious joy, this horrid deed, which, in the execution, perhaps of justice, violated every law of nature and society, profaned the majesty of the prince, and renewed the dangerous examples of military licence. The contemplation of the universal order and harmony had satisfied Claudian of the existence of the Deity; but the prosperous impunity of vice appeared to contradict his moral attributes; and the fate of Rufinus was the only event which could dispel the religious doubts of the poet.* Such an act might vindicate the honour of Providence, but it did not much contribute to the happiness of the people. In less than three months they were informed of the maxims of the new administration, by a singular edict, which established the exclusive right of the treasury over the spoils of Rufinus; and silenced, under heavy penalties, the presumptuous claims of the subjects of the eastern empire, who had been injured by his rapacious tyranny.† Even Stilicho did not derive, from the murder of his rival, the fruit which he had proposed; and though he gratified his revenge, his ambition was disappointed. Under the name of a favourite, the weakness of Arcadius required a master; but he naturally preferred the obsequious arts of the eunuch Eutropius, who had obtained his domestic confidence; and the emperor contemplated, with terror and aversion, the stern genius of a foreign warrior. Till they were divided by the jealousy of power, the sword of Gainas, and the charms of Eudoxia, supported the favour of the great chamberlain of the palace: the perfidious Goth, who was appointed master-general of the east, betrayed, without scruple, the interest of his benefactor; and the same troops,

Zosimus mentions their sanctuary and pilgrimage. The sister of Rufinus, Sylvania, who passed her life in Jerusalem, is famous in monastic history. 1. The studious virgin had diligently, and even repeatedly, perused the commentators on the Bible, Origen, Gregory, Basil, &c., to the amount of five millions of lines. 2. At the age of threescore, she could boast, that she had never washed her hands, face, or any part of her whole body, except the tips of her fingers, to receive the communion. See the *Vitæ Patrum*, p. 779. 977.

* See the beautiful exordium of his invective against Rufinus, which is curiously discussed by the sceptic Bayle, *Dictionnaire Critique*, RUFIN. Not. E.

† See the Theodosian Code, l. 9, tit. 42, leg. 14, 15. Tho new ministers attempted, with inconsistent avarice, to seize the spoils of their predecessor, and to provide for their

who had so lately massacred the enemy of Stilicho, were engaged to support, against him, the independence of the throne of Constantinople. The favourites of Arcadius fomented a secret and irreconcilable war against a formidable hero, who aspired to govern, and to defend, the two empires of Rome, and the two sons of Theodosius. They incessantly laboured, by dark and treacherous machinations, to deprive him of the esteem of the prince, the respect of the people, and the friendship of the barbarians. The life of Stilicho was repeatedly attempted by the dagger of hired assassins; and a decree was obtained, from the senate of Constantinople, to declare him an enemy of the republic; and to confiscate his ample possessions in the provinces of the east. At a time when the only hope of delaying the ruin of the Roman name, depended on the firm union, and reciprocal aid, of all the nations to whom it had been gradually communicated, the subjects of Arcadius and Honorius were instructed, by their respective masters, to view each other in a foreign and even hostile light; to rejoice in their mutual calamities, and to embrace, as their faithful allies, the barbarians, whom they excited to invade the territories of their countrymen.* The natives of Italy affected to despise the servile and effeminate Greeks of Byzantium, who presumed to imitate the dress, and to usurp the dignity, of Roman senators;† and the Greeks had not yet forgotten the sentiments of hatred and contempt, which their polished ancestors had so long entertained for the rude inhabitants of the west. The distinction of two governments, which soon produced the separation of two nations, will justify my design of suspending the series of the Byzantine history, to prosecute, without interruption, the disgraceful but memorable reign of Honorius.

The prudent Stilicho, instead of persisting to force the inclinations of a prince and people who rejected his government for their own future security.

* See Claudian (1 Cons. Stilich. l. 1, 275. 292. 296; l. 2, 83,) and Zosimus, l. 5, p. 392.

† Claudian turns the consulship of the eunuch Eutropius into a national reflection, (l. 2, 134.)

———Plaudentem cerne senatum

Et Byzantinos procures, *Graiosque* Quirites:

O patribus plebes, O digni consule patres.

It is curious to observe the first symptoms of jealousy and schism between old and new Rome, between the Greeks and Latins.

ment, wisely abandoned Arcadius to his unworthy favourites; and his reluctance to involve the two empires in a civil war, displayed the moderation of a minister who had so often signalized his military spirit and abilities. But if Stilicho had any longer endured the revolt of Africa, he would have betrayed the security of the capital, and the majesty of the western emperor, to the capricious insolence of a Moorish rebel. Gildo,* the brother of the tyrant Firmus, had preserved, and obtained, as the reward of his apparent fidelity, the immense patrimony which was forfeited by treason; long and meritorious service in the armies of Rome, raised him to the dignity of a military count; the narrow policy of the court of Theodosius had adopted the mischievous expedient of supporting a legal government by the interest of a powerful family; and the brother of Firmus was invested with the command of Africa. His ambition soon usurped the administration of justice, and of the finances, without account, and without control; and he maintained, during a reign of twelve years, the possession of an office from which it was impossible to remove him, without the danger of a civil war. During those twelve years, the province of Africa groaned under the dominion of a tyrant who seemed to unite the unfeeling temper of a stranger, with the partial resentments of domestic faction. The forms of law were often superseded by the use of poison; and if the trembling guests, who were invited to the table of Gildo, presumed to express their fears, the insolent suspicion served only to excite his fury, and he loudly summoned the ministers of death. Gildo alternately indulged the passions of avarice and lust;† and

* Claudian may have exaggerated the vices of Gildo; but his Moorish extraction, his notorious actions, and the complaints of St. Augustin, may justify the poet's invectives. Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 398, No. 35—56) has treated the African rebellion with skill and learning.

† *Instat terribilis vivis, morientibus hæres,
Virginibus raptor, thalamis obsecenus adulter.
Nulla quies: oritur prædâ cessante libido,
Divitibusque dies, et nox metuenda maritis.*
———*Mauris clarissima quæque
Fastidita datur.*———

Baronius condemns, still more severely, the licentiousness of Gildo; as his wife, his daughter, and his sister, were examples of perfect chastity. The adulteries of the African soldiers are checked by one of the imperial laws.

if his *days* were terrible to the rich, his *nights* were not less dreadful to husbands and parents. The fairest of their wives and daughters were prostituted to the embraces of the tyrant; and afterwards abandoned to a ferocious troop of barbarians and assassins, the black, or swarthy natives, of the desert;—whom Gildo considered as the only guardians of his throne. In the civil war between Theodosius and Eugenius, the count, or rather the sovereign, of Africa, maintained a haughty and suspicious neutrality; refused to assist either of the contending parties with troops or vessels, expected the declaration of fortune, and reserved for the conqueror, the vain professions of his allegiance. Such professions would not have satisfied the master of the Roman world; but the death of Theodosius, and the weakness and discord of his sons, confirmed the power of the Moor; who condescended, as a proof of his moderation, to abstain from the use of the diadem, and to supply Rome with the customary tribute, or rather subsidy, of corn. In every division of the empire, the five provinces of Africa were invariably assigned to the west; and Gildo had consented to govern that extensive country in the name of Honorius; but his knowledge of the character and designs of Stilicho, soon engaged him to address his homage to a more distant and feeble sovereign. The ministers of Arcadius embraced the cause of a perfidious rebel; and the delusive hope of adding the numerous cities of Africa to the empire of the east, tempted them to assert a claim, which they were incapable of supporting, either by reason or by arms.*

When Stilicho had given a firm and decisive answer to the pretensions of the Byzantine court, he solemnly accused the tyrant of Africa before the tribunal which had formerly judged the kings and nations of the earth; and the image of the republic was revived, after a long interval, under the reign of Honorius. The emperor transmitted an accurate and ample detail of the complaints of the provincials and the crimes of Gildo, to the Roman senate; and the members of that venerable assembly were required to pronounce the condemnation of the rebel. Their unanimous suffrage declared him the enemy of the republic; and the decree of the

* Inque tuam sortem numerosas transtulit urbes.

Claudian (de Bell. Gildonico, 230—324,) has touched, with political delicacy, the intrigues of the Byzantine court, which are likewise men-

senate added a sacred and legitimate sanction to the Roman arms.* A people who still remembered that their ancestors had been the masters of the world, would have applauded, with conscious pride, the representation of ancient freedom, if they had not long since been accustomed to prefer the solid assurance of bread, to the unsubstantial visions of liberty and greatness. The subsistence of Rome depended on the harvests of Africa; and it was evident that a declaration of war would be the signal of famine. The prefect Symmachus, who presided in the deliberations of the senate, admonished the minister of his just apprehension, that as soon as the revengeful Moor should prohibit the exportation of corn, the tranquillity, and perhaps the safety, of the capital, would be threatened by the hungry rage of a turbulent multitude.† The prudence of Stilicho conceived and executed without delay, the most effectual measure for the relief the Roman people. A large and seasonable supply of corn, collected in the inland provinces of Gaul, was embarked on the rapid stream of the Rhone, and transported, by an easy navigation, from the Rhone to the Tiber. During the whole term of the African war, the granaries of Rome were continually filled, her dignity was vindicated from the humiliating dependence, and the minds of an immense people were quieted by the calm confidence of peace and plenty.‡

The cause of Rome and the conduct of the African war were intrusted by Stilicho, to a general, active and ardent to avenge his private injuries on the head of the tyrant. The spirit of discord, which prevailed in the house of Nabal, had excited a deadly quarrel between two of his sons, Gildo and Masezel.§ The usurper pursued with implacable rage the life of his younger brother, whose courage and abilities

tioned by Zosimus (l. 5, p. 302).

* Symmachus (l. 4, epist. 4,) expresses the judicial forms of the senate; and Claudian, (l. Cons. Stilich. l. 1, 325, &c.,) seems to feel the spirit of a Roman.

† Claudian finely displays these complaints of Symmachus, in a speech of the goddess of Rome, before the throne of Jupiter, (de Bell. Gildon. 23—128.)

‡ See Claudian. (In Eutrop. l. 401, &c.; 1 Cons. Stil. l. 1, 306, &c.; 2 Cons. Stilich, 91, &c.)

§ He was of a mature age, since he had formerly (A.D. 373) served against his brother Firmus. (Ammian. 29, 5.) Claudian, who understood the court of Milan, dwells on the injuries, rather than the merits, of Masezel (de Bell. Gild. 389—414). The Moorish war was

he feared; and Mascezel, oppressed by superior power, took refuge in the court of Milan; where he soon received the cruel intelligence, that his two innocent and helpless children had been murdered by their inhuman uncle. The affliction of the father was suspended only by the desire of revenge. The vigilant Stilicho already prepared to collect the naval and military forces of the western empire; and he had resolved, if the tyrant should be able to wage an equal and doubtful war, to march against him in person. But as Italy required his presence, and as it might be dangerous to weaken the defence of the frontier, he judged it more advisable that Mascezel should attempt this arduous adventure at the head of a chosen body of Gallic veterans, who had lately served under the standard of Eugenius. These troops, who were exhorted to convince the world that they could subvert as well as defend the throne of a usurper, consisted of the *Jovian*, the *Herculian*, and the *Augustan* legions; of the *Nervian* auxiliaries; of the soldiers, who displayed in their banners the symbol of a *lion*, and of the troops which were distinguished by the auspicious names of *Fortunate* and *Invincible*. Yet such was the smallness of their establishments, or the difficulty of recruiting, that these *seven bands*,* of high dignity and reputation in the service of Rome, amounted to no more than five thousand effective men.† The fleet of galleys and transports sailed in tempestuous weather from the port of Pisa, in Tuscany, and steered their course to the little island of Capraria; which had borrowed that name from the wild goats, its original inhabitants, whose place was now occupied by a new colony of a strange and savage appearance. "The whole island," says an ingenious traveller of those times, "is filled, or rather defiled, by men who fly from the light. They call themselves *monks*, or *solitaries*, because they choose to live alone, without any witnesses of their actions. They fear the gifts of fortune, from the apprehen-

not worthy of Honorius or Stilicho, &c.

* Claudian, *Bell.*

Gild. 415—423. The change of discipline allowed him to use, indifferently, the names of *Legio*, *Cohors*, *Manipulus*. See the *Notitia Imperii*, s. 38. 40.

† Orosius (l. 7, c. 36, p. 565) qualifies this account with an expression of doubt (*ut aiunt*); and it scarcely coincides with the *ἐννέμεις ἀνδράς* of Zosimus (l. 5, p. 303). Yet Claudian, after some declamation about Cadmus's soldiers, frankly owns that Stilicho sent a small army lest the rebel should fly, *ne timeare times*

sion of losing them; and, lest they should be miserable, they embrace a life of voluntary wretchedness. How absurd is their choice! how perverse their understanding! to dread the evils, without being able to support the blessings of the human condition. Either this melancholy madness is the effect of disease, or else the consciousness of guilt urges these unhappy men to exercise on their own bodies the tortures which are inflicted on fugitive slaves by the hand of Justice.* Such was the contempt of a profane magistrate for the monks of Capraria, who were revered by the pious Mascezel, as the chosen servants of God.† Some of them were persuaded by his entreaties to embark on board the fleet; and it is observed, to the praise of the Roman general, that his days and nights were employed in prayer, fasting, and the occupation of singing psalms. The devout leader, who with such a reinforcement, appeared confident of victory, avoided the dangerous rocks of Corsica, coasted along the eastern side of Sardinia, and secured his ships against the violence of the south wind, by casting anchor in the safe and capacious harbour of Cagliari, at the distance of one hundred and forty miles from the African shores.‡

Gildo was prepared to resist the invasion with all the forces of Africa. By the liberality of his gifts and promises, he endeavoured to secure the doubtful allegiance of the Roman soldiers, whilst he attracted to his standard the distant tribes of Gætulia and Æthiopia. He proudly reviewed an army of seventy thousand men, and boasted, with the rash presumption which is the forerunner of disgrace, that his numerous cavalry would trample under their horses' feet the troops of Mascezel, and involve in a cloud of burning sand, the natives of the cold regions of Gaul

(1 Cons. Stilich. l. 1, 314, &c.)

* Claud. Rutil. Numatian. Itinerar. l. 439—448. He afterwards (515—526) mentions a religious madman on the isle of Gorgona. For such profane remarks, Rutilius and his accomplices are styled by his commentator, Barthius, *rabiosi canes diaboli*. Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. xii, p. 471) more calmly observes, that the unbelieving poet praises where he means to censure.

† Orosius, l. 7. c. 36, p. 564. Augustin commends two of these savage saints of the Isle of Goats, epist. 81, apud Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiii, p. 317, and Baronius, Annal. Eccles. A.D. 398, No. 51.

‡ Here the first book of the Gildonic war is terminated. The rest of Claudian's poem has been lost; and we are ignorant *how* or *where* the army made good their landing in Africa.

and Germany.* But the Moor, who commanded the legions of Honorius, was too well acquainted with the manners of his countrymen, to entertain any serious apprehension of a naked and disorderly host of barbarians; whose left arm, instead of a shield, was protected only by a mantle; who were totally disarmed as soon as they had darted their javelin from their right hand; and whose horses had never been taught to bear the control, or to obey the guidance, of the bridle. He fixed his camp of five thousand veterans in the face of a superior enemy, and, after the delay of three days, gave the signal of a general engagement.† As Mascezel advanced before the front with fair offers of peace and pardon, he encountered one of the foremost standard-bearers of the Africans, and, on his refusal to yield, struck him on the arm with his sword. The arm, and the standard, sunk under the weight of the blow; and the imaginary act of submission was hastily repeated by all the standards of the line. At this signal, the disaffected cohorts proclaimed the name of their lawful sovereign; the barbarians, astonished by the defection of their Roman allies, dispersed, according to their custom, in tumultuary flight; and Mascezel obtained the honours of an easy and almost bloodless victory.‡ The tyrant escaped from the field of battle to the sea-shore; and threw himself into a small vessel, with the hope of reaching in safety some friendly port of the empire of the East; but the obstinacy of the wind drove him back into the harbour of Tabraca,§ which had acknowledged, with the rest of the province, the dominion of Honorius and the authority of his lieutenant. The inhabitants, as a proof of their repentance and loyalty, seized and confined the person of Gildo in a dungeon; and his own despair saved him from the intolerable torture of supporting the presence of an injured

* Orosius must be responsible for the account. The presumption of Gildo, and his various train of barbarians, is celebrated by Claudian. (1 Cons. Stil. l. 1, 345—355.) † St. Ambrose, who had been dead about a year, revealed, in a vision, the time and place of the victory. Mascezel afterwards related his dream to Paulinus, the original biographer of the saint, from whom it might easily pass to Orosius.

‡ Zosimus (l. 5, p. 303) supposes an obstinate combat; but the narrative of Orosius appears to conceal a real fact, under the disguise of a miracle.

§ Tabraca lay between the two Hippos. (Celsarius, tom. ii, p. 2, p. 112; D'Anville, tom. ii, p. 84.) Orosius has distinctly named the field of battle, but our ignorance cannot define

and victorious brother.* The captives and the spoils of Africa were laid at the feet of the emperor; but Stilicho, whose moderation appeared more conspicuous and more sincere in the midst of prosperity, still affected to consult the laws of the republic, and referred to the senate and people of Rome, the judgment of the most illustrious criminals.† Their trial was public and solemn; but the judges, in the exercise of this obsolete and precarious jurisdiction, were impatient to punish the African magistrates who had intercepted the subsistence of the Roman people. The rich and guilty province was oppressed by the imperial ministers, who had a visible interest to multiply the number of the accomplices of Gildo; and if an edict of Honorius seems to check the malicious industry of informers, a subsequent edict, at the distance of ten years, continues and renews the prosecution of the offences which had been committed in the time of the general rebellion.‡ The adherents of the tyrant, who escaped the first fury of the soldiers and the judges, might derive some consolation from the tragic fate of his brother, who could never obtain his pardon for the extraordinary services which he had performed. After he had finished an important war in the space of a single winter, Mascezel was received at the court of Milan with loud applause, affected gratitude, and secret jealousy:§ and his death, which, perhaps, was the effect of accident, has been considered as the crime of Stilicho. In the passage of a bridge, the Moorish prince, who accompanied the master-general of the west, was suddenly thrown from his horse into the river; the officious haste of the attendants was restrained by a cruel and perfidious smile which they observed on the

the precise situation.

* The death of Gildo is expressed by Claudian (1 Cons. Stil. 1. 357), and his best interpreters, Zosimus and Orosius. † Claudian (2 Cons. Stilich. 99—119) describes their trial (tremuit quos Africa nuper, cernunt rostra reos), and applauds the restoration of the ancient constitution. It is here that he introduces the famous sentence, so familiar to the friends of despotism :
 ——— Nunquam libertas gratior exstat
 Quam sub rege pio———

But the freedom which depends on royal pecty, scarcely deserves that appellation.
 leg. 3; tit. 40, leg. 19. ‡ See the Theodosian Code, l. 9, tit. 39, § Stilicho, who claimed an equal share in all the victories of Theodosius and his son, particularly asserts, that Africa was recovered by the wisdom of his counsels.

countenance of Stilicho; and while they delayed the necessary assistance, the unfortunate Mascezel was irrecoverably drowned.*

The joy of the African triumph was happily connected with the nuptials of the emperor Honorius, and of his cousin Maria, the daughter of Stilicho: and this equal and honourable alliance seemed to invest the powerful minister with the authority of a parent over his submissive pupil. The muse of Claudian was not silent on this propitious day:† he sung, in various and lively strains, the happiness of the royal pair, and the glory of the hero who confirmed their union and supported their throne. The ancient fables of Greece, which had almost ceased to be the object of religious faith, were saved from oblivion by the genius of poetry. The picture of the Cyprian grove, the seat of harmony and love; the triumphant progress of Venus over her native seas, and the mild influence which her presence diffused in the palace of Milan, express to every age the natural sentiments of the heart, in the just and pleasing language of allegorical fiction. But the amorous impatience which Claudian attributes to the young prince‡ must excite the smiles of the court; and his beauteous spouse (if she deserved the praise of beauty) had not much to fear or to hope from the passions of her lover. Honorius was only in the fourteenth year of his age; Serena, the mother of his bride, deferred, by art or persuasion, the consummation of the royal nuptials; Maria died a virgin, after she

(See an inscription produced by Baronius.) * I have softened the narrative of Zosimus, which, in its crude simplicity, is almost incredible (l. 5, p. 303). Orosius damns the victorious general (p. 538) for violating the right of sanctuary. † Claudian, as the poet laureat, composed a serious and elaborate epithalamium of three hundred and forty lines; besides some gay Fescennines, which were sung, in a more licentious tone, on the wedding-night.

‡ ———Calet obvius ire
Jam princeps, tardumque cupit discedere solem.
Nobilis haud aliter sonipæ.

(de Nuptiis Honor. et Mariæ, 287,) and more freely in the *Fescennines* (112—126):

Dices, *O quoties*, hoc mihi dulcius
Quam flavos *decies* vincere Sarmatas.

Tum victor madido prosilias toro,
Nocturni referens vulnera prælii.

had been ten years a wife; and the chastity of the emperor was secured by the coldness, or perhaps the debility, of his constitution.* His subjects, who attentively studied the character of their young sovereign, discovered that Honorius was without passions, and consequently without talents; and that his feeble and languid disposition was alike incapable of discharging the duties of his rank, or of enjoying the pleasures of his age. In his early youth he made some progress in the exercises of riding and drawing the bow: but he soon relinquished these fatiguing occupations, and the amusement of feeding poultry became the serious and daily care of the monarch of the west,† who resigned the reins of empire to the firm and skilful hand of his guardian Stilicho. The experience of history will countenance the suspicion, that a prince who was born in the purple received a worse education than the meanest peasant of his dominions; and that the ambitious minister suffered him to attain the age of manhood, without attempting to excite his courage or to enlighten his understanding.‡ The predecessors of Honorius were accustomed to animate by their example, or at least by their presence, the valour of the legions; and the dates of their laws attest the perpetual activity of their motions through the provinces of the Roman world. But the son of Theodosius passed the slumber of his life, a captive in his palace, a stranger in his country, and the patient, almost the indifferent, spectator of the ruin of the western empire, which was repeatedly attacked, and finally subverted, by the arms of the barbarians. In the eventful history of a reign of twenty-eight years, it will seldom be necessary to mention the name of the emperor Honorius.

* See Zosimus, l. 5, p. 333.
 † Procopius de Bell. Gothico, l. 1, c. 2. I have borrowed the general practice of Honorius, without adopting the singular, and indeed, improbable tale, which is related by the Greek historian.
 ‡ The lessons of Theodosius, or rather Claudian (4 Cons. Honor. 214—418), might compose a fine institution for the future prince of a great and free nation. It was far above Honorius and his degenerate subjects. [We have here another proof of that neglect of education, which produced the ignorance, credulity, and barbarism of succeeding ages.—Ed.]

CHAPTER XXX.—REVOLT OF THE GOTHs.—THEY PLUNDER GREECE.—TWO GREAT INVASIONS OF ITALY BY ALARIC AND RADAGAIUS.—THEY ARE REPULSED BY STILICHO.—THE GERMANs OVERRUN GAUL.—USURPATION OF CONSTANTINE IN THE WEST.—DISGRACE AND DEATH OF STILICHO.

IF the subjects of Rome could be ignorant of their obligations to the great Theodosius, they were too soon convinced how painfully the spirit and abilities of their deceased emperor had supported the frail and mouldering edifice of the republic. He died in the month of January; and before the end of the winter of the same year, the Gothic nation was in arms.* The barbarian auxiliaries erected their independent standard; and boldly avowed the hostile designs which they had long cherished in their ferocious minds. Their countrymen, who had been condemned by the conditions of the last treaty to a life of tranquillity and labour, deserted their farms at the first sound of the trumpet; and eagerly resumed the weapons which they had reluctantly laid down. The barriers of the Danube were thrown open; the savage warriors of Scythia issued from their forests; and the uncommon severity of the winter allowed the poet to remark, that "they rolled their ponderous wagons over the broad and icy bank of the indignant river.† The unhappy natives of the provinces to the south of the Danube, submitted to the calamities which in the course of twenty years were almost grown familiar to their imagination; and the various troops of barbarians who gloried in the Gothic name, were irregularly spread from the woody shores of Dalmatia, to the walls of Constantinople.‡ The interruption, or at least the diminution, of the subsidy which the

* The revolt of the Goths, and the blockade of Constantinople, are distinctly mentioned by Claudian (in Rufin. l. 2, 7—100), Zosimus (l. 5, p. 292), and Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 29). [Stilicho found Thessaly already plundered by the Goths, in the spring that followed the death of Theodosius. (Claud. in Ruf. 2. 36—43.)—ED.]

† ——— Alii per terga ferocis

Danubii solidata ruunt; expertaque remis

Frangunt stagna rotis.

Claudian and Ovid often amuse their fancy by interchanging the metaphors and properties of *liquid* water, and *solid* ice. Much false wit has been expended in this easy exercise.

‡ Jerome, tom. i, p. 26. He endeavours to comfort his friend Heliodorus, bishop of Altinum,

Goths had received from the prudent liberality of Theodosius, was the specious pretence of their revolt, the affront was embittered by their contempt for the unwarlike sons of Theodosius; and their resentment was inflamed by the weakness, or treachery, of the minister of Arcadius. The frequent visits of Rufinus to the camp of the barbarians, whose arms and apparel he affected to imitate, were considered as a sufficient evidence of his guilty correspondence: and the public enemy, from a motive either of gratitude or of policy, was attentive, amidst the general devastation, to spare the private estates of the unpopular prefect. The Goths, instead of being impelled by the blind and headstrong passions of their chiefs, were now directed by the bold and artful genius of Alaric. That renowned leader was descended from the noble race of the Balti,* which yielded only to the royal dignity of the Amali: he had solicited the command of the Roman armies; and the imperial court provoked him to demonstrate the folly of their refusal, and the importance of their loss. Whatever hopes might be entertained of the conquest of Constantinople, the judicious general soon abandoned an impracticable enterprise. In the midst of a divided court and a discontented people, the emperor Arcadius was terrified by the aspect of the Gothic arms: but the want of wisdom and valour was supplied by the strength of the city; and the fortifications, both of the sea and land, might securely brave the impotent and random darts of the barbarians. Alaric disdained to trample any longer on the prostrate and ruined countries; of Thrace and Dacia, and he resolved to seek a plentiful

for the loss of his nephew Nepotian, by a curious recapitulation of all the public and private misfortunes of the times. See Tillemont, *Mém.* Ecclés. tom. xii. p. 200, &c.

* *Baltha* or *bold*: origo mirifica, says Jornandes (c. 29). This illustrious race long continued to flourish in France, in the Gothic province of Septimania, or *Languedoc*; under the corrupted appellation of *Baux*: and a branch of that family afterwards settled in the kingdom of Naples. (Grotius in Prolegom. ad Hist. Gothic. p. 53.) The lords of Baux, near Arles, and of seventy-nine subordinate places, were independent of the counts of Provence. (Longuerue, Description de la France, tom. i. p. 357.) [The Gothic *Baltha* took in German the form of *bald*, which in early times, was equivalent to the Anglo-Saxon *beald* and our own *bold*. (Adelung's Wörterbuch, 1. 621). Through the changes of colloquial usage, it passed into the adverbial sense of *soon*, which it now denotes. Baldus, the son of Odin, so renowned in Scandinavian mythology, had

harvest of fame and riches in a province which had hitherto escaped the ravages of war.*

The character of the civil and military officers, on whom Rufinus had devolved the government of Greece, confirmed the public suspicion, that he had betrayed the ancient seat of freedom and learning to the Gothic invader. The proconsul Antiochus was the unworthy son of a respectable father; and Gerontius, who commanded the provincial troops, was much better qualified to execute the oppressive orders of a tyrant, than to defend with courage and ability a country most remarkably fortified by the hand of nature. Alaric had traversed, without resistance, the plains of Macedonia and Thessaly, as far as the foot of mount Ceta, a steep and woody range of hills, almost impervious to his cavalry. They stretched from east to west, to the edge of the sea-shore: and left between the precipice and the Malian gulf, an interval of three hundred feet, which, in some places, was contracted to a road capable of admitting only a single carriage.† In this narrow pass of Thermopylæ, where Leonidas and the three hundred Spartans had gloriously devoted their lives, the Goths might have been stopped or destroyed by a skilful general; and perhaps the view of that sacred spot might have kindled some sparks of military ardour in the breasts of the degenerate Greeks. The troops which had been posted to defend the straits of Thermopylæ, retired, as they were directed, without attempting to disturb the secure and rapid passage of Alaric;‡ and the fertile fields of Phocis and Bæotia were instantly covered by a deluge of barbarians; who massacred the males of an age to bear arms, and drove away the beautiful females, with the spoil and cattle, of the flaming villages.

This name, no doubt, from this source. The father of the empress Eudocia; called *Bauto*, must have belonged to the same family. It is thus that clans or tribes were designated. Had the *Balti* been equally conspicuous in the days of Tacitus and Pliny, they would have been exalted into one of the nations of Germany.—ED.]

* Zosimus (l. 5, p. 293—295) is our best guide for the conquest of Greece; but the hints and allusions of Claudian are so many rays of historic light.

† Compare Herodotus (l. 7, c. 176) and Livy (36. 15). The narrow entrance of Greece was probably enlarged by each successive ravisher.

‡ He passed, says Eunapius, (in Vit. Philosoph. p. 93, edit. Commelin, 1596,) through the straits, *διὰ τῶν πύλων* (of Thermopylæ) *πάρηλθεν, ὥσπερ διὰ σταθίου, καὶ ἐπικρότου*

The travellers who visited Greece several years afterwards could easily discover the deep and bloody traces of the march of the Goths; and Thebes was less indebted for her preservation to the strength of her seven gates, than to the eager haste of Alarie, who advanced to occupy the city of Athens, and the important harbour of the Piræus. The same impatience urged him to prevent the delay and danger of a siege, by the offer of a capitulation; and as soon as the Athenians heard the voice of the Gothic herald, they were easily persuaded to deliver the greatest part of their wealth as the ransom of the city of Minerva, and its inhabitants. The treaty was ratified by solemn oaths, and observed with mutual fidelity. The Gothic prince, with a small and select train, was admitted within the walls; he indulged himself in the refreshment of the bath, accepted a splendid banquet which was provided by the magistrate, and affected to show that he was not ignorant of the manners of civilized nations.* But the whole territory of Attica, from the

πεδίου τρέχων.

* In obedience to Jerome and Claudian, (in *Rufin.* l. 2, 192,) I have mixed some darker colours in the mild representation of Zosimus, who wished to soften the calamities of Athens.

Nec fera Cæropias traxissent vincula matres.

Synesius (epist. 156, p. 272, edit. Petau) observes, that Athens, whose sufferings he imputes to the proconsul's avarice, was at that time less famous for her schools of philosophy than for her trade of honey. [It is important to note every feature of the Gothic character, since it exercised so powerful an influence on the destinies of Europe. In the respect here manifested by Alarie for the ancient home of learning, there is no evidence of that obdurate insensibility to the charge of his merit of enlightened intellect, which has been laid to the Gothic nation. We have been taught to associate with the term Gothic, all that is barbarous, ignorant, and obstructive to human progress; and to believe that the conquerors of Rome overspread the civilized world with a ruin and devastation, from which it was the work of a thousand years to recover. This accusation is at variance with all the facts of history, and equally contradicted by the very nature of man and the tendencies of his mind. We everywhere see the less civilized conqueror adopting the manners and carrying forward the attainments of the civilized whom he conquers.]

*"Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes
Intulit agresti Latio"*—(Hor. Epist. ii. l. 156)

was the testimony of one, who had experienced the truth and partaken the advantage. The Gothic race was not exempt from this law. But at their first entrance within the pale of enlightenment, they were checked by that blighting influence which, long before their advent,

promontory of Sunium to the town of Megara, was blasted by his baleful presence; and if we may use the comparison of a contemporary philosopher, Athens itself resembled the bleeding and empty skin of a slaughtered victim. The distance between Megara and Corinth could not much exceed thirty miles; but the *bad road*, an expressive name, which it still bears among the Greeks, was, or might easily have been made, impassable for the march of an enemy. The thick and gloomy woods of mount Cithæron covered the inland country; the Scironian rocks approached the water's edge, and hung over the narrow and winding path, which was confined above six miles along the sea-shore.*

had commenced the baneful work of mental obscurtion; they too were involved in the fetters of the sacerdotal despotism, which the corruptors of Christianity had established; and to them have all the necessary consequences of this been unjustly and artfully imputed. Here then are the two points of view, which impart a remarkable interest to this portion of history; one displays the calamitous growth of spiritual oppression; the other exhibits the development of the Gothic mind, first subjected to the same thralldom, then recovering its vigorous tone, and seeking to liberate itself by a long series of struggles, which at last brought on the emancipating hour of the Reformation. The ninth chapter of Hallam's "Europe during the Middle Ages," opens with sound and judicious observations on the symptoms of social decay, at this period. Yet at these secondary causes the author stops, although they afford no "perfectly satisfactory solution, and did not fully account for this unhappy change." Had he gone one step further into that mass of ecclesiastical history, which civilians are so loath to explore, and in which he says (p. 309) that he was not versed, he would have perceived, that all these symptoms of decay were either the means or the consequences of hierarchical tyranny. This, at its earliest outset, spread around it the first shades of mental darkness. In proportion as it advanced, the gloom deepened, and the hour of its culmination was the noon of night.—Ed.]

* ———Vallata mari Scironia rupes,

Et duo continuo connectens æquora muro

Isthmos———

Claudian de Bell. Getico, 188.

The Scironian rocks are described by Pausanias, (l. i. c. 44, p. 107, edit. Kuhn) and our modern travellers, Wheeler (p. 436), and Chandler (p. 298.) Hadrian made the road passable for two carriages. [The degenerate Greeks we here behold, sinking like the Romans, before their invaders, in the same impotency of helpless decay. It has been alleged, that both these were ancient and worn-out nations. But the same feebleness prevailed equally in the more recently organized communities, among which cultivation had scarcely reached the stage of refinement. The provincials, whose fathers had sometimes shaken the rising fabric of Roman power, and withstood obstinately its ambitious

The passage of those rocks, so infamous in every age, was terminated by the isthmus of Corinth; and a small body of firm and intrepid soldiers might have successfully defended a temporary intrenchment of five or six miles from the Ionian to the Ægean sea. The confidence of the cities of Peloponnesus in their natural rampart, had tempted them to neglect the care of their antique walls; and the avarice or the Roman governors had exhausted and betrayed the unhappy province.* Corinth, Argos, Sparta, yielded without resistance to the arms of the Goths; and the most fortunate of the inhabitants were saved, by death, from beholding the slavery of their families, and the conflagration of their cities.† The vases and statues were distributed among the barbarians, with more regard to the value of the materials, than to the elegance of the workmanship: the female captives submitted to the laws of war; the enjoyment of beauty was the reward of valour; and the Greeks could not reasonably complain of an abuse which was justified by the example of the heroic times.‡ The descendants of that extraordinary people, who had considered valour and disci-

plinary, all tell now before half-armed and undisciplined hosts, and most of them without a struggle. It was only by the aid of barbarian mercenaries, that armies could be formed, to protect for a while the shadows of empire, that flickered within the walls of Ravenna and Constantinople. Wherever the hierarchy established its power, it introduced, without one relieving exception, the same decrepitude. Some of the Goths had indeed already embraced Christianity; but their conversion was imperfect, and had produced no regular form of church government. When they too became the slaves of that systematic rule, they also succumbed in the same debasement. Endurance of temporal tyranny has its limits. But the spiritual tyrant, abusing the sacred name of Heaven, invests himself with an awful authority, which terrifies every faculty into tame prostration; he dements, that he may destroy, and palsies, that he may plunder. The accusation is grave; but it will be sustained. Religion is best served by the exposure of its guilty corruptors.—Ed.] * Claudian (in Rufin. l. 2, 186 and de Bello Getico, 611, &c.) vaguely, though forcibly, delineates the scene of rapine and destruction. † *Τῶν μακάρεσσι Δαναοὶ καὶ τερπάρκεις*, &c. These generous lines of Homer (Odys. l. 5, 306,) were transcribed by one of the captive youths of Corinth; and the tears of Mummus may prove that the rude conqueror, though he was ignorant of the value of an original picture, possessed the purest source of good taste, a benevolent heart. (Plutarch, Symposiæ. l. 9, tom. ii, p. 737, edit. Wechel) ‡ Homer perpetually describes the exemplary patience of those female captives, who gave their charms, and even their hearts, to the murderers of their fathers, brothers, &c.

pline as the walls of Sparta, no longer remembered the generous reply of their ancestors to an invader more formidable than Alaric. "If thou art a god, thou wilt not hurt those who have never injured thee; if thou art a man, advance—and thou wilt find men equal to thyself."* From Thermopylæ to Sparta, the leader of the Goths pursued his victorious march without encountering any mortal antagonists: but one of the advocates of expiring Paganism has confidently asserted, that the walls of Athens were guarded by the goddess Minerva, with her formidable Ægis, and by the angry phantom of Achilles:† and that the conqueror was dismayed by the presence of the hostile deities of Greece. In an age of miracles, it would perhaps be unjust to dispute the claim of the historian Zosimus, to the common benefit; yet it cannot be dissembled, that the mind of Alaric was ill prepared to receive, either in sleeping or waking visions, the impressions of Greek superstition. The songs of Homer and the fame of Achilles had probably never reached the ear of the illiterate *barbarian*; and the *Christian* faith, which he had devoutly embraced, taught him to despise the imaginary deities of Rome and Athens. The invasion of the Goths, instead of vindicating the honour, contributed, at least accidentally, to extirpate the last remains of Paganism; and the mysteries of Ceres, which had subsisted eighteen hundred years, did not survive the destruction of Eleusis, and the calamities of Greece.‡

The last hope of a people who could no longer depend on their arms, their gods, or their sovereign, was placed in the powerful assistance of the general of the west; and Stilicho, who had not been permitted to repulse, advanced to chastise, the invaders of Greece.§ A numerous fleet was equipped in the ports of Italy; and the troops, after

Such a passion (of Eriphile for Achilles) is touched with admirable delicacy by Racine.

* Plutarch (in Pyrrho, tom. ii, p. 471, edit. Brian) gives the genuine answer in the Laconic dialect. Pyrrhus attacked Sparta with twenty-five thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants: and the defence of that open town is a fine comment on the laws of Lycurgus, even in the last stage of decay.

† Such, perhaps, as Homer (Iliad 20, 164) had so nobly painted him.

‡ Eunapius (in Vit. Philosoph. p. 90—93,) intimates, that a troop of monks betrayed Greece, and followed the Gothic camp.

§ For Stilicho's Greek war, compare the honest narrative of Zosimus (l. 5, p. 295, 296,) with the curious circumstantial flattery of Claudian

a short and prosperous navigation over the Ionian sea, were safely disembarked on the Isthmus, near the ruins of Corinth. The woody and mountainous country of Arcadia, the fabulous residence of Pan and the Dryads, became the scene of a long and doubtful conflict between the two generals not unworthy of each other. The skill and perseverance of the Roman at length prevailed: and the Goths, after sustaining a considerable loss from disease and desertion, gradually retreated to the lofty mountain of Pholoe, near the sources of the Peneus, and on the frontiers of Elis; a sacred country, which had formerly been exempted from the calamities of war.* The camp of the barbarians was immediately besieged; the waters of the river† were diverted into another channel; and while they laboured under the intolerable pressure of thirst and hunger, a strong line of circumvallation was formed to prevent their escape. After these precautions, Stilicho, too confident of victory, retired to enjoy his triumph, in the theatrical games and lascivious dances of the Greeks; his soldiers, deserting their standard, spread themselves over the country of the allies, which they stripped of all that had been saved from the rapacious hands of the enemy. Alaric appears to have seized the favourable moment to execute one of those hardy enterprises, in which the abilities of a general are displayed with more genuine lustre than in the tumult of a day of battle. To extricate himself from the prison of Peloponnesus, it was necessary that he should pierce tho

(1 Cons. Stilich. l. 172—186; 4 Cons. Hon. 459—487). As the event was not glorious, it is artfully thrown into the shade.

* The troops who marched through Elis delivered up their arms. This security enriched the Eleans, who were lovers of a rural life. Riches begat pride; they disdained their privilege, and they suffered Polybius advises them to retire, once more within their magic circle. See a learned and judicious discourse on the Olympic games, which Mr. West has prefixed to his translation of Pindar.

† Claudian (in 4 Cons. Hon. 480,) alludes to the fact, without naming the river: perhaps the Alpheus. (1 Cons. Stil. l. 1, 185.)

—Et Alpheus Getieis angustus acervis
Tardior ad Sieulos etiamnum pergit amores.

Yet I should prefer the Peneus, a shallow stream in a wide and deep bed, which runs through Elis, and falls into the sea below Cyllena. It had been joined with the Alpheus to cleanse the Augean stable. (Collarius, tom. i, p. 760. Chandler's Travels, p. 286.)

intrenchments which surrounded his camp; that he should perform a difficult and dangerous march of thirty miles, as far as the gulf of Corinth; and that he should transport his troops, his captives, and his spoil, over an arm of the sea, which, in the narrow interval between Rhium and the opposite shore, is at least half a mile in breadth.* The operations of Alaric must have been secret, prudent, and rapid, since the Roman general was confounded by the intelligence that the Goths, who had eluded his efforts, were in full possession of the important province of Epirus. This unfortunate delay allowed Alaric sufficient time to conclude the treaty which he secretly negotiated, with the ministers of Constantinople. The apprehension of a civil war compelled Stilicho to retire, at the haughty mandate of his rivals, from the dominions of Arcadius; and he respected, in the enemy of Rome, the honourable character of the ally and servant of the emperor of the east.

A Grecian philosopher,† who visited Constantinople soon after the death of Theodosius, published his liberal opinions concerning the duties of kings, and the state of the Roman republic. Synesius observes, and deplores, the fatal abuse which the imprudent bounty of the late emperor had intro-

* Strabo, l. 8, p. 517. Plin. Hist. Natur. 4. 3. Wheeler, p. 308. Chandler, p. 275. They measured, from different points, the distance between the two lands.

† Synesius passed three years (A.D. 397—400,) at Constantinople, as deputy from Cyrene to the emperor Arcadius. He presented him with a crown of gold, and pronounced before him the instructive oration, *de Regno*. (p. 1—32, edit. Petav. Paris, 1612.) The philosopher was made bishop of Ptolemais, A.D. 410, and died about 430. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xii, p. 499. 554. 683—685. [Synesius has been honourably mentioned before. (Vol. ii, p. 381.) Bishop Warburton's "no small fool" approves himself here sensible and well-meaning; somewhat too enthusiastic perhaps, and too little acquainted with the world, to be conscious of the true cause which had produced the evils deplored by him. When he took reluctantly a position in the church, he discharged contentedly the duties of his quiet, sequestered diocese, on the skirts of the African desert, neither imitating the example of his promoter, Theophilus, nor seeking for himself any worldly advantages. His successful exercise of spiritual authority, to withstand "the little tyrant" Andronicus, awakens vain regrets, that the weapon of excommunication, capable of being beneficially employed in such a cause, should have been so generally wielded, only for the most arbitrary, vindictive, and rapacious purposes.—*Et.*]

duced into the military service. The citizens and subjects had purchased an exemption from the indispensable duty of defending their country; which was supported by the arms of barbarian mercenaries. The fugitives of Scythia were permitted to disgrace the illustrious dignities of the empire; their ferocious youth, who disdained the salutary restraint of laws, were more anxious to acquire the riches, than to imitate the arts of a people, the object of their contempt and hatred; and the power of the Goths was the stone of Tantalus,* perpetually suspended over the peace and safety of the devoted state. The measures which Synesius recommends, are the dictates of a bold and generous patriot. He exhorts the emperor to revive the courage of his subjects, by the example of manly virtue; to banish luxury from the court and from the camp; to substitute, in the place of the barbarian mercenaries, an army of men interested in the defence of their laws and of their property; to force, in such a moment of public danger, the mechanic from his shop, and the philosopher from his school: to rouse the indolent citizen from his dream of pleasure, and to arm, for the protection of agriculture, the hands of the laborious husbandman. At the head of such troops, who might deserve the name, and would display the spirit of Romans, he animates the son of Theodosius to encounter a race of barbarians, who were destitute of any real courage; and never to lay down his arms, till he had chased them far away into the solitudes of Scythia; or had reduced them to the state of ignominious servitude, which the Lacedæmonians formerly imposed on the captive Helots.† The court of Arcadius indulged the zeal, applauded the eloquence, and neglected the advice, of Synesius. Perhaps the philosopher, who addresses the emperor of the east in

* Had Synesius appeared at Constantinople as a bishop, he would probably not have hazarded this allusion to a fable of the heathen Tartarus. M. Guizot, in his translation of the passage, has substituted Phlegyas, the mythic king of Andros or of the Lapithæ, for the more popularly known monarch of Lydia. Both were imagined by the inventive poets of antiquity, to be expiating offences against some god, by constant exposure to an impending rock. As regards Phlegyas, however, the fable is so obscure, that neither Virgil, Pausanias, nor Statius mentions this part of his punishment, and it is omitted by Bayle in his article. There is no apparent reason for M. Guizot's departure from the text of Synesius and the adopted metaphor of Gibbon.—Ed.

† Synesius de Regno, p. 21—26.

the language of reason and virtue, which he might have used to a Spartan king, had not condescended to form a practicable scheme, consistent with the temper and circumstances of a degenerate age. Perhaps the pride of the ministers, whose business was seldom interrupted by reflection, might reject as wild and visionary, every proposal which exceeded the measure of their capacity, and deviated from the forms and precedents of office. While the oration of Synesius, and the downfall of the barbarians, were the topics of popular conversation, an edict was published at Constantinople, which declared the promotion of Alaric to the rank of master-general of the eastern Illyricum. The Roman provincials, and the allies who had respected the faith of treaties, were justly indignant that the ruin of Greece and Epirus should be so liberally rewarded. The Gothic conqueror was received as a lawful magistrate in the cities which he had so lately besieged. The fathers, whose sons he had massacred, the husbands, whose wives he had violated, were subject to his authority; and the success of his rebellion encouraged the ambition of every leader of the foreign mercenaries. The use to which Alaric applied his new command, distinguishes the firm and judicious character of his policy. He issued his orders to the four magazines and manufactures of offensive and defensive arms; Margus, Ratiaria, Naissus, and Thessalonica, to provide his troops with an extraordinary supply of shields, helmets, swords, and spears: the unhappy provincials were compelled to forge the instruments of their own destruction; and the barbarians removed the only defect which had sometimes disappointed the efforts of their courage.* The birth of Alaric, the glory of his past exploits, and the confidence in his future designs, insensibly united the body of the nation under his victorious standard; and with the unanimous consent of the barbarian chieftains,

* ———qui foedera rumpit

Ditatur : qui servat, eget : vastator Achivæ
Gentis, et Epirum nuper populatus inultam
Præsidet Illyrico ; jam, quos obsedit, amicos
Ingreditur muros ; illis responsa daturus
Quorum conjugibus potitur, natosque paremit.

Claudian in Eutrop. l. 2, 212. Alaric applauds his own policy (de Bell. Getic. 533—543) in the use which he had made of this Illyrian

the master-general of Illyricum was elevated according to ancient custom, on a shield, and solemnly proclaimed king of the Visigoths.* Armed with this double power, seated on the verge of the two empires, he alternately sold his deceitful promises to the courts of Arcadius and Honorius,† till he declared and executed his resolution of invading the dominions of the west. The provinces of Europe which belonged to the eastern emperor, were already exhausted; those of Asia were inaccessible; and the strength of Constantinople had resisted his attack. But he was tempted by the fame, the beauty, the wealth, of Italy, which he had twice visited; and he secretly aspired to plant the Gothic standard on the walls of Rome, and to enrich his army with the accumulated spoils of three hundred triumphs.‡

jurisdiction. * Jornandes, c. 29, p. 651. The Gothic historian adds, with unusual spirit: Cum suis deliberans suasit suo labore quærere regna, quam alienis per otium subiacere.

† ———Discors odiisque anceps civilibus Orbis
Non sua vis tutata diu, dum fœdera fallax
Ludit, et alternæ perjuria vendidat aulæ.

Claudian de Bell. Get. 565.

‡ Alpibus Italiæ ruptis penetrabis ad Urbem.

This authentic prediction was announced by Alaric, or at least by Claudian (de Bell. Getico, 547), seven years before the event. But as it was not accomplished within the term which has been rashly fixed, the interpreters escaped through an ambiguous meaning. [The magnificence of Rome and wealth of the provinces, were known to the tribes that clustered round the frontiers of the empire. To make themselves masters of these, was the object constantly in view. Repulsed in many an earlier attempt, they never lost sight of their prey; and when at last effectual resistance could no longer be opposed to them, the success of the first invaders, conveyed from mouth to mouth, through distant lands, set others in motion to obtain a share of the spoil. This is a sober, natural explanation of that mighty rush of innumerable hordes, who have been brought on all sides, from the frozen mountains of the North and the sandy plains of the East. The increase of population poured a gradually swelling stream slowly westward. To this the Roman barrier had, for nearly four centuries, opposed an almost impassable obstruction, through which, when broken down, "the deluge burst with sweepy sway," and forced a passage with accelerated and impetuous speed. Divest history of its exaggerating ornaments, we here see plain facts in their simple forms, and can understand the cause of events, without hunting for hypothetical springs amid the rocks of Scandinavia or behind the wall of China.—Ed.]

The scarcity of facts,* and the uncertainty of dates,† oppose our attempts to describe the circumstances of the first invasion of Italy by the arms of Alaric. His march, perhaps from Thessalonica, through the warlike and hostile country of Pannonia, as far as the foot of the Julian Alps; his passage of those mountains, which were strongly guarded by troops and intrenchments; the siege of Aquileia, and the conquest of the provinces of Istria and Venetia, appear to have employed a considerable time. Unless his operations were extremely cautious and slow, the length of the interval would suggest a probable suspicion, that the Gothic king retreated towards the banks of the Danube, and reinforced his army with fresh swarms of barbarians, before he again attempted to penetrate into the heart of Italy. Since the public and important events escape the diligence of the historian, he may amuse himself with contemplating, for a moment, the influence of the arms of Alaric on the fortunes of two obscure individuals, a presbyter of Aquileia, and a husbandman of Verona. The learned Rufinus, who was summoned by his enemies to appear before a Roman synod,‡ wisely preferred the

* Our best materials are nine hundred and seventy verses of Claudian, in the poem on the Getic war, and the beginning of that which celebrates the sixth consulship of Honorius. Zosimus is totally silent; and we are reduced to such scraps, or rather crumbs, as we can pick from Orosius and the Chronicles.

† Notwithstanding the gross errors of Jornandes, who confounds the Italian wars of Alaric (c. 29), his date of the consulship of Stilicho and Aurelian (A.D. 400), is firm and respectable. It is certain from Claudian (Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. tom. v, p. 804), that the battle of Pollentia was fought A.D. 403; but we cannot easily fill the interval.

‡ Tantum Romanæ urbis judicium fugis, ut magis obsidionem barbaricam, quam *pacatæ* urbis judicium velis sustinere. (Jerome, tom. ii, p. 239.) Rufinus understood his own danger: the *peaceful* city was inflamed by the beldame Marcella, and the rest of Jerome's faction. [The ecclesiastical ferment of his times often brings Jerome before us, and in no favourable light. He excelled most of the fathers in knowledge of heathen literature. But his piety forbade him to use it, except when it could be employed against an adversary, and then he was unscrupulous in turning it to account. Controversy was the food of his soul, and it nourished in him the acrimonious spirit that pervades his writings. Some Protestants have spoken of him as he merits. Mosheim says: "Jerome's bitterness towards those who differed from him, his eagerness after fame, his cholerick and ungovernable temper, his unjust aspersions on good and innocent persons, and other defects of character, have disgraced him

dangers of a besieged city; and the barbarians, who furiously shook the walls of Aquileia, might save him from the cruel sentence of another heretic, who, at the request of the same bishops, was severely whipped, and condemned to perpetual exile on a desert island.* The *old man*,† who had passed his simple and innocent life in the neighbourhood of Verona, was a stranger to the quarrels both of kings and of bishops; his pleasures, his desires, his knowledge, were confined within the little circle of his paternal farm; and a staff supported his aged steps on the same ground where he had sported in his infancy. Yet even this humble and rustic felicity (which Claudian describes with so much truth and feeling) was still exposed to the

not a little in the view of those who are neither uncandid nor incompetent judges." (Institutes of Ecc. Hist. vol. i, p. 336.) These very qualities, however, combined as they were with talent and acquisitions, recommended him to the hierarchy; and he was their most efficient instrument in exciting that rancorous hostility, through which "all who looked with disgust on the progress of superstition, and opposed the general current, had no other reward for their labours, than to be branded with infamy." (Ib. p. 333.) Two of these victims were Rufinus and Jovinian. The former had been an early and intimate friend of his subsequent reviler. But all such bonds were cancelled by the inexpiable hardihood of independent opinion. Mosheim says (ib. p. 340): "Rufinus would have held no contemptible rank among the Latin writers of the fourth century, had it not been his misfortune to have the powerful and foul-mouthed Jerome for his adversary." Both he and Jovinian were guilty also of the heinous sin of fortifying their objections to the growing abuses by the authority of Origen, who, notwithstanding his eminent services, was denounced as a heretic, now that the hierarchy had got all that it could from philosophy, and dreaded its farther interference. The synod of Rome, under the ostentatious Damasus, and the council of Milan, under the artfully arrogant Ambrose, condemned the suspicious doctrines; and imperial decrees punished their advocates. Rufinus escaped from his persecutors; but Jovinian, less fortunate, was deemed unworthy of communion with society, and exiled to the island of Boa. Of these violent measures, Jerome, by his wrathful declamations, was the chief instigator.—Ed.] * Jovinian, the enemy of fasts and of celibacy, who was persecuted and insulted by the furious Jerome. (Jortin's Remarks, vol. iv, p. 104, &c.) See the original edict of banishment in the Theodosian Code, lib. 16, tit. 5, leg. 43. † This epigram (de Senec Veronensi qui suburbium nusquam egressus est) is one of the earliest and most pleasing compositions of Claudian. Cowley's imitation (Hurd's edition, vol. ii, p. 241) has some natural and happy strokes: but it is much inferior to the original portrait, which is evidently drawn from the life.

undistinguished rage of war. His trees, his old *contemporary* trees,* must blaze in the conflagration of the whole country; a detachment of Gothic cavalry might sweep away his cottage and his family; and the power of Alaric could destroy this happiness, which he was not able either to taste or to bestow. "Fame (says the poet), encircling with terror her gloomy wings, proclaimed the march of the barbarian army, and filled Italy with consternation:" the apprehensions of each individual were increased in just proportion to the measure of his fortune; and the most timid, who had already embarked their valuable effects, meditated their escape to the island of Sicily, or the African coast. The public distress was aggravated by the fears and reproaches of superstition.† Every hour produced some horrid tale of strange and portentous accidents: the Pagans deplored the neglect of omens, and the interruption of sacrifices: but the Christians still derived some comfort from the powerful intercession of the saints and martyrs.‡

The emperor Honorius was distinguished above his subjects, by the pre-eminence of fear, as well as of rank. The pride and luxury in which he was educated, had not allowed him to suspect, that there existed on the earth any power presumptuous enough to invade the repose of the successor of Augustus. The arts of flattery concealed the impending danger, till Alaric approached the palace of Milan. But when the sound of war had awakened the young emperor, instead of flying to arms with the spirit, or even the rashness of his age, he eagerly listened to those timid counsellors, who proposed to convey his sacred person, and his faithful attendants, to some secure and distant station in the provinces of Gaul. Stilicho alone§ had courage and autho-

* *Ingentem meminit parvo qui germine quercum,
Æquævumque videt consenuisse nemus.*

A neighbouring wood born with himself he sees,
And loves his old contemporary trees.

In this passage, Cowley is perhaps superior to his original; and the English poet, who was a good botanist, has concealed the *oaks* under a more general expression.

† Claudian de Bell. Get. 192—256. He may seem prolix: but fear and superstition occupied as large a space in the minds of the Italians.

‡ From the passages of Paulinus, which Baronius has produced (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 403, No. 51), it is manifest, that the general alarm had pervaded all Italy as far as Nola in Campania, where that famous penitent had fixed his abode.

§ Solus erat Stilicho, &c. is the exclusive commen-

city to resist this disgraceful measure, which would have abandoned Rome and Italy to the barbarians; but as the troops of the palace had been lately detached to the Rhetian frontier, and as the resource of new levies was slow and precarious, the general of the west could only promise, that, if the court of Milan would maintain their ground during his absence, he would soon return with an army equal to the encounter of the Gothic king. Without losing a moment (while each moment was so important to the public safety), Stilicho hastily embarked on the Larian lake, ascended the mountains of ice and snow amidst the severity of an Alpine winter, and suddenly repressed, by his unexpected presence, the enemy, who had disturbed the tranquillity of Rhetia.* The barbarians, perhaps some tribes of the Allemanni, respected the firmness of a chief who still assumed the language of command; and the choice which he condescended to make, of a select number of their bravest youth; was considered as a mark of his esteem and favour. The cohorts, who were delivered from the neighbouring foe, diligently repaired to the imperial standard; and Stilicho issued his orders to the most remote troops of the west, to advance, by rapid marches, to the defence of Honorius and of Italy. The fortresses of the Rhine were abandoned; and the safety of Gaul was protected only by the faith of the Germans, and the ancient terror of the Roman name. Even the legion which had been stationed to guard the wall of Britain

dation which Claudian bestows (de Bell. Get. 267), without condescending to except the emperor. How insignificant must Honorius have appeared in his own court!

* The face of the country, and the hardness of Stilicho, are finely described (de Bell. Get. 340—363). [The Lacus Larius of the Romans (Malte Brun, tom. vii, p. 625) is now the Lago di Como, and the district in which it lies was part of Gallia Cisalpina. The Celtic word *Lar*, which denoted an evenly spread surface, was probably the origin of the name. Livy (lib. 5, c. 34, 35) and Justin (lib. 20, c. 5) mention numerous towns, founded by Gauls, in the north of Italy and along the Adriatic, as far as Ancona, where, according to Pomponius Mela (lib. 2, c. 4), was the boundary line between the Latin and Gallic nations. Probably it ran along the river *Æsis*, which there falls into the sea, and at the mouth of which stood Camerta, where the Gauls sustained a defeat from the Romans. (Polybius, l. 2, c. 19.) When modern travellers, therefore, find a Celtic dialect still spoken in some villages of Lombardy, it is very unnecessary for them to suppose the peasants to be descended from some straggling Cimbri, who settled there after their dispersion by Marius.—ED.]

against the Caledonians of the north, was hastily recalled; and a numerous body of the cavalry of the Alani was persuaded to engage in the service of the emperor, who anxiously expected the return of his general. The prudence and vigour of Stilicho were conspicuous on this occasion, which revealed at the same time, the weakness of the falling empire. The legions of Rome, which had long since languished in the gradual decay of discipline and courage, were exterminated by the Gothic and civil wars; and it was found impossible, without exhausting and exposing the provinces, to assemble an army for the defence of Italy.

When Stilicho seemed to abandon his sovereign in the anguished palace of Milan, he had probably calculated the term of his absence, the distance of the enemy, and the obstacles that might retard their march. He principally depended on the rivers of Italy, the Adige, the Mincius, the Oglio, and the Addua; which, in the winter or spring, by the fall of rains, or by the melting of the snows, are commonly swelled into broad and impetuous torrents.† But the season happened to be remarkably dry; and the Goths could traverse, without impediment, the wide and stony beds, whose centre was faintly marked by the course of a shallow stream. The bridge and passage of the Addua were secured by a strong detachment of the Gothic army; and as Alaric approached the walls, or rather the suburbs, of Milan, he enjoyed the proud satisfaction of seeing the emperor of the Romans fly before him. Honorius, accompanied by a feeble train of statesmen and eunuchs, hastily retreated towards the Alps, with a design of securing his person in the city of Arles, which had often been the royal

* Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannia
Quæ Scoto dat frena truci.

De Bell. Get. 416.

Yet the most rapid march from Edinburgh or Newcastle, to Milan, must have required a longer space of time than Claudian seems willing to allow for the duration of the Gothic war.

† Every traveller must recollect the face of Lombardy (see Fontenelle, tom. v, p. 279), which is often tormented by the capricious and irregular abundance of waters. The Austrians, before Genoa, were encamped in the dry bed of the Polcevera. "Ne sarebbe (says Muratori) mai passato per mente a que' buoni Allemanni, che quel picciolo torrente potesse, per così dire, in un instante cangiarsi in un terribil gigante." (Annal. d'Italia, tom. xvi, p. 443. Milan, 1753, 8vo. edit.) [Gibbon has been somewhat irregular in his nomenclature of these

BESIEGED BY THE GOTHS.

A.D. 403.]

residence of his predecessors. But Honorius* had scarcely passed the Po, before he was overtaken by the speed of the Gothic cavalry;† since the urgency of the danger compelled him to seek a temporary shelter within the fortifications of Asta, a town of Liguria or Piedmont, situate on the banks of the Tanarus.‡ The siege of an obscure place, which contained so rich a prize, and seemed incapable of a long resistance, was instantly formed, and indefatigably pressed, by the king of the Goths; and the bold declaration, which the emperor might afterwards make, that his breast had never been susceptible of fear, did not probably obtain much credit, even in his own court.§ In the last, and almost hopeless extremity, after the barbarians had already pro-

ceeded, in two instances adopting the ancient names and in two the modern; he ought to have employed, with consistent uniformity, either the one or the other throughout. The Adige was formerly called Athesis, and the Oglio the Ollius; the Mincius is now the Mincio, and the Addua the Adda.—Ed.]

* Claudian does not clearly answer our question, Where was Honorius himself? Yet the flight is marked by the pursuit: and my idea of the Gothic war is justified by the Italian critics, Sigonius, tom. i. p. 2, p. 369, de Imp. Occident. lib. 10), and Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. iv, p. 45). [Dean Milman directs attention to the very different account given of these transactions by Lebeau, in his "Histoire du Bas Empire." Honorius is there represented as not quitting Milan; and Stilicho as deceiving Alaric by a false treaty, in order to make a treacherous attack upon him, the result of which was doubtful. Lebeau does not rank high as an historian even with his own countrymen. He therefore never mentions Asti, although Claudian would have made himself ridiculous, by connecting with Polleutia, the "mœnia vindicia Astæ," if nothing had occurred there; nor does he consider, that Alaric's retreat from Italy was a decisive proof of discomfiture.—Ed.]

† One of the roads may be traced in the itineraries (p. 98, 288, 294, with Wesseling's Notes). Asta lay some miles on the right hand.

‡ Asta, or Asti, a Roman colony, is now the capital of a pleasant country, which in the sixteenth century, devolved to the dukes of Savoy. (Leandro Alberti, Descrizione d'Italia, p. 382.)

§ Nec me timor impulit ullus. He might hold this proud language, the next year at Rome, five hundred miles from the scene of danger. (6 Cons. Hon. 449.)

posed the indignity of a capitulation, the imperial captive was suddenly relieved by the fame, the approach, and at length the presence, of the hero, whom he had so long expected. At the head of a chosen and intrepid vanguard, Stilicho swam the stream of the Addua, to gain the time which he must have lost in the attack of the bridge; the passage of the Po was an enterprise of much less hazard and difficulty; and the successful action, in which he cut his way through the Gothic camp under the walls of Asta, revived the hopes, and vindicated the honour, of Rome. Instead of grasping the fruit of his victory, the barbarian was gradually invested, on every side, by the troops of the west, who successively issued through all the passes of the Alps; his quarters were straitened; his convoys were intercepted; and the vigilance of the Romans prepared to form a chain of fortifications, and to besiege the lines of the besiegers. A military council was assembled of the long-haired chiefs of the Gothic nation; of aged warriors, whose bodies were wrapped in furs, and whose stern countenances were marked with honourable wounds. They weighed the glory of persisting in their attempt against the advantage of securing their plunder; and they recommended the prudent measure of a seasonable retreat. In this important debate Alaric displayed the spirit of the conqueror of Rome; and after he had reminded his countrymen of their achievements and of their designs, he concluded his animating speech by the solemn and positive assurance, that he was resolved to find in Italy either a kingdom, or a grave.*

The loose discipline of the barbarians always exposed them to the danger of surprise; but instead of choosing the dissolute hours of riot and intemperance, Stilicho resolved to attack the *Christian* Goths, whilst they were devoutly employed in celebrating the festival of Easter.† The execution of the stratagem, or, as it was termed by the clergy,

* Hanc ego vel victor regno, vel morte tenebo
Victus, humum ———

The speeches (de Bell. Get. 479—549) of the Gothic Nestor and Achilles are strong, characteristic, adapted to the circumstances, and possibly not less genuine than those of Livy.

† Orosius (lib. 7, c. 37) is shocked at the impiety of the Romans, who attacked, on Easter Sunday, such pious Christians. Yet, at the same time, public prayers were offered at the shrine of St. Thomas of Edessa, for the destruction of the Arian robber. See Tillemont (Hist. les Emp. tom. v, p. 529),

BATTLE OF POLLENTIA.

A.D. 403.]

of the sacrilege, was intrusted to Saul, a barbarian and a Pagan, who had served, however, with distinguished reputation, among the veteran generals of Theodosius. The camp of the Goths, which Alaric had pitched in the neighbourhood of Pollentia,* was thrown into confusion by the sudden and impetuous charge of the imperial cavalry; but, in a few moments, the undaunted genius of their leader gave them an order and a field of battle; and as soon as they had recovered from their astonishment, the pious confidence that the God of the Christians would assert their cause, added new strength to their native valour. In this engagement, which was long maintained with equal courage and success, the chief of the Alani, whose diminutive and savage form concealed a magnanimous soul, appeared his suspected loyalty, by the zeal with which he fought and fell in the service of the republic; and the fame of this gallant barbarian has been imperfectly preserved in the verses of Claudian, since the poet, who celebrates his virtue, has omitted the mention of his name. His death was followed by the flight and dismay of the squadrons which he commanded; and the defeat of the wing of cavalry might have decided the victory of Alaric, if Stilicho had not immediately led the Roman and barbarian infantry to the attack. The skill of the general, and the bravery of the soldiers, surmounted every obstacle. In the evening of the bloody day, the Goths retreated from the field of battle; the intrenchments of their camp were forced, and the scene of rapine and slaughter made some atonement for the calamities which they had inflicted on the subjects of the empire.† The magnificent spoils of Corinth and Argos enriched the veterans of the west; the captive wife of Alaric, who had impatiently claimed his promise of Roman

who quotes a homily, which has been erroneously ascribed to St. Chrysostom.

* The vestiges of Pollentia are twenty-five miles to the south-east of Turin. *Urbs*, in the same neighbourhood, was a royal chase of the kings of Lombardy, and a small river, which excused the prediction, "penetrabis ad urbem." (Cluver. Ital. Antiq. tom. i. p. 83—85.)

† Orosius wishes, in doubtful words, to insinuate the defeat of the Romans. "Pugnantes vicimus, victores victi sumus." Prosper (in Chron.) makes it an equal and bloody battle; but the Gothic writers, Cassiodorus (in Chron.) and Jornandes (de Reb. Get. c. 29) claim a decisive victory.

jewels and patrician handmaids,* was reduced to implore the mercy of the insulting foe; and many thousand prisoners, released from the Gothic chains, dispersed through the provinces of Italy the praises of their heroic deliverer. The triumph of Stilicho† was compared by the poet, and perhaps by the public, to that of Marius; who, in the same part of Italy, had encountered and destroyed another army of northern barbarians. The huge bones, and the empty helmets of the Cimbri and of the Goths, would easily be confounded by succeeding generations; and posterity might erect a common trophy to the memory of the two most illustrious generals, who had vanquished, on the same memorable ground, the two most formidable enemies of Rome.‡

The eloquence of Claudian§ has celebrated, with lavish applause, the victory of Pollentia, one of the most glorious days in the life of his patron; but his reluctant and partial muse bestows more genuine praise on the character of the Gothic king. His name is indeed branded with the reproachful epithets of pirate and robber, to which the conquerors of every age are so justly entitled; but the poet of Stilicho is compelled to acknowledge that Alaric possessed the invincible temper of mind which rises superior to every misfortune, and derives new resources from adversity. After the total defeat of his infantry, he escaped, or rather withdrew from the field of battle, with the greatest part of his cavalry entire and unbroken. Without wasting

* *Demens Ausonidum gemmata monilia matrum,
Romanasque altâ famulas cervice petebat.*

De Bell. Get. 627.

† Claudian (de Bell. Get. 580—647) and Prudentius (in Symmach. lib. 2, 694—719) celebrate, without ambiguity, the Roman victory of Pollentia. They are poetical and party writers; yet some credit is due to the most suspicious witnesses, who are checked by the recent notoriety of facts.

‡ Claudian's peroration is strong and elegant; but the identity of the Cimbric and Gothic fields must be understood (like Virgil's Philippi, Georgic 1, 490) according to the loose geography of a poet. Vercellæ and Pollentia are sixty miles from each other; and the latitude is still greater, if the Cimbri were defeated in the wide and barren plain of Verona. (Maffei, Verona Illustrata, p. 1, 54—62.)

§ Claudian and Prudentius must be strictly examined, to reduce the figures and extort the historic sense of those poets.

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a moment to lament the irreparable loss of so many brave companions, he left his victorious enemy to bind in chains the captive images of a Gothic king; * and boldly resolved to break through the unguarded passes of the Apennine, to spread desolation over the fruitful face of Tuscany, and to conquer or die before the gates of Rome. The capital was saved by the active and incessant diligence of Stilicho: but he respected the despair of his enemy; and, instead of committing the fate of the republic to the chance of another battle, he proposed to purchase the absence of the barbarians. The spirit of Alaric would have rejected such terms, the permission of a retreat, and the offer of a pension, with contempt and indignation; but he exercised a limited and precarious authority over the independent chieftains, who had raised him, for *their* service, above the rank of his equals: they were still less disposed to follow an unsuccessful general, and many of them were tempted to consult their interests, by a private negotiation with the minister of Honorius. The king submitted to the voice of his people, ratified the treaty with the empire of the west, and repassed the Po, with the remains of the flourishing army which he had led into Italy. A considerable part of the Roman forces still continued to attend his motions; and Stilicho, who maintained a secret correspondence with some of the barbarian chiefs, was punctually apprized of the designs that were formed in the camp and council of Alaric. The king of the Goths, ambitious to signalize his retreat by some splendid achievement, had resolved to occupy the important city of Verona, which commands the principal passage of the Rhetian Alps; and, directing his march

* Et gravant en airain ses frères avantages
Do mes états conquis enchaîner les images.

The practice of exposing in triumph the images of kings and provinces was familiar to the Romans. The bust of Mithridates himself was twelve feet high, of massy gold. (Frcinshem. Supplement. Livian. 103, 47.) [Racine's purpose seems rather to have been, after having described a Roman triumphal procession, to connect with it in these two lines, the custom of recording victories by coins, on which chained or bound captives represented conquered states. These occur very frequently. This very defeat of the Goths was so commemorated, as will be seen in Eckhel, who describes a coin of Honorius, bearing the inscription TRIUMFATOR GENT. BARB. with a figure of this feeble and unwarlike emperor, standing in military attire and *juxta captivum*. Num. Vet. vol. viii, p. 173.—ED.]

through the territories of those German tribes, whose alliance would restore his exhausted strength, to invade, on the side of the Rhine, the wealthy and unsuspecting provinces of Gaul. Ignorant of the treason which had already betrayed his bold and judicious enterprise, he advanced towards the passes of the mountains, already possessed by the imperial troops; where he was exposed, almost at the same instant, to a general attack in the front, on his flanks, and in the rear. In this bloody action, at a small distance from the walls of Verona, the loss of the Goths was not less heavy than that which they had sustained in the defeat of Pollentia; and their valiant king, who escaped by the swiftness of his horse, must either have been slain or made prisoner, if the hasty rashness of the Alani had not disappointed the measures of the Roman general. Alaric secured the remains of his army on the adjacent rocks; and prepared himself, with undaunted resolution, to maintain a siege against the superior numbers of the enemy, who invested him on all sides. But he could not oppose the destructive progress of hunger and disease; nor was it possible for him to check the continual desertion of his impatient and capricious barbarians. In this extremity, he still found resources in his own courage, or in the moderation of his adversary; and the retreat of the Gothic king was considered as the deliverance of Italy.* Yet the people, and even the clergy, incapable of forming any rational judgment of the business of peace and war, presumed to arraign the policy of Stilicho, who so often vanquished, so often surrounded, and so often dismissed, the implacable enemy of the republic. The first moment of the public safety is devoted to gratitude and joy; but the second is diligently occupied by envy and calumny.†

The citizens of Rome had been astonished by the approach of Alaric; and the diligence with which they laboured to restore the walls of the capital, confessed their own fears, and the decline of the empire. After the retreat of the barbarians, Honorius was directed to accept the dutiful invitation of the senate, and to celebrate, in the imperial

* The Getic war and the sixth consulship of Honorius, obscurely connect the events of Alaric's retreat and losses.

† *Taceo de Alarico . . . sæpe victo, sæpe concluso, semperque dimisso.* Orosius, lib. 7, c. 37, p. 567. Claudian (6 Cons. Hon. 326)

HONORIUS AT ROME.

A.D. 404.]

city, the auspicious era of the Gothic victory, and of his sixth consulship.* The suburbs and the streets, from the Milvian bridge to the Palatine mount, were filled by the Roman people, who, in the space of a hundred years, had only thrice been honoured with the presence of their sovereigns. While their eyes were fixed on the chariot where Stilicho was deservedly seated by the side of his royal pupil, they applauded the pomp of a triumph, which was not stained, like that of Constantine or of Theodosius, with civil blood. The procession passed under a lofty arch, which had been purposely erected; but in less than seven years, the Gothic conquerors of Rome might read, if they were able to read, the superb inscription of that monument, which attested the total defeat and destruction of their nation.† The emperor resided several months in the capital, and every part of his behaviour was regulated with care to conciliate the affection of the clergy, the senate, and the people of Rome. The clergy was edified by his frequent visits, and liberal gifts, to the shrines of the apostles. The senate, who in the triumphal procession, had been excused from the humiliating ceremony of preceding on foot the imperial chariot, was treated with the decent reverence which Stilicho always affected for that assembly. The people were repeatedly gratified by the attention and

drops the curtain with a fine image.

* The remainder of Claudian's poem on the sixth consulship of Honorius describes the journey, the triumph, and the games. (360—660.)

† See the inscription in Masco's History of the Ancient Germans, 8, 12. The words are positive and indiscreet, *Getarum nationem in omne ævum domitam, &c.* [This ridiculous display of the magnificent exaggeration in which the ancients indulged, proves how little even public memorials or official announcements can be accepted as literal exponents of fact. It warns us likewise against the same habit in writers. Success and disasters were alike magnified, and numbers multiplied or diminished; an army said to be annihilated or a people blotted out from the face of the earth, in a few years come forth again, in their turn to destroy their destroyers. When the Goths became such mis-statements by subsequent events. We may learn to interpret masters of Rome they allowed this vapouring boast of their subjugation to remain undisturbed; they were satisfied to refute it by their presence. The arch of Honorius "was still standing in the fourteenth century, when, alas! it was demolished." Niebuhr (Lectures, vol. iii, p. 303) adds farther; "There exists another monument of that time, in an inscription on the Porta S. Lorenzo, where may be traced the name of Stilicho, who restored the walls, "ægestis immensis ruderibus."—Ed.]

courtesy of Honorius in the public games, which were celebrated on that occasion with a magnificence not unworthy of the spectator. As soon as the appointed number of chariot-races was concluded, the decoration of the circus was suddenly changed; the hunting of wild beasts afforded a various and splendid entertainment; and the chase was succeeded by a military dance, which seems, in the lively description of Claudian, to present the image of a modern tournament.

In these games of Honorius, the inhuman combats of gladiators* polluted, for the last time, the amphitheatre of Rome. The first Christian emperor may claim the honour of the first edict, which condemned the art and amusement of shedding human blood;† but this benevolent law expressed the wishes of the prince, without reforming an inveterate abuse, which degraded a civilized nation below the condition of savage cannibals. Several hundred, perhaps several thousand, victims were annually slaughtered in the great cities of the empire; and the month of December, more peculiarly devoted to the combats of gladiators, still exhibited, to the eyes of the Roman people, a grateful spectacle of blood and cruelty. Amidst the general joy of the victory of Pollentia, a Christian poet exhorted the emperor to extirpate, by his authority, the horrid custom which had so long resisted the voice of humanity and religion.‡ The pathetic representations of Prudentius were less effectual than the generous boldness of Telemachus, an Asiatic monk, whose death was more useful to mankind than his life.§ The Romans were provoked by the interruption of their pleasures; and the rash monk, who had descended into the arena, to separate the gladiators, was

* On the curious though horrid subject of the gladiators, consult the two books of the *Saturnalia* of Lipsius, who, as an *antiquarian*, is inclined to excuse the practice of *antiquity*. (Tom. iii, p. 483—545.)

† Cod. Theodos. lib. 15, tit. 12, leg. 1. The commentary of Godefroy affords large materials (tom. v, p. 396) for the history of gladiators.

‡ See the peroration of Prudentius (in Symmach. lib. 2, 1121—1131), who had doubtless read the eloquent invective of Lactantius. (Divin. Institut. lib. 6: c. 20.) The Christian apologists have not spared these bloody games, which were introduced in the religious festivals of Paganism.

§ Theodoret, lib. 5. c. 26. -I wish to believe the story of St. Telemachus. Yet no church has been dedicated, no altar has been erected, to the only monk who died a martyr in the cause of

overwhelmed under a shower of stones. But the madness of the people soon subsided; they respected the memory of Telemachus, who had deserved the honours of martyrdom; and they submitted, without a murmur, to the laws of Honorius, which abolished for ever the human sacrifices of the amphitheatre. The citizens, who adhered to the manners of their ancestors, might perhaps insinuate, that the last remains of a martial spirit were preserved in this school of fortitude, which accustomed the Romans to the sight of blood, and to the contempt of death: a vain and cruel prejudice, so nobly confuted by the valour of ancient Greece, and of modern Europe.*

The recent danger to which the person of the emperor had been exposed in the defenceless palace of Milan, urged him to seek a retreat in some inaccessible fortress of Italy, where he might securely remain, while the open country was covered by a deluge of barbarians. On the coast of the Adriatic, about ten or twelve miles from the most southern of the seven mouths of the Po, the Thessalians had founded the ancient colony of RAVENNA,† which they afterwards resigned to the natives of Umbria. Augustus, who had observed the opportunity of the place, prepared, humanity.

* *Crudele gladiatorum spectaculum et inhumanum nonnullis videri solet, et haud scio an ita sit, ut nunc fit.* (Cicero Tuseulan. 2, 17.) -He faintly censures the *abuse* and warmly defends the *use*, of these sports; oculis nulla poterat esse fortior contra dolorem et mortem disciplina. Seneca (epist. 7) shews the feelings of a man. [The vanity of the prejudice is no less seen in the fact, that the courage had long departed, while the custom which was said to cherish it was still maintained. There is no darker blot on the character of the Roman people, than this fondness for gladiatorial combats. Instead of inspiring fortitude and valour, it taught them ferocity and murder. While the Greeks were more heroically brave they were also less vengefully cruel; in their domestic revolutions, no "enses conditi" were drawn forth by assendant factions, to perpetrate relentless carnage. The reforming influence of Christianity is little manifested here. In four hundred years it had not been able to repress this horrid barbarity. Yet in that period its *teachers* erected a fabric of dominion, which demanded far greater labour and a more earnest application. Had they been as intent on subduing bad passions, as they were on subjugating manly intellect, priests would have imbued their disciples with abhorrence of the bloody practice, and bishops would have extorted from emperors its earlier abrogation.—Ed.]

† This account of Ravenna is drawn from Strabo (lib. 5, p. 327) Pliny (3, 20), Stephen of Byzantium, (sub voce 'Ράβεννα, p. 651, edition Berkel.) Claudian (in 6 Cons. Honor. 494, &c.), Sidonius,

at the distance of three miles from the old town, a capacious harbour, for the reception of two hundred and fifty ships of war. This naval establishment, which included the arsenals and magazines, the barracks of the troops, and the houses of the artificers, derived its origin and name from the permanent station of the Roman fleet; the intermediate space was soon filled with buildings and inhabitants, and the three extensive and populous quarters of Ravenna gradually contributed to form one of the most important cities of Italy. The principal canal of Augustus poured a copious stream of the waters of the Po through the midst of the city, to the entrance of the harbour; the same waters were introduced into the profound ditches that encompassed the walls; they were distributed by a thousand subordinate canals, into every part of the city, which they divided into a variety of small islands; the communication was maintained only by the use of boats and bridges; and the houses of Ravenna, whose appearance may be compared to that of Venice, were raised on the foundation of wooden piles. The adjacent country, to the distance of many miles, was a deep and impassable morass; and the artificial causeway, which connected Ravenna with the continent, might be easily guarded, or destroyed, on the approach of a hostile army. These morasses were interspersed, however, with vineyards; and though the soil was exhausted by four or five crops, the town enjoyed a more plentiful supply of wine than of fresh water.* The air, instead of receiving the sickly and almost pestilential exhalations of low and marshy grounds, was distinguished, like the neighbourhood of Alexandria, as uncommonly pure and salubrious; and this singular advantage was ascribed to the regular tides of the Hadriatic, which swept the canals, interrupted the unwholesome stagnation of the waters, and floated, every day, the vessels of the adjacent country into the heart of Ravenna. The gradual retreat of the sea has left the modern

Apollinaris (lib. 1. epist. 5, 8), Jornandes (de Reb. Get. c. 29), Procopius (de Bell. Gothic. lib. 1, c. 1, p. 309. edit. Louvre), and Cluverius (Ital. Antiq. tom. i, p. 301—307). Yet I still want a local antiquarian, and a good topographical map.

* Martial (epigram 3, 56, 57) plays on the trick of the knave, who had sold him wine instead of water; but he seriously declares that a cistern at Ravenna is more valuable than a vineyard. Sidonius complains that the town is destitute of fountains and aqueducts; and ranks the want of fresh

city at the distance of four miles from the Hadriatic; and as early as the fifth or sixth century of the Christian era, the port of Augustus was converted into pleasant orchards; and a lonely grove of pines covered the ground where the Roman fleet once rode at anchor.* Even this alteration contributed to increase the natural strength of the place; and the shallowness of the water was a sufficient barrier against the large ships of the enemy. This advantageous situation was fortified by art and labour; and in the twentieth year of his age, the emperor of the west, anxious only for his personal safety, retired to the perpetual confinement of the walls and morasses of Ravenna. The example of Honorius was imitated by his feeble successors, the Gothic kings, and afterwards the exarchs, who occupied the throne and palace of the emperors; and, till the middle of the eighth century, Ravenna was considered as the scat of government, and the capital of Italy.†

water among the local evils, such as the croaking of frogs, the stinging of gnats, &c.

* The fable of Theodore and Honoria, which Dryden has so admirably transplanted from Boccaccio (*Giornata 3, novell. 8*), was acted in the wood of *Chiassi*, a corrupt word from *Classis*, the naval station, which, with the intermediate road or suburb, the *Via Casaris*, constituted the triple city of Ravenna. [The *Classes* of Servius Tullius (*Livy*, lib. 1, c. 43) were the called or selected portions of the people (*κλησεις ἀ καλαιν*), arranged according to their respective degrees of property. Niebuhr, in his *Lectures* (vol. i, p. 171), affords much information on this subject. These *Classes* constituted the original Roman army, and thus the word was used to denote military bodies. When the Romans had learned to fight on the sea, they extended it to their fleets, to which it was soon so exclusively applied that its first meaning came into disuse. In constructing the harbour and marine station of Ravenna, Augustus was probably not so much influenced by its local capabilities as by its vicinity to the coast of the *Liburni*, where, as already stated, his favourite vessels were built, and his most expert seamen trained. Nor is it certain that the salubrity of the place was ascribable to the daily ebb and flow of the sea, which swept the canals and interrupted the unwholesome stagnation of the waters." The tidal swell in the Mediterranean is so small that some have doubted it altogether. Gibbon himself observes (c. 35), that "the Hadriatic feebly imitates the tides of the ocean." But a south-east wind, "dux inquieti turbidus Hadriæ," propels the waves before it and causes the level of the gulf to rise, especially at its northern extremity. This subsides when the wind takes a different direction. Thus, the ever-shifting currents of the air, and their various degrees of violence, produce, but at more irregular intervals, changes analogous to those of the tides.—Ed.]

† From the year 404, the dates of the Theodosian Code become

The fears of Honorius were not without foundation, nor were his precautions without effect. While Italy rejoiced in her deliverance from the Goths, a furious tempest was excited among the nations of Germany, who yielded to the irresistible impulse that appears to have been gradually communicated from the eastern extremity of the continent of Asia. The Chinese annals, as they have been interpreted by the learned industry of the present age, may be usefully applied to reveal the secret and remote causes of the fall of the Roman empire. The extensive territory to the north of the great wall, was possessed, after the flight of the Huns, by the victorious Siempi; who were sometimes broken into independent tribes, and sometimes reunited under a supreme chief; till at length, styling themselves *Topa*, or masters of the earth, they acquired a more solid consistence, and a more formidable power. The *Topa* soon compelled the pastoral nations of the eastern desert to acknowledge the superiority of their arms; they invaded China in a period of weakness and intestine discord; and these fortunate Tartars, adopting the laws and manners of the vanquished people, founded an imperial dynasty, which reigned near one hundred and sixty years over the northern provinces of the monarchy. Some generations before they ascended the throne of China, one of the *Topa* princes had enlisted in his cavalry a slave of the name of Moko, renowned for his valour; but who was tempted by the fear of punishment, to desert his standard, and to range the desert at the head of a hundred followers. This gang of robbers and outlaws swelled into a camp, a tribe, a numerous people distinguished by the appellation of *Geougen*; and their hereditary chieftains, the posterity of Moko the slave, assumed their rank among the Scythian monarchs. The youth of Toulun, the greatest of his descendants, was exercised by those misfortunes which are the school of heroes. He bravely struggled with adversity, broke the imperious yoke of the *Topa*, and became the legislator of his nation, and the conqueror of Tartary. His troops were distributed into regular bands of a hundred and of a thousand men; cowards were stoned to death; the most splendid honours were proposed as the reward of valour; and Toulun, who sedentary at Constantinople and Ravenna. See Godefroy's Chronology of the Laws, tom. i, p. 148, &c.

had knowledge enough to despise the learning of China, adopted only such arts and institutions as were favourable to the military spirit of his government. His tents, which he removed in the winter season to a more southern latitude, were pitched, during the summer, on the fruitful banks of the Selinga. His conquests stretched from Corea far beyond the river Irtysh. He vanquished, in the country to the north of the Caspian sea, the nation of the *Huns*; and the new title of *Khan*, or *Cagan*, expressed the fame and power which he derived from this memorable victory.*

The chain of events is interrupted, or rather is concealed, as it passes from the Volga to the Vistula, through the dark interval which separates the extreme limits of the Chinese, and of the Roman geography. Yet the temper of the barbarians, and the experience of successive emigrations, sufficiently declare, that the Huns, who were oppressed by the arms of the Geougen, soon withdrew from the presence of an insulting victor. The countries towards the Euxine were already occupied by their kindred tribes; and their hasty flight, which they soon converted into a bold attack, would more naturally be directed towards the rich and level plains, through which the Vistula gently flows into the Baltic sea. The north must again have been alarmed and agitated by the invasion of the Huns; and the nations who retreated before them, must have pressed with incumbent weight on the confines of Germany.† The inhabitants of those regions, which the ancients have assigned to the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Burgundians, might embrace

* Sec M. de Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. i, p. 179—189, tom. ii, p. 295, 334—338. [The remarks in a former note (ch. 26), on the discredit into which the hypothesis of M. de Guignes has fallen, are equally applicable here. It may be dismissed without regret, for all the barbarian assailants of the Roman empire were moved by such natural impulses, that remote and extraordinary causes of agitation are totally unneeded.—Ed.]

† Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. lib. 1, c. 3, p. 182) has observed an emigration from the Palus Mæotis to the north of Germany, which he ascribes to famine. But his views of ancient history are strangely darkened by ignorance and error. [Procopius is not singular in this defect. There is not one ancient writer, in whom we can place implicit confidence on these subjects. The Palus Mæotis is marked both geographically and historically, as a point for the divergence of migratory currents; we therefore find a succession of various races there and much confusion in their designations. It was the seat of early fable and source of later error, out of which truthful hints may

the resolution of abandoning, to the fugitives of Sarmatia, their woods and morasses; or at least of discharging their superfluous numbers on the provinces of the Roman empire.* About four years after the victorious Toulun had assumed the title of Khan of the Geougen, another barbarian, the haughty Rhadagast, or Radagaisus,† marched from the

nevertheless sometimes be extracted.—Ed.]

* Zosimus (l. 5, p. 331) uses the general description of the nations beyond the Danube and the Rhine. Their situation, and consequently their names, are manifestly shewn, even in the various epithets which each ancient writer may have casually added.

† The name of Rhadagast was that of a local deity of the Obotrites (in Mecklenburgh). A hero might naturally assume the appellation of his tutelary god; but it is not probable that the barbarians should worship an unsuccessful hero. (See Mascou, *Hist. of the Germans*, 8, 14.) [It is not likely that even in those days a barbarian hero should have assumed the name of a deity, or have been himself deified; nor is it likely, that a tribe so remote and unknown as the Obotrites, even if they then existed, which is doubtful, sent forth an invader of Italy. They never appear in history till four hundred years later, when they are mentioned for the first time by Eginhard. (*Vit. et Gest. Car. Mag. c. 15.*) Latin chronicles name them Abotriten or Abodriten, and Adam of Bremen gives a full account of the wars in which they were engaged, from the days of Charlemagne till the beginning of the thirteenth century, when their name was finally extinguished, about a hundred years before that writer's time. His history is carefully epitomized in the *Allgemeine Encyclopädie* (sec. 3, 1er Theil), compiled by the Halle professors, Ersch and Gruber. Between the god of these people and the chieftain Radagaisus there was no connection whatever. If Gibbon had lived a few years later he would have drawn information from better sources than Mascou's History. Shortly before he wrote, a Mecklenburg divine, named Masch, published and dedicated to our queen Charlotte, a princess of his land, his *Mythological Antiquities of the Obotrites* (*Gottesdienstlichen Alterthümer der Obotriten*). An artist named Wogen illustrated the book by engravings of some relics then recently dug up there, on what was supposed to be the site of the ancient temple of Rhethra. Among these a rude idol, on which the name of Radagast is carved, appears to have been the principal object of devotion. But the writer disclaims (p. 52) all idea of confounding with this deity the historical Radagaisus. The latter was evidently no more than a common leader of a promiscuous predatory band, and his name probably Radagast, formed by uniting two words, which frequently occur in the next ages variously combined. Of these the first is decidedly the Gothic *Rada*, to counsel or advise. The second seems to have been nearly allied with the first form of *Geist*, or *spirit*. The reader who connects Adelung's observations on this word (*Wörterbuch*, 2, p. 508) with those on *gar*, *gähren*, and *gähst* (ib. pp. 385, 407, 421) will probably be satisfied that Radagast was a plain Gothic name, appropriate for a chieftain, and meaning a *counsel-agitator*,

northern extremities of Germany almost to the gates of Rome, and left the remains of his army to achieve the destruction of the west. The Vandals, the Suevi, and the Burgundians, formed the strength of this mighty host; but the Alani, who had found an hospitable reception in their new seats, added their active cavalry to the heavy infantry of the Germans; and the Gothic adventurers crowded so eagerly to the standard of Radagaisus, that, by some historians, he has been styled the King of the Goths. Twelve thousand warriors, distinguished above the vulgar by their noble birth or their valiant deeds, glittered in the van; and the whole multitude, which was not less than two hundred thousand fighting men, might be increased by the accession of women, of children, and of slaves, to the amount of four hundred thousand persons. This formidable emigration issued from the same coast of the Baltic which had poured forth the myriads of the Cimbri and Teutones, to assault Rome and Italy in the vigour of the republic. After the departure of those barbarians, their native country, which was marked by the vestiges of their greatness, long ramparts and gigantic moles,† remained, during some ages,

or *more*, or as we should simply express it in one word, a *councillor*.—
Ed.]

* Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 180) uses the Greek word *Ὀπτιμάτοι*; which does not convey any precise idea. I suspect that they were the princes and nobles, with their faithful companions; the knights, with their squires, as they would have been styled some centuries afterwards.

† Tacit. de Moribus Germanorum, c. 37. [Gibbon has here brought together two events, between which there was an interval of more than five hundred years. The passage in Tacitus by which he connects them, is one of the most obscure and ill-comprehended in the pages of a writer, whose admirable treatment of what he understood has given an undue weight to what he has said about things he did not understand. Germany beyond the Elbe was totally unknown to him, and the errors he committed in writing about it, have given rise to endless controversies between the German and Danish antiquaries. These are fully detailed by J. P. Andersend, in his *Vallis Herthæ Dæe et Origines Danicæ* (pp. 52—62). All that was related to Tacitus of “long ramparts and gigantic moles,” was a description of works probably raised on the banks of the Elbe, “in utraque ripa,” by different tribes, for self-protection. The Romans having heard that, at the remotest extremity of the peninsula, some navigators had discovered a “*parva civitas*,” bearing a name resembling that of the Cimbri, which for a few years had been so conspicuous in their annals, concluded that this was a remnant of a great nation, which had constructed these mighty works, and then left their homes “a vast and dreary solitude.” The coast of the Baltic, however, sent

a vast and dreary solitude; till the human species was renewed by the powers of generation, and the vacancy was filled by the influx of new inhabitants. The nations who now usurp an extent of land, which they are unable to cultivate, would soon be assisted by the industrious poverty of their neighbours, if the government of Europe did not protect the claims of dominion and property.

The correspondence of nations was, in that age, so imperfect and precarious, that the revolutions of the north might escape the knowledge of the court of Ravenna, till the dark cloud, which was collected along the coast of the Baltic, burst in thunder upon the banks of the Upper Danube. The emperor of the west, if his ministers disturbed his amusements by the news of the impending danger, was satisfied with being the occasion and the spectator of the war.* The safety of Rome was intrusted to the counsels and the sword of Stilicho; but such was the feeble and exhausted state of the empire, that it was impossible to restore the fortifications of the Danube, or to prevent, by a vigorous effort, the invasion of the Germans.† The hopes

forth neither the Cimbri and Teutones, to be successfully encountered by Marius (see Schlözer's *Nordische Geschichte*, p. 166), nor the followers of Radagast to be routed by Stilicho. The former, as already shewn, were two Celtic and Gothic leagues of tribes, that had been interrupted in their westward course by the arms of the Roman republic, and coalesced to force a passage or obtain settlements in new lands. The second hostile array was composed of bands whom we have seen for ages hovering along the line of demarcation that kept them out of the empire, at some periods striving to burst through, at others battling among themselves. Schmidt (*Geschichte der Deutschen*, 1er Band. p. 150) says, that the army of Radagaisus, or Radagast, was chiefly collected between the Rhine and Danube. All these, allured by the hope of acquiring such booty as Alaric's forces, notwithstanding their reverses, bore away with them, united in a vigorous effort to obtain the prize. On each occasion, we shall find, that within a reasonable distance of the assailed points, hosts sufficient for the purpose could be gathered; and this view accords with prior and posterior facts, by which intermediate doubts and marvels are always best explained.—Ed.]

* ——— Cujus agendi
Spectator vel causa fui.

Claudian, 6 Cons. Hon. 439.

is the modest language of Honorius, in speaking of the Gothic war, which he had seen somewhat nearer. + Zosimus (lib. 5, p. 331) transports the war and the victory of Stilicho, beyond the

of the vigilant minister of Honorius were confined to the defence of Italy. He once more abandoned the provinces, recalled the troops, pressed the new levies, which were rigorously exacted, and pusillanimously eluded; employed the most efficacious means to arrest or allure the deserters; and offered the gift of freedom, and of two pieces of gold, to all the slaves who would enlist.* By these efforts, he painfully collected, from the subjects of a great empire, an army of thirty or forty thousand men, which, in the days of Scipio or Camillus, would have been instantly furnished by the free citizens of the territory of Rome.† The thirty legions of Stilicho were reinforced by a large body of barbarian auxiliaries; the faithful Alani were personally attached to his service; and the troops of Huns and of Goths who marched under the banners of their native princes, Huldin and Sarus, were animated by interest and resentment to oppose the ambition of Radagaisus. The king of the confederate Germans passed, without resistance, the Alps, the Po, and the Apennine; leaving, on one hand, the inaccessible palace of Honorius, securely buried among the marshes of Ravenna; and on the other, the camp of Stilicho, who had fixed his head-quarters at Ticinum, or Pavia, but who seems to have avoided a decisive battle, till he had assembled his distant forces. Many cities of Italy were pillaged or destroyed; and the siege of Florence,‡

Danube, a strange error, which is awkwardly and imperfectly cured, by reading *Ἀρπύον* for *Ιστρον*. (Tillomont, *Hist. des Emp.* tom. v. p. 807.) In good policy, we must use the service of Zosimus, without esteeming or trusting him.

* Codex Theodos. lib. 7, tit. 13, leg. 16. The date of this law (A.D. 406, May 18) satisfies me, as it had done Godefroy (tom. ii, p. 387), of the true year of the invasion of Radagaisus. Tillomont, Pagl, and Muratori, prefer the preceding year; but they are bound by certain obligations of civility and respect to St. Paulinus of Nola. [Clinton satisfactorily fixes the invasion of Radagaisus in 405. (F. R. i, 564.)—ED.] † Soon after Rome had been taken by the Gauls, the senate, on a sudden emergency, armed ten legions, three thousand horse, and forty-two thousand foot; a force which the city could not have sent forth under Augustus (Livy, 7, 25). This declaration may puzzle an antiquary, but it is clearly explained by Montesquieu. ‡ Machiavel has explained, at least as a philosopher, the origin of Florence, which insensibly descended, for the benefit of trade, from the neck of Fæsulæ to the banks of the Arno. (Istoria Fiorentin. toin. i, lib. 2, p. 36. Londra, 1747.) The triumvirs sent a colony to Florence, which, under Tiberius (Tacit. *Annal.* 1, 79), deserved the reputation and

by Radagaisus, is one of the earliest events in the history of that celebrated republic; whose firmness checked and delayed the unskilful fury of the barbarians. The senate and people trembled at their approach within a hundred and eighty miles of Rome; and anxiously compared the danger which they had escaped, with the new perils to which they were exposed. Alaric was a Christian and a soldier, the leader of a disciplined army; who understood the laws of war, who respected the sanctity of treaties, and who had familiarly conversed with the subjects of the empire in the same camps, and the same churches. The savage Radagaisus was a stranger to the manners, the religion, and even the language of the civilized nations of the south. The fierceness of his temper was exasperated by cruel superstition; and it was universally believed, that he had bound himself, by a solemn vow, to reduce the city into a heap of stones and ashes, and to sacrifice the most illustrious of the Roman senators on the altars of those gods who were appeased by human blood. The public danger, which should have reconciled all domestic animosities, displayed the incurable madness of religious faction. The oppressed votaries of Jupiter and Mercury respected, in the implacable enemy of Rome, the character of a devout Pagan; loudly declared, that they were more apprehensive of the sacrifices, than of the arms of Radagaisus; and secretly rejoiced in the calamities of their country, which condemned the faith of their Christian adversaries.*

Florence was reduced to the last extremity; and the fainting courage of the citizens was supported only by the authority of St. Ambrose; who had communicated, in a dream, the promise of a speedy deliverance.† On a sudden,

name of a *flourishing* city. See Cluver. *Ital. Antiq.* tom. i, p. 507, &c. [Niebuhr (Lectures, vol. ii, p. 385) infers from an old reading in Cicero's Third Oration against Catiline (6, 14), that Florentia was one of Sylla's military colonies. Frontinus (De Colon. p. 112) is the authority for its foundation by the triumvirs (Lege Julia).—Ed.]

* Yet the Jupiter of Radagaisus, who worshipped Thor and Woden, was very different from the Olympic or Capitoline Jove. The accommodating temper of Polytheism might unite those various and remote deities; but the genuine Romans abhorred the human sacrifices of Gaul and Germany.

† Paulinus (in Vit. Ambros. c. 50) relates this story, which he received from the mouth of Pansophia herself, a religious matron of Florence. Yet the archbishop soon ceased to take an active part in the business of the world, and never became a

they beheld from their walls the banners of Stilicho, who advanced, with his united force, to the relief of the faithful city; and who soon marked that fatal spot for the grave of the barbarian host. The apparent contradictions of those writers who variously relate the defeat of Radagaisus, may be reconciled without offering much violence to their respective testimonies. Orosius and Augustin, who were intimately connected by friendship and religion, ascribe this miraculous victory to the providence of God, rather than to the valour of man.* They strictly exclude every idea of chance, or even of bloodshed; and positively affirm that the Romans, whose camp was the scene of plenty and idleness, enjoyed the distress of the barbarians, slowly expiring on the sharp and barren ridge of the hills of Fæsulæ, which rise above the city of Florence. Their extravagant assertion, that not a single soldier of the Christian army was killed, or even wounded, may be dismissed with silent contempt; but the rest of the narrative of Augustin and Orosius is consistent with the state of the war, and the character of Stilicho. Conscious that he commanded the *last* army of the republic, his prudence would not expose it, in the open field, to the headstrong fury of the Germans. The method of surrounding the enemy with strong lines of circumvallation, which he had twice employed against the Gothic king, was repeated on a larger scale, and with more considerable effect. The examples of Cæsar must have been familiar to the more illiterate of the Roman warriors; and the fortifications of Dyrrachium, which connected twenty-four castles by a perpetual ditch and rampart of fifteen miles, afforded the model of an intrenchment which might confine and starve the most numerous host of barbarians.† The Roman troops had less degenerated from

popular saint.
 l. 7, c. 37, p. 567—571. * Augustin de Civitat. Dei, 5. 23. Orosius, years after the victory; and their authority is implicitly followed by Isidore of Seville (in Chron. p. 713, edit. Grot). How many interesting facts might Orosius have inserted in the vacant space which is devoted to pious nonsense!

† Franguntur montes, plauumque per ardua Cæsar
 Ducit opus : pauidit fossas, turritaque summis
 Disponit castella jugis, magnoque recessu
 Amplexus fines; saltus nemorosaque tesqua
 Et silvas, vastique seras indagine claudit.

the industry, than from the valour of their ancestors; and if the servile and laborious work offended the pride of the soldiers, Tuscany could supply many thousand peasants, who would labour, though perhaps they would not fight, for the salvation of their native country. The imprisoned multitude of horses and men,* was gradually destroyed by famine, rather than by the sword; but the Romans were exposed, during the progress of such an extensive work, to the frequent attacks of an impatient enemy. The despair of the hungry barbarians would precipitate them against the fortifications of Stilicho; the general might sometimes indulge the ardour of his brave auxiliaries, who eagerly pressed to assault the camp of the Germans; and these various incidents might produce the sharp and bloody conflicts which dignify the narrative of Zosimus, and the Chronicles of Prosper and Marcellinus.† A seasonable supply of men and provisions had been introduced into the walls of Florence; and the famished host of Radagaisus was in its turn besieged. The proud monarch of so many warlike nations, after the loss of his bravest warriors, was reduced to confide either in the faith of a capitulation, or in the clemency of Stilicho.‡ But the death of the royal captive, who was ignominiously beheaded, disgraced the triumph of Rome and of Christianity; and the short delay of his execution was sufficient to brand the conqueror with the guilt of cool and deliberate cruelty.§ The famished Germans, who escaped the fury of the auxiliaries, were sold as slaves, at the contemptible price of as many single pieces of gold; but the difference of food and climate swept away

Yet the simplicity of truth (Cæsar, de Bell. Civ. 3. 44) is far greater than the amplifications of Lucan. (Pharsal. l. 6, 29—63.)

* The rhetorical expressions of Orosius, "In arido et aspero montis jugo;" "in unum ac parvum verticem;" are not very suitable to the encampment of a great army. But Fæsulæ, only three miles from Florence, might afford space for the head-quarters of Radagaisus, and would be comprehended within the circuit of the Roman lines.

† See Zosimus, l. 5, p. 331, and the Chronicles of Prosper and Marcellinus.

‡ Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 180) uses an expression (προσηταίριατο), which would denote a strict and friendly alliance, and render Stilicho still more criminal. The paulisper detentus, deinde interfectus, of Orosius, is sufficiently odious.

§ Orosius, piously inhuman, sacrifices the king and people, Agas and the Amalekites, without a symptom of compassion. The bloody actor is less detestable than the cool, unfeeling historian.

great numbers of those unhappy strangers; and it was observed that the inhuman purchasers, instead of reaping the fruits of their labour, were soon obliged to provide the expense of their interment. Stilicho informed the emperor and the senate of his success; and deserved, a second time, the glorious title of Deliverer of Italy.*

The fame of the victory, and more especially of the miracle, has encouraged a vain persuasion that the whole army, or rather nation, of Germans, who migrated from the shores of the Baltic, miserably perished under the walls of Florence. Such indeed was the fate of Radagaisus himself, of his brave and faithful companions, and of more than one-third of the various multitude of Sueves and Vandals, of Alani and Burgundians, who adhered to the standard of their general.† The union of such an army might excite our surprise, but the causes of separation are obvious and forcible; the pride of birth, the insolence of valour, the jealousy of command, the impatience of subordination, and the obstinate conflict of opinions, of interests, and of passions, among so many kings and warriors, who were untaught to yield, or to obey. After the defeat of Radagaisus, two parts of the German host, which must have exceeded the number of one hundred thousand men, still remained in arms, between the Apennine and the Alps, or between the Alps and the Danube. It is uncertain whether they attempted to revenge the death of their general; but their irregular fury was soon diverted by the prudence and firmness of Stilicho, who opposed their march, and facilitated their retreat; who considered the safety of Rome and Italy as the great object of his care; and who sacrificed, with too much indifference, the wealth and tranquillity of the distant provinces.‡ The barbarians

* And Claudian's muse, was she asleep? had she been ill paid? Methinks the seventh consulship of Honorius (A.D. 407), would have furnished the subject of a noble poem. Before it was discovered that the state could no longer be saved, Stilicho (after Romulus, Camillus, and Marius) might have been worthily surnamed the fourth founder of Rome.

† *In tres partes, per diversos principes, dirisus exercitus*, reduces the miracle of Florence, and connects the history of Italy, Gaul, and Germany.

‡ Orosius and Jerome positively charge him with instigating the invasion. "*Excitatæ a Stilichone gentes*," &c. They must mean indirectly. He saved Italy at the expense of Gaul.

acquired, from the junction of some Pannonian deserters, the knowledge of the country, and of the roads; and the invasion of Gaul, which Alaric had designed, was executed by the remains of the great army of Radagaisus.*

Yet if they expected to derive any assistance from the tribes of Germany, who inhabited the banks of the Rhine, their hopes were disappointed. The Allemanni preserved a state of inactive neutrality; and the Franks distinguished their zeal and courage in the defence of the empire. In the rapid progress down the Rhine, which was the first act of the administration of Stilicho, he had applied himself with peculiar attention to secure the alliance of the warlike Franks, and to remove the irreconcilable enemies of peace and of the republic. Marcomir, one of their kings, was publicly convicted, before the tribunal of the Roman magistrate, of violating the faith of treaties. He was sentenced to a mild but distant exile, in the province of Tuscany; and this degradation of the regal dignity was so far from exciting the resentment of his subjects, that they punished with death the turbulent Sunno, who attempted to revenge his brother; and maintained a dutiful allegiance to the princes who were established on the throne by the choice of Stilicho.† When the limits of Gaul and Germany were shaken by the northern emigration, the Franks bravely encountered the single force of the Vandals; who regardless of the lessons of adversity, had again separated their troops from the

* The count de Buat is satisfied that the Germans who invaded Gaul, were the *two-thirds* that yet remained of the army of Radagaisus. See the *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Europe* (tom. vii, p. 87—121, Paris, 1772), an elaborate work, which I had not the advantage of perusing till the year 1777. As early as 1771, I find the same idea expressed in a rough draught of the present History. I have since observed a similar intimation in Mascon. (8. 15.) Such agreement, without mutual communication, may add some weight to our common sentiment.

† ——— Provincia missos
Expellet citius fasces, quam Francia reges
Quos dederis.

Claudian (1 Cons. Stil. l. 1. 235, &c.) is clear and satisfactory. These kings of France are unknown to Gregory of Tours; but the author of the *Gesta Francorum* mentions both Sunno and Marcomir, and names the latter as the father of Pharamond. (in tom. ii, p. 543.) He seems to write from good materials, which he did not understand.

standard of their barbarian allies. They paid the penalty of their rashness; and twenty thousand Vandals, with their king Godigisclus, were slain in the field of battle. The whole people must have been extirpated, if the squadrons of the Alani, advancing to their relief, had not trampled down the infantry of the Franks; who, after an honourable resistance, were compelled to relinquish the unequal contest. The victorious confederates pursued their march, and, on the last day of the year, in a season when the waters of the Rhine were most probably frozen, they entered, without opposition, the defenceless provinces of Gaul. This memorable passage of the Suevi, the Vandals, the Alani, and the Burgundians, who never afterwards retreated, may be considered as the fall of the Roman empire in the countries beyond the Alps; and the barriers which had so long separated the savage and the civilized nations of the earth were, from that fatal moment, levelled with the ground.*

While the peace of Germany was secured by the attachment of the Franks, and the neutrality of the Allemanni, the subjects of Rome, unconscious of their approaching calamities, enjoyed the state of quiet and prosperity, which had seldom blessed the frontiers of Gaul. Their flocks and herds were permitted to graze in the pastures of the barbarians; their huntsmen penetrated, without fear or danger, into the darkest recesses of the Hercynian wood.† The banks of the Rhine were crowned, like those of the Tiber, with elegant houses, and well-cultivated farms; and if a poet descended the river, he might express his doubt, on which

* See Zosimus (l. 6, p. 373), Orosius (l. 7, c. 40, p. 576), and the Chronicles. Gregory of Tours (l. 2, c. 9, p. 165, in the second volume of the Historians of France) has preserved a valuable fragment of Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, whose three names denote a Christian, a Roman subject, and a semi-barbarian. † Claudian (l. 1, c. 1, p. 221, &c., l. 2, 186) describes the peace and prosperity of the Gallic frontier. The abbé Dubois (Hist. Critique, &c. tom. i, p. 174) would read *Alba* (a nameless rivulet of the Ardennes) instead of *Albis*, and expatiates on the danger of the Gallic cattle grazing beyond the *Elle*. Foolish enough! In poetical geography, the Elbe and the Hercynian, signify any river or any wood, in Germany. Claudian is not prepared for the strict examination of our antiquaries. [The fallacies, both historical and geographical, introduced or sanctioned by a literal acceptance of poetical nomenclature, have been the subject of some preceding notes.—Ed.]

side was situated the territory of the Romans.* This scene of peace and plenty was suddenly changed into a desert; and the prospect of the smoking ruins could alone distinguish the solitude of nature from the desolation of man. The flourishing city of Mentz was surprised and destroyed; and many thousand Christians were inhumanly massacred in the church. Worms perished after a long and obstinate siege; Strasburg, Spires, Rheims, Tournay, Arras, Amiens, experienced the cruel oppression of the German yoke; and the consuming flames of war spread from the banks of the Rhine over the greatest part of the seventeen provinces of Gaul. That rich and extensive country, as far as the ocean, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, was delivered to the barbarians, who drove before them, in a promiscuous crowd, the bishop, the senator, and the virgin, laden with the spoils of their houses and altars.† The ecclesiastics, to whom we are indebted for this vague description of the public calamities, embraced the opportunity of exhorting the Christians to repent of the sins which had provoked the Divine Justice, and to renounce the perishable goods of a wretched and deceitful world. But as the Pelagian controversy,‡ which attempts to sound

* ——— Geminasque viator

Cum videat ripas, quæ sit Romana requirat.

[Claudian has here borne valuable testimony to an important fact. The Gothic tribes did conform to the example of civilization which they saw before them. Yet when they afterwards established themselves in the conquered provinces of the empire, they are said to have destroyed not only the monuments of art but even every type of civilization. This is incredible. Natures so disposed to improve, can neither have crushed the means of improvement that came into their power, nor have disdained the proper use of them.—Ed.]

† Jerome, tom. i, p. 93. See in the first volume of the *Historians of France*, p. 777. 782, the proper extracts from the *Carmen de Providentiâ Divinâ*, and *Salvian*. The anonymous poet was himself a captive, with his bishop and fellow-citizens.

‡ The Pelagian doctrine, which was first agitated A.D. 405, was condemned, in the space of ten years, at Rome and Carthage. St. Augustin fought and conquered: but the Greek church was favourable to his adversaries; and (what is singular enough) the people did not take any part in a dispute which they could not understand. [The author of the Pelagian heresy is said to have been a native of Wales, whose name was Morgan, meaning "born near the sea," which was converted into the Greek Pelagios. Although he irritated the haughtiest fathers of the church by denying the innate

the abyss of grace and predestination, soon became the serious employment of the Latin clergy, the Providence which had decreed, or foreseen, or permitted such a train of moral and natural evils, was rashly weighed in the imperfect and fallacious balance of reason. The crimes and the misfortunes of the suffering people were presumptuously compared with those of their ancestors; and they arraigned the Divine Justice, which did not exempt from the common destruction the feeble, the guiltless, the infant portion, of the human species. These idle disputants overlooked the invariable laws of nature, which have connected peace with innocence, plenty with industry, and safety with valour. The timid and selfish policy of the court of Ravenna might recall the Palatine legions for the protection of Italy; the remains of the stationary troops might be unequal to the arduous task; and the barbarian auxiliaries might prefer the unbounded license of spoil to the benefits of a moderate and regular stipend. But the provinces of Gaul were filled with a numerous race of hardy and robust youth, who, in the defence of their houses, their families, and their altars, if they had dared to die, would have deserved to vanquish. The knowledge of their native country would have enabled them to oppose continual and insuperable obstacles to the progress of an invader; and the deficiency of the barbarians in arms as well as in discipline, removed the only pretence which excuses the submission of a populous country to the inferior numbers of a veteran army. When France was invaded by Charles V., he inquired of a prisoner, how many *days* Paris might depravity of human nature and appealing to Origen, it is suspected that he was the actual writer of some commentaries and epistles, which are now ascribed to Jerome and Augustin, and included in their works. (Mosheim, *Inst. of Ecc. Hist.* vol. i, p. 498 and Note.) The laity took no part in this dispute, because there was no rich see at stake, for the defence or acquisition of which their turbulent spirit was called into action. The ecclesiastics, who from this time become the principal chroniclers of "the public calamities," have been very studious to conceal from posterity their own share in producing them. The prostration of reason and energy at their austere bidding, the strangling of education, and the withering of talent, are represented by them as the pious docility of submissive faith. When by this course they had deranged the social system, they threw off the burden of reproach from themselves, and cast it on the unconscious barbarians, who could not repel the charge.—[En.]

be distant from the frontier? *Perhaps twelve, but they will be days of battle.** Such was the gallant answer which checked the arrogance of that ambitious prince. The subjects of Honorius, and those of Francis I., were animated by a very different spirit; and in less than two years, the divided troops of the savages of the Baltic, whose numbers, were they fairly stated, would appear contemptible, advanced without a combat to the foot of the Pyrenean mountains.†

In the early part of the reign of Honorius, the vigilance of Stilicho had successfully guarded the remote island of Britain from her incessant enemies of the ocean, the mountains, and the Irish coast.‡ But those restless barbarians could not neglect the fair opportunity of the Gothic war,

* See the *Mémoires de Guillaume du Bellay*, l. 6. In French, the original reproof is less obvious and more pointed, from the double sense of the word *journée*, which alike signifies a day's travel or a battle.

† "Savages of the Baltic" are here again superfluous. The vicinity of the Rhine could supply adequate troops of adventurers for the occasion; and these would never have allowed distant strangers to snatch the booty which they had so long been coveting. In the facility with which their undisciplined bands over-ran and conquered Gaul, unresisted by the "hardy and robust youth" of that country, we have another illustration of the cause to which alone the fall of the Roman empire can justly be ascribed. We have here no worn-out decrepit community, but society in its very prime, submitting to a conqueror without a struggle. Such things can only be when the inward man is dethroned, when mind is fettered, and can neither boldly expand nor freely operate—then the supine dolt refuses to defend his hearth, and awaits, with folded arms, the manacles of the enslaver, or the sword of the assassin.—Ed.

‡ Claudian. (1 Cons. Stil. l. 2. 250.) It is supposed, that the Scots of Ireland invaded, by sea, the whole western coast of Britain: and some slight credit may be given even to Nennius and the Irish traditions. (Carte's *Hist. of England*, vol. i, p. 169. Whitaker's *Genuine History of the Britons*, p. 199.) The sixty-six lives of St. Patrick, which were extant in the ninth century, must have contained as many thousand lies; yet we may believe, that in one of these Irish inroads, the future apostle was led away captive. (Usher, *Antiquit. Eccles. Britann.* p. 431, and Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xvi, p. 456. 782, &c). [Ancient poets only indicate opinions that prevailed in their days, and sketch some general outlines of facts. Unadorned incident and precise information must be drawn from collateral sources to correct or complete the picture. The passage here quoted from Claudian has afforded opportunities for our chroniclers and antiquaries to celebrate the merits of Stilicho as the last Roman protector of Britain. It does not appear that

when the walls and stations of the province were stripped of the Roman troops. If any of the legionaries were permitted to return from the Italian expedition, their faithful report of the court and character of Honorius must have tended to dissolve the bonds of allegiance, and to exasperate the seditious temper of the British army. The spirit of revolt, which had formerly disturbed the age of Gallienus, was revived by the capricious violence of the soldiers; and the unfortunate, perhaps the ambitious, candidates, who were the objects of their choice, were the instruments, and at length the victims, of their passion.* Marcus was the

he ever visited our island, but that by his orders better defences were erected. Gildas, as translated by Higden in his *Polychronicon*, (book 4, c. 32) states, that the Romans at that time repaired the wall of Severus, and "buylded toures on the clyves of the ocean, in dyverse places, whereat men dredde the arryving and landyng of straunge men and enemyes." Among these infesters of the harassed province, the Saxons appear to have been the most formidable. "Inde hostis Saxonicus timebatur," is the addition of Richard of Cirencester in his *Commentarioli Geographici de Situ Britanniae* (l. 2, c. 1, p. 77), and against these Stilicho's most provident cares appear to have been directed. All this is confirmed by remains of Roman works more perfect than most others, still existing on parts of our coasts most exposed to the inroads of these pirates. Names taken from the *Notitia Imperii* and *Itinerarium Antonini* have been given to some of these; but it is most probable that they were not constructed till the time of Stilicho. The adventures of the apostle of Ireland seem not to have been clearly understood by Gibbon. According to Neander (*Hist. of Christ.* vol. iii, p. 173) Patrick's own "Confessions" contain "nothing wonderful, except what may be very easily accounted for on psychological principles," and all the traditions and lies respecting him, "perhaps proceeded only from English monks." He was a native of Scotland, named Succuth, born at the village of Bonnaven, now called, in memory of him, Kirkpatrick, between Dumbarton and Glasgow. Carried off thence by pirates to the south of Ireland, his escape and subsequent courses are all very natural when divested of the legendary and fabulous; nor was any miraculous interposition required to inspire in him the desire to become the apostle of Christianity in a country where he had found it unknown. Returning there, he attempted to commence his mission on a small island, which still bears his name, near the fishing-town of Skerries, to the north of Dublin Bay. Repulsed thence, he made good his landing at the village of Colpe, on the southern bank of the Boyne, near Drogheda, and was there more successful. Piracy in those days was not practised by barbarians alone. There is still preserved an angry letter, in which Patrick claims the liberation of some members of his church, who had been seized and carried off to Wales as captives; the freebooter was a Briton and a Christian.—Ed.]

* The British usurpers are

first whom they placed on the throne, as the lawful emperor of Britain and of the west. They violated, by the hasty murder of Marcus, the oath of fidelity which they had imposed on themselves; and *their* disapprobation of his manners may seem to inscribe an honourable epitaph on his tomb. Gratian was the next whom they adorned with the diadem and the purple; and, at the end of four months, Gratian experienced the fate of his predecessor. The memory of the great Constantine, whom the British legions had given to the church and to the empire, suggested the singular motive of their third choice. They discovered in the ranks a private soldier of the name of Constantine, and their impetuous levity had already seated him on the throne, before they perceived his incapacity to sustain the weight of the glorious appellation.* Yet the authority of Constantine was less precarious, and his government was more successful, than the transient reigns of Marcus and of Gratian. The danger of leaving his inactive troops in those camps which had been twice polluted with blood and sedition, urged him to attempt the reduction of the western provinces. He landed at Boulogne with an inconsiderable force; and after he had reposed himself some days, he summoned the cities of Gaul, which had escaped the yoke of the barbarians, to acknowledge their lawful sovereign. They obeyed the summons without reluctance. The neglect of the court of Ravenna had absolved a deserted people from the duty of allegiance; their actual distress encouraged them to accept any circumstances of change, without apprehension, and, perhaps, with some degree of hope; and they might flatter themselves, that the troops, the authority, and even the name, of a Roman emperor, who fixed his residence in Gaul, would protect the unhappy country from the rage of the barbarians. The first successes of Constantine against the detached parties of the Germans, were magnified by the voice of adulation into splendid and decisive victories; which the reunion and insolence of the enemy soon reduced to their just value.

taken from Zosimus (l. 6, p. 371—375), Orosius (l. 7, c. 40, p. 576, 577), Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 180, 181), the ecclesiastical historians, and the Chronicles. The Latins are ignorant of Marcus.

* Cum in Constantino inconstantiam . . . execrarentur. (Sidonius Apollinaris, l. 5, epist. 9, p. 139, edit. secund. Sirmond.) Yet Sido-

His negotiations procured a short and precarious truce; and if some tribes of the barbarians were engaged, by the liberality of his gifts and promises, to undertake the defence of the Rhine, these expensive and uncertain treaties, instead of restoring the pristine vigour of the Gallic frontier, served only to disgrace the majesty of the prince, and to exhaust what yet remained of the treasures of the republic. Elated, however, with this imaginary triumph, the vain deliverer of Gaul advanced into the provinces of the south, to encounter a more pressing and personal danger. Sarus the Goth was ordered to lay the head of the rebel at the feet of the emperor Honorius; and the forces of Britain and Italy were unworthily consumed in this domestic quarrel. After the loss of his two bravest generals, Justinian and Nevigastes, the former of whom was slain in the field of battle, the latter in a peaceful but treacherous interview, Constantine fortified himself within the walls of Vienna. The place was ineffectually attacked seven days: and the imperial army supported, in a precipitate retreat, the ignominy of purchasing a secure passage from the freebooters and outlaws of the Alps.* Those mountains now separated the dominions of two rival monarchs; and the fortifications of the double frontier were guarded by the troops of the empire, whose arms would have been more usefully employed to maintain the Roman limits against the barbarians of Germany and Scythia.

On the side of the Pyrenees, the ambition of Constantine might be justified by the proximity of danger; but his throne was soon established by the conquest, or rather submission, of Spain, which yielded to the influence of regular and habitual subordination, and received the laws and magis-

nus might be tempted, by so fair a pun, to stigmatize a prince who had disgraced his grandfather. * *Bagaude* is the name which Zosimus applies to them; perhaps they deserved a less odious character. (See Dubois, Hist. Critique, tom. i, p. 203, and this History, vol. i, p. 427. We shall hear of them again. [The *Bagaude* have already been before us (vol. ii, p. 474). Gibbon was right in thinking that they deserved a less odious character. He misunderstood their name. Ducange does not say that it means a "tumultuary assembly," but simply "unc assemblée, hominum collectio." The Gaelic *Bagaid* (see Armstrong) denotes a *cluster* or *bunch*. The *Bagaude* were therefore merely "the associated." Forced into revolt by fiscal oppression, they appear to have asserted and maintained

trates of the Gallic prefecture. The only opposition which was made to the authority of Constantine, proceeded not so much from the powers of government, or the spirit of the people, as from the private zeal and interest of the family of Theodosius. Four brothers* had obtained, by the favour of their kinsman, the deceased emperor, an honourable rank, and ample possessions, in their native country: and the grateful youths resolved to risk those advantages in the service of his son. After an unsuccessful effort to maintain their ground at the head of the stationary troops of Lusitania, they retired to their estates; where they armed and levied, at their own expense, a considerable body of slaves and dependents, and boldly marched to occupy the strong posts of the Pyrenean mountains. This domestic insurrection alarmed and perplexed the sovereign of Gaul and Britain; and he was compelled to negotiate with some troops of barbarian auxiliaries, for the service of the Spanish war. They were distinguished by the title of *Honorians*,† a name which might have reminded them of their fidelity to their lawful sovereign; and if it should candidly be allowed that the *Scots* were influenced by any partial affection for a British prince, the *Moors* and the *Marcomanni* could be tempted only by the profuse liberality of the usurper, who distributed among the barbarians the military, and even the civil, honours of Spain. The nine bands of *Honorians*,

a quiet independence. At least they are marked by none of those atrocities which usually confer historic celebrity. The excesses which they are accused of having committed in their contest with Maximus, were probably as much exaggerated as was his suppression or extinction of them. We meet with them occasionally to the last, till Gaul ceased to be a Roman province. From this we may perceive that the spirit of self-defence was not naturally extinct.—Ed.]

* Verinianus, Didymus, Theodosius, and Lagodius, who, in modern courts, would be styled princes of the blood, were not distinguished by any rank or privileges above the rest of their fellow-subjects.

† These *Honoriani*, or *Honoriaci*, consisted of two bands of *Scots*, or *Attacotti*, two of *Moors*, two of *Marcomanni*, the *Victores*, the *Ascarii*, and the *Gallicani*. (*Notitia Imperii*, sect. 38, edit. Lab.) They were part of the sixty-five *Auxilia Palatina*, and are properly styled, ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τάξεις, by Zosimus (l. 6, p. 374.) [The now dignified title *Palatine* had a very humble origin. The *palus*, the common wooden spade used by the early Latin cultivator of the soil, was set up to mark the extent of his day's work, or the limit of his ground. Then it gave its name to the stake permanently fixed for similar purposes, which has come down to us in the form of *pale*.

which may be easily traced on the establishment of the western empire, could not exceed the number of five thousand men; yet this inconsiderable force was sufficient to terminate a war which had threatened the power and safety of Constantine. The rustic army of the Theodosian family was surrounded and destroyed in the Pyrenees; two of the brothers had the good fortune to escape by sea to Italy, or the east; the other two, after an interval of suspense, were executed at Arles; and if Honorius could remain insensible of the public disgrace, he might perhaps be affected by the personal misfortunes of his generous kinsmen.* Such were the feeble arms which decided the possession of the western provinces of Europe, from the wall of Antoninus to the columns of Hercules. The events of peace and war have undoubtedly been diminished by the narrow and imperfect view of the historians of the times, who were equally ignorant of the causes and of the effects of the most important revolutions. But the total decay of the national strength had annihilated even the last resource of a despotic government; and the revenue of exhausted provinces could no longer purchase the military service of a discontented and pusillanimous people.

The poet, whose flattery has ascribed to the Roman eagle the victories of Pollentia and Verona, pursues the hasty retreat of Alaric, from the confines of Italy, with a horrid train of imaginary spectres, such as might hover over

Rows of these next inclosed and fenced homesteads and collections of dwellings, whence the first inhabited of Rome's seven hills, was called *Palatinus*, or the *palat in*; and that became "the seat of the noblest Patrician tribe." (Niebuhr's Lectures, vol. i, p. 115.) From this their houses were called *palatia*, a designation afterwards extended generally to the residences of monarchs. In the course of time the official attendants on the *palace* became *palatins*, and the privileges and territories bestowed on them were distinguished by the same title. The Goths, unversed in these things till after their first intercourse with the Romans, borrowed terms for them from the Latin, and hence were derived the present German *Pfahl*, *Pallast*, and *Pfalz*. It is an agreeable pursuit to trace the history of these words as given by Ducaugo and Adelung. The *Pfahlburger* were of later origin, and must not be confounded with the people of a *Pfalz*.—ED.]

* Constantine commemorated these triumphs on his coins, where he is represented amid the inscriptions and emblems of victory, setting his foot on the neck of some captive foe. Eckhel, Num. Vet. vol. viii, p. 177.—ED.

an army of barbarians, which was almost exterminated by war, famine, and disease.* In the course of this unfortunate expedition, the king of the Goths must indeed have sustained a considerable loss; and his harassed forces required an interval of repose to recruit their numbers, and revive their confidence. Adversity had exercised and displayed the genius of Alaric; and the fame of his valour invited to the Gothic standard the bravest of the barbarian warriors, who, from the Euxine to the Rhine, were agitated by the desire of rapine and conquest. He had deserved the esteem, and he soon accepted the friendship, of Stilicho himself. Renouncing the service of the emperor of the east, Alaric concluded with the court of Ravenna, a treaty of peace and alliance, by which he was declared master-general of the Roman armies throughout the prefecture of Illyricum; as it was claimed, according to the true and ancient limits, by the minister of Honorius.† The execution of the ambitious design, which was either stipulated or implied in the articles of the treaty, appears to have been suspended by the formidable irruption of Radagaisus; and the neutrality of the Gothic king may perhaps be compared to the indifference of Cæsar, who, in the conspiracy of Catiline, refused either to assist or to oppose the enemy of the republic. After the defeat of the Vandals, Stilicho resumed his pretensions to the provinces of the east; appointed civil magistrates for the administration of justice, and of the finances; and declared his impatience to lead to the gates of Constantinople the united armies of the Romans and of the Goths. The prudence, however, of Stilicho, his aversion to civil war, and his perfect knowledge of the weakness of the state, may countenance the suspicion, that domestic peace rather than foreign conquest was the object of his policy; and that his principal care was to employ the forces of Alaric at a distance from Italy. This design could not long escape the penetration of the Gothic king, who continued to hold a

* ——— Comitatur euntem

Pallor, et atra fames; et saucia lividus ora

Luctus; et inferno stridentes agmine morbi.

Claudian, in 6 Cons. Hon. 321, &c.

† These dark transactions are investigated by the Count de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vii, c. 3—8, p. 69—206), whose laborious accuracy may sometimes fatigue a superficial reader.

doubtful, and perhaps a treacherous, correspondence with the rival courts; who protracted like a dissatisfied mercenary, his languid operations in Thessaly and Epirus, and who soon returned to claim the extravagant reward of his ineffectual services. From his camp near Æmona,* on the confines of Italy, he transmitted to the emperor of the west a long account of promises, of expenses, and of demands; called for immediate satisfaction, and clearly intimated the consequences of a refusal. Yet if his conduct was hostile his language was decent and dutiful. He humbly professed himself the friend of Stilicho, and the soldier of Honorius; offered his person and his troops to march without delay against the usurper of Gaul; and solicited, as a permanent retreat for the Gothic nation, the possession of some vacant province of the western empire.

The political and secret transactions of two statesmen, who laboured to deceive each other and the world, must forever have been concealed in the impenetrable darkness of the cabinet, if the debates of a popular assembly had not thrown some rays of light on the correspondence of Alario and Stilicho. The necessity of finding some artificial support for a government, which, from a principle, not of moderation but of weakness, was reduced to negotiate with its own subjects, had insensibly revived the authority of the Roman senate; and the minister of Honorius respectfully consulted the legislative council of the republic. Stilicho assembled the senate in the palace of the Cæsars; represented, in a studied oration, the actual state of affairs; proposed the demands of the Gothic king, and submitted to their consideration the choice of peace or war. The senators, as if they had been suddenly awakened from a dream of four hundred years, appeared on this important occasion to be inspired by the courage rather than by the wisdom of their predecessors. They loudly declared in regular speeches or in tumultuary acclamations, that it was unworthy of the majesty of Rome to purchase a precarious and disgraceful truce from a barbarian king; and that, in the judgment of a

* See Zosimus, l. 5, p. 334, 335. He interrupts his scanty narrative, to relate the fable of Æmona and of the ship *Argo*; which was drawn overland from that place to the *Hadriatic*. Sozomen (l. 8, c. 25; l. 9, c. 4) and Socrates (l. 7, c. 10) cast a pale and doubtful light; and Orosius (l. 7, c. 33, p. 571) is abominably partial.

magnanimous people, the chance of ruin was always preferable to the certainty of dishonour.

The minister, whose pacific intentions were seconded only by the voices of a few servile and venal followers, attempted to allay the general ferment by an apology for his own conduct and even for the demands of the Gothic prince. "The payment of a subsidy, which had excited the indignation of the Romans, ought not," such was the language of Stilicho, "to be considered in the odious light, either of a tribute or of a ransom, extorted by the menaces of a barbarian enemy. Alaric had faithfully asserted the just pretensions of the republic to the provinces which were usurped by the Greeks of Constantinople: he modestly required the fair and stipulated recompense of his services; and if he had desisted from the prosecution of his enterprise, he had obeyed in his retreat, the peremptory, though private, letters of the emperor himself. These contradictory orders," he would not dissemble the errors of his own family, "had been procured by the intercession of Serena. The tender piety of his wife had been too deeply affected by the discord of the royal brothers, the sons of her adopted father; and the sentiments of nature had too easily prevailed over the stern dictates of the public welfare." These ostensible reasons, which faintly disguise the obscure intrigues of the palace of Ravenna, were supported by the authority of Stilicho; and obtained, after a warm debate, the reluctant approbation of the senate. The tumult of virtue and freedom subsided, and the sum of four thousand pounds of gold was granted, under the name of a subsidy, to secure the peace of Italy, and to conciliate the friendship of the king of the Goths. Lampadius alone, one of the most illustrious members of the assembly, still persisted in his dissent: exclaimed with a loud voice, "This is not a treaty of peace, but of servitude;"* and escaped the danger of such bold opposition, by immediately retiring to the sanctuary of a Christian church.

But the reign of Stilicho drew towards its end; and the proud minister might perceive the symptoms of his approaching disgrace. The generous boldness of Lampadius had been applauded; and the senate, so patiently resigned to a long

* Zosimus, l. 5, p. 338, 339. He repeats the words of Lampadius, as they were spoken in Latin: "Non est ista pax, sed pactio servitutis," and then translates them into Greek for the benefit of his readers.

servitude, rejected with disdain the offer of invidious and imaginary freedom. The troops, who still assumed the name and prerogatives of the Roman legions, were exasperated by the partial affection of Stilicho for the barbarians and the people imputed to the mischievous policy of the minister, the public misfortunes which were the natural consequence of their own degeneracy. Yet Stilicho might have continued to brave the clamours of the people, and even of the soldiers, if he could have maintained his dominion over the feeble mind of his pupil. But the respectful attachment of Honorius was converted into fear, suspicion, and hatred. The crafty Olympius,* who concealed his vices under the mask of Christian piety, had secretly undermined the benefactor by whose favour he was promoted to the honourable offices of the imperial palace. Olympius revealed to the unsuspecting emperor, who had attained the twenty-fifth year of his age, that he was without weight or authority in his own government; and artfully alarmed his timid and indolent disposition by a lively picture of the designs of Stilicho, who already meditated the death of his sovereign, with the ambitious hope of placing the diadem on the head of his son Eucherius. The emperor was instigated by his new favourite, to assume the tone of independent dignity; and the minister was astonished to find, that secret resolutions were formed in the court and council which were repugnant to his interests or to his intentions. Instead of residing in the palace of Rome, Honorius declared that it was his pleasure to return to the secure fortress of Ravenna. On the first intelligence of the death of his brother, Arcadius, he prepared to visit Constantinople and to regulate, with the authority of a guardian, the provinces of the infant Theodosius.† The representation of the difficulty and

* He came from the coast of the Euxine, and exercised a splendid office, *λαμπρὰς δὲ σπαρτίας ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἡγούμενος*. His actions justify his character, which Zosimus (l. 5, p. 340) exposes with visible satisfaction. Augustin revered the piety of Olympius, whom he styles a true son of the church. (Baronius, *Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 408, No. 19, &c. Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. xiii, p. 467, 468.) But these praises, which the African saint so unworthily bestows, might proceed as well from ignorance as from adulation.

† Zosimus, l. 5, p. 338, 339. Sozomen, l. 9, c. 4. Stilicho offered to undertake the journey to Constantinople, that he might divert Honorius from the vain attempt. The eastern empire would not have obeyed and could not have been conquered.

expense of such a distant expedition, checked this strange and sudden sally of active diligence; but the dangerous project of shewing the emperor to the camp of Pavia, which was composed of the Roman troops, the enemies of Stilicho and his barbarian auxiliaries, remained fixed and unalterable. The minister was pressed by the advice of his confidant, Justinian, a Roman advocate of a lively and penetrating genius, to oppose a journey so prejudicial to his reputation and safety. His strenuous but ineffectual efforts confirmed the triumph of Olympius; and the prudent lawyer withdrew himself from the impending ruin of his patron.

In the passage of the emperor through Bologna, a mutiny of the guards was excited and appeased by the secret policy of Stilicho; who announced his instructions to decimate the guilty, and ascribed to his own intercession the merit of their pardon. After this tumult, Honorius embraced, for the last time, the minister whom he now considered as a tyrant, and proceeded on his way to the camp of Pavia; where he was received by the loyal acclamations of the troops who were assembled for the service of the Gallic war. On the morning of the fourth day, he pronounced, as he had been taught, a military oration in the presence of the soldiers, whom the charitable visits and artful discourses of Olympius had prepared to execute a dark and bloody conspiracy. At the first signal, they massacred the friends of Stilicho, the most illustrious officers of the empire; two prætorian prefects, of Gaul and of Italy; two master-generals, of the cavalry and infantry; the master of the offices, the quæstor, the treasurer, and the count of the domestics. Many lives were lost: many houses were plundered; the furious sedition continued to rage till the close of the evening; and the trembling emperor, who was seen in the streets of Pavia, without his robes or diadem, yielded to the persuasions of his favourite; condemned the memory of the slain; and solemnly approved the innocence and fidelity of their assassins. The intelligence of the massacre of Pavia filled the mind of Stilicho with just and gloomy apprehensions: and he instantly summoned, in the camp of Bologna, a council of the confederate leaders, who were attached to his service, and would be involved in his ruin. The impetuous voice of the assembly called aloud for arms, and for revenge; to march, without a moment's delay, under

the banners of a hero, whom they had so often followed to victory; to surprise, to oppress, to extirpate the guilty Olympius, and his degenerate Romans; and perhaps to fix the diadem on the head of their injured general. Instead of executing a resolution, which might have been justified by success, Stilicho hesitated till he was irrecoverably lost. He was still ignorant of the fate of the emperor; he distrusts the fidelity of his own party; and he viewed with horror the fatal consequences of arming a crowd of licentious barbarians against the soldiers and people of Italy. The confederates, impatient of his timorous and doubtful delay, hastily retired with fear and indignation. At the hour of midnight, Sarus, a Gothic warrior, renowned among the barbarians themselves for his strength and valour, suddenly invaded the camp of his benefactor, plundered the baggage, cut in pieces the faithful Huns, who guarded his person, and penetrated to the tent, where the minister, pensive and sleepless, meditated on the dangers of his situation. Stilicho escaped with difficulty from the sword of the Goths; and, after issuing a last and generous admonition to the cities of Italy, to shut their gates against the barbarians, his confidence or his despair urged him to throw himself into Ravenna, which was already in the absolute possession of his enemies. Olympius, who had assumed the dominion of Honorius, was speedily informed, that his rival had embraced, as a suppliant, the altar of the Christian church. The base and cruel disposition of the hypocrite was incapable of pity or remorse; but he piously affected to elude, rather than to violate, the privilege of the sanctuary. Count Heraclian, with a troop of soldiers, appeared, at the dawn of day, before the gates of the church of Ravenna. The bishop was satisfied by a solemn oath, that the imperial mandate only directed them to secure the person of Stilicho: but, as soon as the unfortunate minister had been tempted beyond the holy threshold, he produced the warrant for his instant execution. Stilicho supported with calm resignation the injurious names of traitor and parricide; repressed the unseasonable zeal of his followers, who were ready to attempt an ineffectual rescue; and, with a firmness not unworthy of the last of the Roman generals, submitted his neck to the sword of Heraclian.*

* Zosimus (l. 5, p. 336—345) has copiously, though not clearly,

The servile crowd of the palace, who had so long adored the fortune of Stilicho, affected to insult his fall; and the most distant connection with the master-general of the west, which had so lately been a title to wealth and honours, was studiously denied and rigorously punished. His family, united by a triple alliance with the family of Theodosius, might envy the condition of the meanest peasant. The flight of his son Eucherius was intercepted; and the death of that innocent youth soon followed the divorce of Thermantia, who filled the place of her sister Maria; and who, like Maria, had remained a virgin in the imperial bed.* The friends of Stilicho, who had escaped the massacre of Pavia, were persecuted by the implacable revenge of Olympius: and the most exquisite cruelty was employed to extort the confession of a treasonable and sacrilegious conspiracy. They died in silence: their firmness justified the choice,† and perhaps absolved the innocence, of their patron; and the despotic power, which could take his life without a trial, and stigmatize his memory without a proof, has no jurisdiction over the impartial suffrage of posterity.‡ The services of Stilicho are great and manifest; his crimes, as they are vaguely stated in the language of flattery and hatred, are obscure, at least, and improbable. About four months after his death, an edict was published in the name of Honorius, to restore the free communication of the two empires, which had been so long interrupted by the *public enemy*.§ The minister, whose fame and fortune depended on the prosperity of the state, was accused of betraying

related the disgrace and death of Stilicho. Olympiodorus, (apud Phot. p. 177), Orosius (l. 7, c. 38, p. 571, 572), Sozomen, (l. 9, c. 4) and Philostorgius (l. 11, c. 3; l. 12, c. 2), afford supplemental hints.

* Zosimus, l. 5, p. 333. The marriage of a Christian with two sisters, scandalizes Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v, p. 557), who expects, in vain, that Pope Innocent I. should have done something in the way either of censure or of dispensation.

† Two of his friends are honourably mentioned, (Zosimus, l. 5, p. 346), Peter, chief of the school of notaries, and the great chamberlain Deuterius. Stilicho had secured the bedchamber; and it is surprising that, under a feeble prince, the bedchamber was not able to secure him.

‡ Orosius (l. 7, c. 38, p. 571, 572) seems to copy the false and furious manifestoes, which were dispersed through the provinces by the new administration.

§ See the Theodosian Code, l. 7, tit. 16, leg. 1; l. 9, tit. 42, leg. 22. Stilicho is branded with the name of *prædo publicus*, who employed his wealth *ad omnem ditam-*

Italy to the barbarians, whom he repeatedly vanquished at Pollentia, at Verona, and before the walls of Florence. His pretended design of placing the diadem on the head of his son Eucherius, could not have been conducted without preparations or accomplices; and the ambitious father would not surely have left the future emperor till the twentieth year of his age, in the humble station of tribune of the notaries. Even the religion of Stilicho was arraigned by the malice of his rival. The seasonable, and almost miraculous, deliverance was devoutly celebrated by the applause of the clergy; who asserted that the restoration of idols and the persecution of the church, would have been the first measure of the reign of Eucherius. The son of Stilicho, however, was educated in the bosom of Christianity, which his father had uniformly professed and zealously supported.* Serena had borrowed her magnificent necklace from the statue of Vesta,† and the Pagans execrated the memory of the sacrilegious minister, by whose order the Sibylline books, the oracles of Rome, had been committed to the flames.‡ The pride and power of Stilicho constituted his real guilt. An honourable reluctance to shed the blood of his countrymen, appears to have contributed to the success of his unworthy rival; and it is the last humiliation of the character of Honorius, that posterity has not condescended to reproach him with his base ingratitude to the guardian of his youth and the support of his empire.

Among the train of dependents, whose wealth and dignity attracted the notice of their own times, *our* curiosity is excited by the celebrated name of the poet Claudian, who enjoyed the favour of Stilicho, and was overwhelmed in the

dam, inquitandamque barbariem.

* Augustin himself is satisfied with the effectual laws which Stilicho had enacted against heretics and idolaters; and which are still extant in the Code. He only applies to Olympius for their confirmation. (Baronius. *Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 408, No. 19.)

† Zosimus, l. 5, p. 351. We may observe the bad taste of the age, in dressing their statues with such awkward finery.

‡ See Rutilius Numatianus (*Itinerar.* l. 2, 41—50), to whom religious enthusiasm has dictated some elegant and forcible lines. Stilicho likewise stripped the gold plates from the doors of the Capitol, and read a prophetic sentence, which was engraven under them. (Zosimus, l. 5, p. 352.) These are foolish stories; yet the charge of *impicity* adds weight and credit to the praise which Zosimus

ruin of his patron. The titular offices of tribune and notary fixed his rank in the imperial court: he was indebted to the powerful intercession of Serena for his marriage with a very rich heiress of the province of Africa;* and the statue of Claudian, erected in the forum of Trajan, was a monument of the taste and liberality of the Roman senate.† After the praises of Stilicho became offensive and criminal, Claudian was exposed to the enmity of a powerful and unforgiving courtier, whom he had provoked by the insolence of wit. He had compared, in a lively epigram, the opposite characters of two prætorian prefects of Italy; he contrasts the innocent repose of a philosopher, who sometimes resigned the hours of business to slumber, perhaps to study, with the interested diligence of a rapacious minister, indefatigable in the pursuit of unjust or sacrilegious gain. "How happy," continues Claudian, "how happy might it

reluctantly bestows on his virtues.

* At the nuptials of Orpheus, (a modest comparison!) all the parts of animated nature contributed their various gifts; and the gods themselves enriched their favourite. Claudian had neither flocks, nor herds, nor vines, nor olives. His wealthy bride was heiress to them all. But he carried to Africa a recommendatory letter from Serena, his Juno, and was made happy. (Epist. 2, ad Serenam.)

† Claudian feels the honour like a man who deserved it. (In præfat. Bell. Get.) The original inscription, on marble, was found at Rome, in the fifteenth century, in the house of Pomponius Lætus. The statue of a poet, far superior to Claudian, should have been erected, during his lifetime, by the men of letters, his countrymen, and contemporaries. It was a noble design! [This honour was decreed to Claudian for his poem *De Bello Gildonico*. But the genuineness of the discovered inscription is very doubtful. Pomponius Lætus was a very learned man, born, it is supposed, in 1425, an illegitimate scion of the illustrious Neapolitan family San Severini. Some information respecting him may be found in the first note to the second chapter of Roscoe's *History of Leo the Tenth* (vol. i, p. 438, Bohn); but nothing is said there of the charge generally brought against him, of having palmed on the world forged inscriptions. For this, however, he was much too simple and honest. He was an eccentric enthusiast, easily imposed on by others, and cunning knaves tempted him with real or pretended antiques, often at high prices, till he became reduced to such poverty, that he ended his days in an asylum. The alleged pedestal of Claudian's statue came thus into his possession. The inscription, as preserved by Cluverius, is among the *Testimonia*, prefixed to Burman's edition of Claudian. Almost every line contains strong presumptive evidence against its authenticity.—ED.]

be for the people of Italy, if Mallius could be constantly awake, and if Hadrian would always sleep!""* The repose of Mallius was not disturbed by this friendly and gentle admonition; but the cruel vigilance of Hadrian watched the opportunity of revenge, and easily obtained, from the enemies of Stilicho, the trifling sacrifice of an obnoxious poet. The poet concealed himself, however, during the tumult of the revolution; and, consulting the dictates of prudence rather than of honour, he addressed, in the form of an epistle, a suppliant and humble recantation to the offended prefect. He deplures, in mournful strains, the fatal indiscretion into which he had been hurried by passion and folly; submits to the imitation of his adversary the generous examples of the clemency of gods, of heroes, and of lions; and expresses his hope, that the magnanimity of Hadrian will not trample on a defenceless and contemptible foe, already humbled by disgrace and poverty; and deeply wounded by the exile, the tortures, and the death of his dearest friends.† Whatever might be the success of his prayer, or the accidents of his future life, the period of a few years levelled in the grave the minister and the poet; but the name of Hadrian is almost sunk in oblivion, while Claudian is read with pleasure in every country which has retained or acquired the knowledge of the Latin language. If we fairly balance his merits and his defects, we shall acknowledge that Claudian does not either satisfy or silence our reason. It would not be easy to produce a passage that deserves the epithet of sublime or pathetic; to select a verse that melts the heart or enlarges the imagination. We should vainly seek, in the poems of Claudian, the happy invention, and artificial conduct, of an interesting fable; or the just and lively representation of the characters and

* See Epigram 30.

Mallius indulget somno noctesque diesque :
 Insomnis Pharius sacra, profana, rapit.
 Omnibus, hoc, Italæ gentes, exposcite votis,
 Mallius ut vigilet, dormiat ut Pharius.

Hadrian was a Pharian (of Alexandria). See his public life in Godofroy, Cod. Theodos. tom. vi, p. 364. Mallius did not always sleep. He composed some elegant dialogues on the Greek systems of natural philosophy. (Claud. in Mall. Theodor. Cons. 61—112.)
 † See Claudian's first epistle. Yet, in some places, an air of irony

situations of real life. For the service of his patron he published occasional panegyrics and invectives: and the design of these slavish compositions encouraged his propensity to exceed the limits of truth and nature. These imperfections, however, are compensated in some degree by the poetical virtues of Claudian. He was endowed with the rare and precious talent of raising the meanest, of adorning the most barren, and of diversifying the most similar, topics: his colouring, more especially in descriptive poetry, is soft and splendid; and he seldom fails to display, and even to abuse, the advantages of a cultivated understanding, a copious fancy, an easy, and sometimes forcible, expression, and a perpetual flow of harmonious versification. To these commendations, independent of any accidents of time and place, we must add the peculiar merit which Claudian derived from the unfavourable circumstances of his birth. In the decline of arts and of empire, a native of Egypt,* who had received the education of a Greek, assumed, in a mature age, the familiar use and absolute command of the Latin language;† soared above the heads of his feeble contemporaries; and placed himself, after an interval of three hundred years, among the poets of ancient Rome.‡

and indignation betrays his secret reluctance.

* National vanity has made him a Florentine or a Spaniard. But the first epistle of Claudian proves him a native of Alexandria. (Fabricius, Biblioth. Latin. tom. iii, p. 191—202, edit. Ernest.)

† His first Latin verses were composed during the consulship of Probinus, A.D. 395.

Romanos bibimus primum, te consule, fontes,
Et Latiae cessit Graia Thalia togæ.

Besides some Greek epigrams, which are still extant, the Latin poet had composed, in Greek, the Antiquities of Tarsus, Anazarbus, Berytus, Nice, &c. It is more easy to supply the loss of good poetry than of authentic history. ‡ Strada (Prolusion. 5. 6.) allows him to contend with the five heroic poets, Lucretius, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, and Statius. His patron is the accomplished courtier Balthazar Castiglione. His admirers are numerous and passionate. Yet the rigid critics reproach the exotic weeds or flowers, which spring too luxuriantly in his Latian soil. [To Gibbon's estimate of Claudian may appropriately be added that of Niebuhr, who says: "Claudian, a Greek of Alexandria, at first wrote in Greek. There are but few instances besides, of foreigners having written so well in a strange tongue. His language is all that can be wished; we see that he made Latin his own with heartfelt liking. He is a true poetical

CHAPTER XXXI.—INVASION OF ITALY BY ALARIC.—MANNERS OF THE ROMAN SENATE AND PEOPLE.—ROME IS THRICE BESIEGED, AND AT LENGTH PILLAGED, BY THE GOTHs.—DEATH OF ALARIC.—THE GOTHs EVACUATE ITALY.—FALL OF CONSTANTINE.—GAUL AND SPAIN ARE OCCUPIED BY THE BARBARIANS.—INDEPENDENCE OF BRITAIN.

THE incapacity of a weak and distracted government may often assume the appearance and produce the effects of a treasonable correspondence with the public enemy. If Alaric himself had been introduced into the council of Ravenna, he would probably have advised the same measures which were actually pursued by the ministers of Honorius.* The king of the Goths would have conspired, perhaps with some reluctance, to destroy the formidable adversary, by whose arms, in Italy as well as in Greece, he had been twice overthrown. Their active and interested hatred laboriously accomplished the disgrace and ruin of the great Stilicho. The valour of Sarus, his fame in arms, and his personal or hereditary influence over the confederate barbarians, could recommend him only to the friends of their country, who despised or detested the worthless characters of Turpilio, Varanes, and Vigilantius. By the pressing instances of the new favourites, these generals, unworthy as they had shown themselves of the name of soldiers,† were promoted to the command of the cavalry, of

genius, although tainted with the mannerism of the later Greek poets; a wonderful master of mythology; and gifted with great ease and brilliancy of language." (Lectures, vol. iii, p. 324.) The religion of this poet, like that of Ausonius, has afforded matter for discussion. Dean Milman refers to an article in the Quarterly Review, on "L'Histoire de la Destruction du Paganisme en Occident," par M. Beugnot, quoting passages to show Claudian's "extraordinary religious indifference." Niebuhr calls him a "heathen Greek," and says that "a poem on the miracles of Christ, which is ascribed to him," was written by Merobaude. Claudian certainly employed the machinery of Pagan mythology with a freedom which Christians, in that age, would scarcely have thought allowable. But the poetic soul has a worship of its own, and disdaining earthly formularies, has recourse to them only to illustrate to others its own higher conceptions.—ED.]

* The series of events, from the death of Stilicho to the arrival of Alaric before Rome, can only be found in Zosimus, l. 5, p. 347—350.

† The expression of Zosimus is strong and lively, *καταφρόνησιν ἐμποιῆσαι τοῖς πολέμοις ἀρκούντας*, sufficient to excite the contempt of the enemy.

the infantry, and of the domestic troops. The Gothic prince would have subscribed with pleasure the edict, which the fanaticism of Olympius dictated to the simple and devout emperor. Honorius excluded all persons, who were adverse to the Catholic church, from holding any office in the state; obstinately rejected the service of all those who dissented from his religion; and rashly disqualified many of his bravest and most skilful officers, who adhered to the Pagan worship, or who had imbibed the opinions of Arianism.* These measures, so advantageous to an enemy, Alaric would have approved, and might perhaps have suggested; but it may seem doubtful whether the barbarian would have promoted his interest at the expense of the inhuman and absurd cruelty, which was perpetrated by the direction, or at least with the connivance, of the imperial ministers. The foreign auxiliaries, who had been attached to the person of Stilicho, lamented his death; but the desire of revenge was checked by a natural apprehension for the safety of their wives and children; who were detained as hostages in the strong cities of Italy, where they had likewise deposited their most valuable effects. At the same hour, and as if by a common signal, the cities of Italy were polluted by the same horrid scenes of universal massacre and pillage, which involved, in promiscuous destruction, the families and fortunes of the barbarians. Exasperated by such an injury, which might have awakened the tamest and most servile spirit, they cast a look of indignation and hope towards the camp of Alaric, and unanimously swore to pursue with just and implacable war, the perfidious nation that had so basely violated the laws of hospitality. By the imprudent conduct

* *Eos qui catholicæ sectæ sunt inimici, intra palatium militare prohibemus. Nullus nobis sit aliqua ratione conjunctus, qui a nobis fide et religione discordat.* Cod. Theodos. l. 16, tit. 5, leg. 42, and Godefroy's Commentary, tom. vi, p. 164. This law was applied in the utmost latitude, and rigorously executed. Zosimus, l. 5, p. 364. [This is quite at variance with the language, which, in a later part of this chapter, Gibbon represents Honorius as holding to "the brave Gennerid," and with the speedy repeal of this intolerant law, which followed. Neander is more correct in saying that "the necessities of the time and the weakness of the empire did not allow it to be carried into strict execution." (*Hist. of Chris.* vol. iii, p. 115.) How often in succeeding times have bigotry and fanaticism deprived states of the services of such men as Gennerid!—ED.]

of the ministers of Honorius, the republic lost the assistance, and deserved the enmity, of thirty thousand of her bravest soldiers; and the weight of that formidable army, which alone might have determined the event of the war, was transferred from the scale of the Romans into that of the Goths.

In the arts of negotiation, as well as in those of war, the Gothic king maintained his superior ascendant over an enemy, whose seeming changes proceeded from the total want of counsel and design. From his camp on the confines of Italy, Alaric attentively observed the revolutions of the palace, watched the progress of faction and discontent, disguised the hostile aspect of a barbarian invader, and assumed the more popular appearance of the friend and ally of the great Stilicho; to whose virtues, when they were no longer formidable, he could pay a just tribute of sincere praise and regret. The pressing invitation of the malcontents, who urged the king of the Goths to invade Italy, was enforced by a lively sense of his personal injuries; and he might speciously complain, that the imperial ministers still delayed and eluded the payment of the four thousand pounds of gold; which had been granted by the Roman senate, either to reward his services, or to appease his fury. His decent firmness was supported by an artful moderation, which contributed to the success of his designs. He required a fair and reasonable satisfaction; but he gave the strongest assurances, that as soon as he had obtained it, he would immediately retire. He refused to trust the faith of the Romans, unless Ætius and Jason, the sons of two great officers of state, were sent as hostages to his camp: but he offered to deliver, in exchange, several of the noblest youths of the Gothic nation. The modesty of Alaric was interpreted by the ministers of Ravenna, as a sure evidence of his weakness and fear. They disdained either to negotiate a treaty, or to assemble an army; and, with a rash confidence, derived only from their ignorance of the extreme danger, irretrievably wasted the decisive moments of peace and war. While they expected in sullen silence, that the barbarians should evacuate the confines of Italy, Alaric, with bold and rapid marches, passed the Alps and the Po; hastily pillaged the cities of Aquileia, Altinum, Concordia,

and Cremona, which yielded to his arms; increased his forces by the accession of thirty thousand auxiliaries; and, without meeting a single enemy in the field, advanced as far as the edge of the morass which protected the impregnable residence of the emperor of the west. Instead of attempting the hopeless siege of Ravenna, the prudent leader of the Goths proceeded to Rimini, stretched his ravages along the sea-coast of the Adriatic, and meditated the conquest of the ancient mistress of the world. An Italian hermit, whose zeal and sanctity were respected by the barbarians themselves, encountered the victorious monarch, and boldly denounced the indignation of heaven against the oppressors of the earth; but the saint himself was confounded by the solemn asseveration of Alaric, that he felt a secret preternatural impulse which directed, and even compelled his march to the gates of Rome. He felt that his genius and his fortune were equal to the most arduous enterprises; and the enthusiasm which he communicated to the Goths, insensibly removed the popular and almost superstitious reverence of the nations for the majesty of the Roman name. His troops, animated by the hopes of spoil, followed the course of the Flaminian way, occupied the unguarded passes of the Apennine,* descended into the rich plains of Umbria; and as they lay encamped on the banks of the Clitumnus, might wantonly slaughter and devour the milk-white oxen which had been so long reserved for the use of Roman triumphs.† A lofty situation, and a seasonable tempest of thunder and lightning, preserved the little city of Narni; but the king of

* Addison (see his works, vol. ii, p. 54, edit. Baskerville) has given a very picturesque description of the road through the Apennine. The Goths were not at leisure to observe the beauties of the prospect; but they were pleased to find that the Saxa Intercisa, a narrow passage which Vespasian had cut through the rock (Cluver. Italia Antiq. tom. i, p. 618) was totally neglected.

† *Hinc albi, Clitumne, greges, et maxima Taurus
Victima, sæpe tuo perfusi flumine sacro,
Romanos ad templa Deum duxere Triumphos.*

Georg. ii, 147.

Besides Virgil, most of the Latin poets, Propertius, Lucan, Silius Italicus, Claudian, &c. whose passages may be found in Cluverius and Addison, have celebrated the triumphal victims of the Clitumnus.

the Goths, despising the ignoble prey, still advanced with unabated vigour; and after he had passed through the stately arches adorned with the spoils of barbaric victories, he pitched his camp under the walls of Rome.*

During a period of six hundred and nineteen years, the seat of empire had never been violated by the presence of a foreign enemy. The unsuccessful expedition of Hannibal† served only to display the character of the senate and people; of a senate degraded, rather than ennobled, by the comparison of an assembly of kings; and of a people, to whom the ambassador of Pyrrhus ascribed the inexhaustible resources of the Hydra.‡ Each of the senators, in the time of the Punic war, had accomplished his term of military service, either in a subordinate or a superior station; and the decree, which invested with temporary command all those who had been consuls, or censors, or dictators, gave the republic the immediate assistance of many brave and experienced generals.§ In the beginning of the war, the Roman people consisted of two hundred and fifty thousand citizens of an age to bear arms.¶ Fifty thousand

* Some ideas of the march of Alaric are borrowed from the journey of Honorius over the same ground. (See Claudian, in 6 Cons. Hon. 494—522.) The measured distance between Ravenna and Rome was two hundred and fifty-four Roman miles. Itinerar. Wes-eling. p. 126.

† The march and retreat of Hannibal are described by Livy, l. 26, c. 7—11, and the reader is made a spectator of the interesting scene.

‡ These comparisons were used by Cyneas, the counsellor of Pyrrhus, after his return from his embassy, in which he had diligently studied the discipline and manners of Rome. See Plutarch in Pyrrho, tom. ii, p. 459. [Horace in his fine Ode (4. 4) makes the desponding Hannibal compare his indomitable foe to the same monster.

“Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso
Ducit opes animumque ferro;
Non Hydra seeto corpore firmior
Vinei dolentem erevit in Herculem.”—Ed.]

§ Mark the contrast between this picture and that which the same body presented when (vol. i, p. 326) Gallienus published an edict “which prohibited the senators from exercising any military employment, and even from approaching the camps of the legions; and they accepted as a favour, this disgraceful exemption from military service.” The degradation is not mitigated by the fact that the law was a dead letter. Within twenty-two years after its enactment, the prætorian prefect Carus, having been made emperor by the legions, in the letter announcing his election, congratulated the senate that the choice had fallen on “one of their own order.” See vol. i, p. 409.—Ed.]

¶ In the three *census* which were made of the Roman people, about

had already died in the defence of their country; and the twenty-three legions, which were employed in the different camps of Italy, Greece, Sardinia, Sicily, and Spain, required about one hundred thousand men. But there still remained an equal number in Rome, and the adjacent territory, who were animated by the same intrepid courage; and every citizen was trained, from his earliest youth, in the discipline and exercise of a soldier. Hannibal was astonished by the constancy of the senate, who, without raising the siege of Capua, or recalling their scattered forces, expected his approach. He encamped on the banks of the Anio, at the distance of three miles from the city; and he was soon informed, that the ground on which he had pitched his tent, was sold at an adequate price at a public auction; and that a body of troops was dismissed by an opposite road to reinforce the legions of Spain.* He led his Africans to the gates of Rome, where he found three armies in order of

the time of the second Punic war, the numbers stand as follows (see Livy, Epitom. l. 20; Hist. l. 27, 36, 29, 37), 270,213; 137,108; 214,000. The fall of the second, and the rise of the third, appears so enormous, that several critics, notwithstanding the unanimity of the MSS. have suspected some corruption of the text of Livy. (See Drakenborch ad 27, 36, and Beaufort, République Romaine, tom. i, p. 325.) They did not consider that the second *census* was taken only at Rome, and that the numbers were diminished not only by the death, but likewise by the *absence* of many soldiers. In the third *census*, Livy expressly affirms, that the legions were mustered by the care of particular commissaries. From the numbers on the list, we must always deduct one-twelfth above threescore, and incapable of bearing arms. See Population de la France, p. 72. [The first census of these three was taken A.U.C. 534, two years before Hannibal entered Italy, and the last in 550, after Scipio had landed his army in Africa. The intervening period was one of great confusion, during which the citizens of Rome were very irregularly numbered. A people struggling for existence had no leisure for statistics. In 540 one censor died, his colleague resigned, and there was no *lustrum conditum*. The same occurred again in 544. In 546 the censors, Cornelius Cethegus and Sempronius Tuditanus, were inexperienced men, "nondum consules;" the returns from the armies in the field were imperfect; and the register exhibited only 137,108 citizens. Livy's words, "*Minor aliquanto numerus quam qui ante bellum fuerat*," xxvii, 36, imply that there was not so wide a difference between the actual number of citizens at that time and 270,213 the number of the census in 534; and that though the carnage of war had thinned their ranks, yet the defalcation was not to such an extent.—ED.] * Livy considers these two incidents as the effects only of chance and courage. I suspect that they were both managed by the admirable policy of the senate.

battle, prepared to receive him; but Hannibal dreaded the event of a combat, from which he could not hope to escape, unless he destroyed the last of his enemies; and his speedy retreat confessed the invincible courage of the Romans.

From the time of the Punic war, the uninterrupted succession of senators had preserved the name and image of the republic; and the degenerate subjects of Honorius ambitiously derived their descent from the heroes who had repulsed the arms of Hannibal, and subdued the nations of the earth. The temporal honours, which the devout Paula * inherited and despised, are carefully recapitulated by Jerome, the guide of her conscience and the historian of her life. The genealogy of her father, Rogatus, which ascended as high as Agamemnon, might seem to betray a Grecian origin; but her mother, Bæilla, numbered the Scipios, Æmilius Paulus, and the Gracchi, in the list of her ancestors; and Toxotius, the husband of Paula, deduced his royal lineage from Æneas, the father of the Julian line. The vanity of the rich, who desired to be noble, was gratified by these lofty pretensions. Encouraged by the applause of their parasites, they easily imposed on the credulity of the vulgar; and were countenanced, in some measure, by the custom of adopting the name of their patron, which had always prevailed among the freedmen and clients of illustrious families. Most of those families, however, attacked by so many causes of external violence or internal decay, were gradually extirpated; and it would be more reasonable to seek for a lineal descent of twenty generations among the mountains of the Alps, or in the peaceful solitude of Apulia, than on the theatre of Rome, the seat of fortune, of danger, and of perpetual revolutions. Under each successive reign, and from every province of the empire, a crowd of hardy adventurers, rising to eminence by their talents or their vices, usurped the wealth, the honours, and the palaces of Rome; and oppressed or protected the poor and humble remains of consular families, who were ignorant perhaps of the glory of their ancestors.†

* See Jerome, tom. i, p. 169, 170, ad Eustochium; he bestows on Paula the splendid titles of Gracchorum stirps, soboles Scipionum, Pauli hæres, ejus vocabulum trahit Martiæ Papyriæ Matris Africani vera et germana propago. This particular description supposes a more solid title than the surname of Julius, which Toxotius shared with a thousand families of the western provinces. See the index of Tacitus, of Gruter's Inscriptions, &c. † Tacitus (Annal. 355)

In the time of Jerome and Claudian, the senators unanimously yielded the pre-eminence to the Anician line; and a slight view of *their* history will serve to appreciate the rank and antiquity of the noble families which contended only for the second place.* During the five first ages of the city, the name of the Anicians was unknown; they appear to have derived their origin from Præneste; and the ambition of those new citizens was long satisfied with the plebeian honours of tribunes of the people.† One hundred and sixty-eight years before the Christian era, the family was ennobled by the prætorship of Anicius, who gloriously terminated the Illyrian war by the conquest of the nation and the captivity of their king.‡ From the triumph of that general, three consulships, in distant periods, mark the succession of the Anician name.§ From the reign of Diocletian to the final extinction of the western empire, that name shone with a lustre which was not eclipsed in the public estimation by the majesty of the imperial purple.¶ The *affirms*, that between the battle of Actium and the reign of Vespasian, the senate was gradually filled with *new families* from the Municipia and colonies of Italy.

* Nec quisquam Procerum tentet (licet ære vetusto
Floreat, et claro cingatur Roma senatû)
Se jactare parem; sed primâ sede relictâ
Auchenis, de jure licet certare secundo.

Claud. in Prob. et Olybrii Coss. 18.

Such a compliment paid to the obscure name of the Auchenii has amazed the critics; but they all agree that, whatever may be the true reading, the sense of Claudian can be applied only to the Anician family. [The name of Anicius Auchenius Bassus, præfectus Urbis and proconsul Campaniæ, in the reign of Gratian, appears in an inscription given by Muratori (vol. iv, p. 464), and in two by Corsin. (præf. Urb. p. 275). See Clin. F. R. ii. 122.—Ed.] † The earliest date in the annals of Pighius, is that of M. Anicius Gallus, Trib. Pl. A.U.C. 506. Another tribune, Q. Anicius, A.U.C. 508, is distinguished by the epithet of Prænestinus. Livy (45. 43) places the Anicii below the great families of Rome.

‡ Livy, 44. 30, 31. 45. 3. 26. 43. He fairly appreciates the merit of Anicius, and justly observes, that his fame was clouded by the superior lustre of the Macedonian, which preceded the Illyrian triumph.

§ The dates of the three consulships are, A.U.C. 593, 818, 967, the two last under the reigns of Nero and Caracalla. The second of these consuls distinguished himself only by his infamous flattery (Tacit. Annal. 15. 74); but even the evidence of crimes, if they bear the stamp of greatness and antiquity, is admitted, without reluctance, to prove the genealogy of a noble house.

¶ In the sixth century, the nobility of the Anician name is mentioned (Cassiodor. Variar. l. 10, Ep. 10. 12) with singular respect, by the minister of a Gothic king of Italy.

several branches, to whom it was communicated, united, by marriage or inheritance, the wealth and titles of the Annian, the Petronian, and the Olybrian houses; and in each generation the number of consulships was multiplied by an hereditary claim.* The Anician family excelled in faith and riches: they were the first of the Roman senate who embraced Christianity; and it is probable that Anicius Julian, who was afterwards consul and prefect of the city, atoned for his attachment to the party of Maxentius, by the readiness with which he accepted the religion of Constantine.† Their ample patrimony was increased by the industry of Probus, the chief of the Anician family; who shared with Gratian the honours of the consulship, and exercised, four times, the high office of prætorian prefect.‡ His immense estates were scattered over the wide extent of the Roman world: and though the public might suspect or disapprove the methods by which they had been acquired, the generosity and magnificence of that fortunate statesman deserved the gratitude of his clients and the admiration of strangers.§ Such was the respect entertained for his memory, that the two sons of Probus, in their earliest

* ————— Fixus in omnes

Cognatos procedit honos; quemcumque requiras
Hæc do stirpe virum, certum est de Consule nasci.
Per fasces numerantur avi, semperque renatâ
Nobilitate virent, et prolem fata sequuntur.

(Claudian in Prob. et Olyb. Consulat. 12, &c.) The Annii, whose name seems to have merged in the Anician, mark the Fasti with many consulships, from the time of Vespasian to the fourth century.

† The title of first Christian senator may be justified by the authority of Prudentius (in Symmach. 1. 553), and the dislike of the Pagans to the Anician family. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv, p. 183. 5, p. 44. Baron. Annal. A.D. 312, No. 78; A.D. 322, No. 2.

‡ Probus . . . claritudine generis et potentiâ et opum magnitudine, cognitus Orbi Romano, per quem universum pæne patrimonium sparsa possedit, juste an sceus non judiciioli est nostri. Ammian. Marcellin. 27. 11. His children and widow erected for him a magnificent tomb in the Vatican, which was demolished in the time of pope Nicholas V. to make room for the new church of St. Peter. Baronius, who laments the ruin of this Christian monument, has diligently preserved the inscriptions and basso-relievos. See Annal. Eccles. A.D. 395, No. 5—17.

§ Two Persian satraps travelled to Milan and Rome, to hear St. Ambrose and to see Probus. (Paulin. in Vit. Ambros.) Claudian (in Cons. Probin. et Olybr. 30—60) seems at a loss how to express the glory of Probus.

youth, and at the request of the senate, were associated in the consular dignity; a memorable distinction, without example in the annals of Rome.*

The marbles of the Anician palace were used as a proverbial expression of opulence and splendour;† but the nobles and senators of Rome aspired, in due gradation, to imitate that illustrious family. The accurate description of the city, which was composed in the Theodosian age, enumerates one thousand seven hundred and eighty houses, the residence of wealthy and honourable citizens.‡ Many of these stately mansions might almost excuse the exaggeration of the poet; that Rome contained a multitude of palaces, and that each palace was equal to a city; since it included within its own precincts, everything which could be subservient either to use or luxury; markets, hippodromes, temples, fountains, baths, porticos, shady groves, and artificial aviaries.§ The historian Olympiodorus, who represents the state of Rome when it was besieged by the Goths,¶ continues to observe, that several of the richest senators received from their estates an annual income of four thousand pounds of gold, above one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling; without computing the stated provision of corn and wine, which, had they been sold, might have equalled in value one third of the money. Compared to this immoderate wealth, an ordinary revenue of a thousand or fifteen hundred pounds of gold might be considered as no more than adequate to the dignity of the senatorial rank, which required many expenses of a public and ostentatious kind. Several examples are recorded in the age of Honorius, of vain and popular nobles, who celebrated the year of their prætorship by a festival, which lasted

* See the poem which Claudian addressed to the two noble youths.

† Secundinus the Manichæan, ap. Baron. *Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 390, No. 34.

‡ See Nardini, *Roma Antica*, p. 89, 498. 500.

§ *Quid loquar inclusas inter laquearia sylvas?*

Vernula quæ vario carmine ludit avis?

Claud. Rutil. Numatian. *Itinerar.* ver. 111.

The poet lived at the time of the Gothic invasion. A moderate palace would have covered Cincinnatus's farm of four acres. (*Val. Max.* 4. 4.) In *laxitatem ruris excurrunt*, says Seneca, *epist.* 114. See a judicious note of Mr. Hume, *Essays*, vol. i, p. 562, last 8vo. edition.

¶ This curious account of Rome, in the reign of Honorius, is found in a fragment of the historian Olympiodorus, ap. Photium, p. 197.

seven days, and cost above one hundred thousand pounds sterling.* The estates of the Roman senators, which so far exceeded the proportion of modern wealth, were not confined to the limits of Italy. Their possessions extended far beyond the Ionian and Ægean seas, to the most distant provinces; the city of Nicopolis, which Augustus had founded as an eternal monument of the Actian victory, was the property of the devout Paula,† and it is observed by Seneca, that the rivers which had divided hostile nations, now flowed through the lands of private citizens.‡ According to

* The sons of Alypius, of Symmachus, and of Maximus, spent, during their respective prætorships, twelve, or twenty, or forty *centenaries* (or hundred weight of gold.) See Olympiodor. ap. Phot. p. 197. This popular estimation allows some latitude; but it is difficult to explain a law in the Theodosian Code (l. 6, leg. 5), which fixes the expense of the first prætor at twenty-five thousand, of the second at twenty thousand, and of the third at fifteen thousand *folles*. The name of *folles* (see Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii; p. 727) was equally applied to a purse of one hundred and twenty-five pieces of silver, and to a small copper coin of the value of $\frac{1}{24}$ part of that purse. In the former sense, the twenty-five thousand folles would be equal to 150,000*l.*, in the latter, to five or six pounds sterling. The one appears extravagant, the other is ridiculous. There must have existed some third and middle value, which is here understood; but ambiguity is an excusable fault in the language of laws.

† Nicopolis . . . in Actiaco littore sita possessionis vestræ nunc pars vel maxima est. Jerom. in præfat. Comment. ad Epistol. ad Titum, tom. ix, p. 243. M. de Tillemont supposes, strangely enough, that it was part of Agamemnon's inheritance. Mém. Ecclési. tom. xii, p. 85.

‡ Seneca, epist. 89. His language is of the declamatory kind: but declamation could scarcely exaggerate the avarice and luxury of the Romans. The philosopher himself deserved some share of the reproach; if it be true that his rigorous exaction of *quadringenties*, above three hundred thousand pounds, which he had lent at high interest, provoked a rebellion in Britain. (Dion Cassius, l. 62, p. 1003.) According to the conjecture of Gale (Antoninus's Itinerary in Britain, p. 92) the same Faustinus possessed an estate near Bury, in Suffolk, and another in the kingdom of Naples. [The Villa Faustini is known only as a stage in the fifth Iter of Antoninus. Later antiquarians than Gale, have fixed its site at Dunmow, in Essex. (Gough's Additions to Camden, vol. ii, p. 54. 79.) The name of Bury, which is another form of burg or borough, denotes a Roman station, but it indicates a fortified post, which does not accord with the idea of a private citizen's villa. All that Dion Cassius says of Seneca, must be received very cautiously. Niebuhr, who himself disliked the philosopher, admits (Lectures, vol. iii, p. 186) that the historian's opinion of him is "exaggerated and much too bitter." The loan of above 300,000*l.* to Britain, is as improbable as that a London capitalist

their temper and circumstances; the estates of the Romans were either cultivated by the labour of their slaves, or granted, for a certain and stipulated rent, to the industrious farmer. The economical writers of antiquity strenuously recommend the former method, wherever it may be practicable; but if the object should be removed by its distance or magnitude, from the immediate eye of the master, they prefer the active care of an old hereditary tenant, attached to the soil, and interested in the produce, to the mercenary administration of a negligent, perhaps an unfaithful steward.*

The opulent nobles of an immense capital, who were never excited by the pursuit of military glory, and seldom engaged in the occupations of civil government, naturally resigned their leisure to the business and amusements of private life. At Rome, commerce was always held in contempt; but the senators, from the first age of the republic, increased their patrimony and multiplied their clients by the lucrative practice of usury; and the obsolete laws were eluded or violated by the mutual inclinations and interest of both parties.† A considerable mass of treasure must

of the present day should lend money to the Kaffirs. From the time of Julius Cæsar, Britain had been quite neglected, and the war of Claudius was the first step towards forming a Roman province in the island. A few maritime stations may have been occupied, and tribute collected there in the form of *portoria*, but no inland authority had been organized to promise even a shadow of security such as might have tempted the greedy to lend money even at the most usurious rate of interest. Dion Cassius had also previously given (l. 60, p. 957) a very different account of the expedition undertaken by Claudius. It is there attributed to a man named Vericus, who had been expelled from the island, and implored the emperor to interfere on his behalf. Camden intimates that some had imagined a connection between this man, who in Dion's Greek is written *Bericus*, and the Anglo-Saxon name *Bedericsworth*, by which Bury St. Edmunds was not known till more than four hundred years afterwards. He also denies what Gale asserts, that the Faustinus of Britain was the same, whose villa Martial described at Baia. There is no authority for it.—Ed.]

* Volusius, a wealthy senator (Tacit. Annal. 3. 30), always preferred tenants born on the estate. Columella, who received this maxim from him, argues very judiciously on the subject. De Re Rusticâ, l. 1, c. 7, p. 408, edit. Gesner, Leipsig, 1735.

† Valesius (ad Ammian. 14. 6) has proved, from Chrysostom and Augustin, that the senators were not allowed to lend money at usury. Yet it appears from the Theodosian Code (see Godefroy, ad l. 2, tit. 32, tom. i, p. 280—289) that they were permitted to take six per cent. or one half of the legal interest; and, what is more singular, this permission was granted to

always have existed at Rome, either in the current coin of the empire, or in the form of gold and silver plate; and there were many sideboards in the time of Pliny, which contained more solid silver than had been transported by Scipio from vanquished Carthage.* The greater part of the nobles, who dissipated their fortunes in profuse luxury, found themselves poor in the midst of wealth; and idle in a constant round of dissipation. Their desires were continually gratified by the labour of a thousand hands; of the numerous train of their domestic slaves who were actuated by the fear of punishment, and of the various professions of artificers and merchants who were more powerfully impelled by the hopes of gain. The ancients were destitute of many of the conveniencies of life, which have been invented or improved by the progress of industry; and the plenty of glass and linen has diffused more real comforts among the modern nations of Europe, than the senators of Rome could derive from all the refinements of pompous or sensual luxury.†

the young senators.

* Plin. Hist. Natur. 33. 50. He states the silver at only four thousand three hundred and eighty pounds, which is increased by Livy (30. 45) to one hundred thousand and twenty-three: the former seems too little for an opulent city, the latter too much for any private sideboard.

† The learned Arbutnot (Tables of Ancient Coins, &c. p. 153) has observed, with humour, and I believe with truth, that Augustus had neither glass to his windows nor a shirt to his back. Under the lower empire, the use of linen and glass became somewhat more common. [Both linen and glass were known to the Romans in the days of Augustus; Strabo, who was his contemporary, says (l. 11) that Colchis produced flax abundantly, and was celebrated for the linen, which it manufactured and exported largely to other countries. The same, too, is stated by him (l. 16) of Borsippa, a Chaldean town, on the Roman side of the Euphrates. In Egypt, too, it had been long in use. It is not to be supposed that such commodities had failed to reach the capital of the world. Horace also, when he celebrates the fountain of Blandusia as more transparent than glass, "*splendidior vitro*," proves that this article was then well known in Rome. Pliny, who was born a very short time after the death of Augustus, speaks of it as in very common use. It had superseded gold and silver for drinking cups (H. N. 36, 67), and medicine was put into "*vitreas ampullas*" (lb. 20, 54.) When he says (lb. 15, 18) that it was usual to protect fruit from cold winds "*specularibus*," the term is considered by commentators as equivalent to "*fenestris vitreis*;" and Sidon is named by him as noted for the manufacture of glass; "*Sidon artifex vitri*" (lb. 5, 17.) Had it been only recently introduced at Rome, he would not have failed to notice such a fact. These are other evidences than the glass vessels found at Pompeii,

Their luxury and their manners have been the subject of minute and laborious disquisition; but as such inquiries would divert me too long from the design of the present work, I shall produce an authentic state of Rome and its inhabitants, which is more peculiarly applicable to the period of the Gothic invasion. Ammianus Marcellinus, who prudently chose the capital of the empire as the residence the best adapted to the historian of his own times, has mixed with the narrative of public events a lively representation of the scenes with which he was familiarly conversant. The judicious reader will not always approve of the asperity of censure, the choice of circumstances or the style of expression; he will perhaps detect the latent prejudices and personal resentments which soured the temper of Ammianus himself; but he will surely observe, with philosophic curiosity, the interesting and original picture of the manners of Rome. *

"The greatness of Rome (such is the language of the historian) was founded on the rare, and almost incredible alliance, of virtue and of fortune. The long period of her infancy was employed in a laborious struggle against the tribes of Italy, the neighbours and enemies of the rising city. In the strength and ardour of youth, she sustained the storms of war; carried her victorious arms beyond the seas and the mountains; and brought home triumphant laurels from every country of the globe. At length, verging towards old age, and sometimes conquering by the terror only of her name, she sought the blessings of ease and tranquillity. The VENERABLE CITY which had trampled on the necks of the fiercest nations, and established a system of laws, the perpetual guardians of justice and freedom, was content, like a wise and wealthy parent, to devolve on the Cæsars, her favourite sons, the care of governing her ample patrimony. †

which serve, however, as collateral proofs.—ED.] * It is incumbent on me to explain the liberties which I have taken with the text of Ammianus. 1. I have melted down into one piece the sixth chapter of the fourteenth, and the fourth of the twenty-eighth book. 2. I have given order and connection to the confused mass of materials. 3. I have softened some extravagant hyperboles, and pared away some superfluities of the original. 4. I have developed some observation, which were insinuated rather than expressed. With these allowances, my version will be found not literal indeed, but faithful and exact.

† Claudian, who seems to have read the history of Ammianus, speaks of this great revolution in a much less courtly style:—

A secure and profound peace, such as had been once enjoyed in the reign of Numa, succeeded to the tumults of a republic; while Rome was still adored as the queen of the earth; and the subject nations still revered the name of the people and the majesty of the senate. But this native splendour (continues Ammianus) is degraded and sullied by the conduct of some nobles; who, unmindful of their own dignity and that of their country, assume an unbounded license of vice and folly. They contend with each other in the empty vanity of titles and surnames; and curiously select or invent the most lofty and sonorous appellations, Reburus, or Fabunius, Pagonius, or Tarrasius,* which may impress the ears of the vulgar with astonishment and respect. From a vain ambition of perpetuating their memory, they affect to multiply their likeness in statues of bronze and marble; nor are they satisfied, unless those statues are covered with plates of gold: an honourable distinction, first granted to Acilius the consul, after he had subdued by his arms and counsels the power of king Antiochus. The ostentation of displaying, of magnifying, perhaps, the rent-roll of the estates which they possess in all the provinces, from the rising to the setting sun, provokes the just resentment of every man, who recollects that their poor and invincible ancestors were not distinguished from the meanest of the soldiers by the delicacy of their food, or the splendour of their apparel. But the modern nobles measure their rank and consequence according to the loftiness of their chariots,† and the weighty magnificence of their dress. Their long

Postquam jura ferox in se communia Cæsar
Transtulit; et lapsi mores; desuetaque prisca
Artibus, in gremium pacis servile recessi.

Do Bell. Gildonico, p. 49.

* The minute diligence of antiquarians has not been able to verify these extraordinary names. I am of opinion that they were invented by the historian himself, who was afraid of any personal satire or application. It is certain, however, that the simple denominations of the Romans were gradually lengthened to the number of four, five, or even seven, pompous surnames; as for instance, Marcus Mæcius Maximus, Furus Balburus Cæcilianus Placidus. See Noris, Cenotaph. Pagan. Dissert. 4. p. 438.

† The *carruca*, or coaches of the Romans, were often of solid silver, curiously carved and engraved; and the trappings of the mules or horses were embossed with gold. This magnificence continued from the reign of Nero to that of Honorius; and the Appian way was covered with the splendid equipages of the nobles, who came

robes of silk and purple float in the wind; and as they are agitated by art or accident, they occasionally discover the under garments, the rich tunics, embroidered with the figures of various animals.* Followed by a train of fifty servants, and tearing up the pavement, they move along the streets with the same impetuous speed as if they travelled with post-horses; and the example of the senators is boldly imitated by the matrons and ladies, whose covered carriages are continually driving round the immense space of the city and suburbs. Whenever these persons of high distinction condescend to visit the public baths, they assume, on their entrance, a tone of loud and insolent command, and appropriate to their own use the conveniences which were designed for the Roman people. If, in these places of mixed and general resort, they meet any of the infamous ministers of their pleasures, they express their affection by a tender embrace; while they proudly decline the salutations of their fellow-citizens, who are not permitted to aspire above the honour of kissing their hands or their knees. As soon as they have indulged themselves in the refreshment of the bath, they resume their rings and the other ensigns of their dignity; select from their private wardrobe of the finest linen, such as might suffice for a dozen persons, the garments the most agreeable to their fancy, and maintain till their departure the same haughty demeanour; which perhaps might have been excused in the great Marcellus, after the conquest of Syracuse. Sometimes, indeed, these heroes undertake more arduous achievements; they visit their estates in Italy, and procure themselves, by the toil of servile hands, the amusements of the chase.† If at any time, but more especially on a hot day, they have courage to sail, out to meet St. Melania, when she returned to Rome six years before the Gothic siege. (Seneca, *epist.* 87, *Plin. Hist. Nat.* 33, 49. *Paulin. Nolan.* apud *Baron. Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 397, No. 5.) Yet pomp is well exchanged for convenience; and a plain modern coach that is hung upon springs, is much preferable to the silver or gold *carts* of antiquity, which rolled on the axle-tree, and were exposed, for the most part, to the inclemency of the weather.

* In a homily of Asterius, bishop of Amasia, M. de Valois has discovered (*ad Ammian.* 14, 6), that this was a new fashion; that bears, wolves, lions, and tigers, woods, hunting matches, &c. were represented in embroidery; and that the more pious coxcombs substituted the figure or legend of some favourite saint.

† See Pliny's *Epistles*, 1, 6. Three large wild boars were allured and taken in the toils, without interrupting

in their painted galleys, from the Lucrine lake,* to their elegant villas on the seacoast of Puteoli and Cayeta,† they compare their own expeditions to the marches of Cæsar and Alexander. Yet should a fly presume to settle on the silken folds of their gilded umbrellas; should a sunbeam penetrate through some unguarded and imperceptible chink, they deplore their intolerable hardships, and lament in affected language, that they were not born in the land of the Cimmerians,‡ the regions of eternal darkness. In these journeys

the studies of the philosophic sportsman. * The change from the inauspicious word *Avernus*, which stands in the text, is immaterial. The two lakes, Avernus and Lucrinus, communicated with each other, and were fashioned by the stupendous moles of Agrippa into the Julian port, which opened through a narrow entrance into the gulf of Puteoli. Virgil, who resided on the spot, has described (Georgic 2, 161) this work at the moment of its execution; and his commentators, especially Catrou, have derived much light from Strabo, Suetonius, and Dion. Earthquakes and volcanoes have changed the face of the country, and turned the Lucrine lake, since the year 1538, into the *Monto Nuovo*. See Camillo Pellegrino, *Discorsi della Campania Felice*, p. 239, 244, &c. Antonii Sanfelicii *Campania*, p. 13, 88.

† The regna Cumana et Puteolana; loca cæteroqui valde expetenda, interpellantium autem multitudinem pœno fugienda. Cicero ad Attic. 16, 17. [Cumæ was one of the most ancient and most remarkable cities in Italy. Its origin was involved in such obscurity, that while some, from the mere resemblance of name, make it a colony from the Æolian Cymæ, others assert it to have been founded 1030 years B.C., from Chalcis in Eubœa (Heeren's Manual, p. 136), and others say that it existed two hundred years before any Greeks arrived in that region. (Niebuhr's Lectures, vol. i, p. 150.) The name and situation of Cumæ make it probable that it was an early abode of the Celts, at the meeting of waters, where the two lakes, Avernus and Lucrinus, united with the bay, and constituted what Dios Cassius (lib. 48, p. 386) called "*a triple sea*." This became in later times the celebrated harbour of Misenum, and near it the Roman nobles raised their magnificent villas of Baia. Like the Lucrine lake, their very sites are now hidden beneath earthquake and volcanic desolation. The sulphureous exhalations, which gave to Lake Avernus its fearful character, invested the neighbourhood with superstitious terrors, and there was the fabled entrance to Hades. Ignorant mariners of Phœnicia and Ionia exaggerated these horrors, and from similarity of name and circumstances confounded the scene of them with the Cimmerium of the Euxine. Homer thus made a part of the coast of Italy the land of the Cimmerioi, and this was imitated by Virgil.—Ed.]

‡ The proverbial expression of *Cimmerian darkness* was originally borrowed from the description of Homer (in the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*), which he applies to a remote and fabulous country on the shores of the ocean. (See Erasmus Adagia, in his works, tom. ii, p. 593, the Leyden edition.) ["Cimme-

into the country,* the whole body of the household marches with their master. In the same manner as the cavalry and infantry, the heavy and the light-armed troops, the

rian darkness" had neither so "fabulous a country" nor so uncertain a meaning. The obscurity in which the expression was involved, arose from the clouds of erudition which made the inventions of poets appear to be realities of geography, and magnified fables of primeval ignorance into historical facts. The passage in the *Erasmi Adagia*, to which we are referred for instruction, leaves us more in the dark than we were at first. These erroneous views have been adverted to before. (See vol. i. p. 473.) Our attention is here directed to their origin. How imperfectly the early Greeks were acquainted with the Euxine Sea is evinced in all that has been sung respecting the Argonauts, in whose time the mouths of the Danube were the farthest extremity of the ocean, ὑπὸν κίρας Ὀκεανῶιο. When some bold adventurers afterwards reached the strait that connects the Palus Mæotis with that sea, they found there a Celtic settlement named from the Kymmer, or meeting of waters. (Æschylus, *Prom. Vinc.* 754—759, *Callim. ad Dian.* 254.) Surrounding forests, thick mists, and wintry sleet, filled them with horrid ideas, and they carried back to their countrymen marvellous accounts of a Cimmerian people, on whom the sun never shone. With these Homer confounded, as seen in the last note, the Cumani of Italy; and succeeding poets and tragedians copied from him. Historians and geographers connected both with the Kimmerioi of Herodotus, and then with the Cimbri of the northern Chersonesus. Philosophers like Cicero (*Acad. Quæst.* 4, 19) adorned their pages by allusions to them. Josephus made them all descend from the Gomer of Genesis; fathers of the church followed him, and modern writers have found the name still preserved by the Cymri of Wales. Of this chain Strabo is the main link, and is the great authority on whom Erasmus relies. While Strabo rejects as fallacious the statements of others (*lib.* 7, p. 449), he supplies in their place (*lib.* 1, p. 9. 31; *lib.* 3, p. 200; *lib.* 5, p. 351; *lib.* 7, p. 450, &c.) a mass of unsubstantial deductions from poets, and vague conjectures of his own, so irreconcilable even with each other, that his commentator Casaubon, when comparing two of them, says, "*qui locus huic tam contrarius est quam aqua igni.*" Plutarch confesses (*in Vit. Marii* c. 11) that nothing that had been said on the subject could be depended upon; and Pliny, treating of the north of Germany, with which Strabo had been dealing so strangely, despaired of giving any clear account. (*Hist. Nat.* *lib.* 4, c. 12, 13.) The only solution of the difficulty is that proposed in the above cited note, of distinguishing the geographical from the historical Cimmerioi, and regarding the latter, not as a permanent name of a people, but as the occasional designation of a league. The "*Cimmeriæ tenebræ*" will then appear to be only a proverbial exaggeration of the gloomy atmosphere found by the early Greeks in the region where the Palus Mæotis joins the Euxine.—ED.]

* We may learn from Seneca (*epist.* 123) three curious circumstances relative to the journeys of the Romans. 1. They were pre-

advanced guard and the rear, are marshalled by the skill of their military leaders; so the domestic officers, who bear a rod as an ensign of authority, distribute and arrange the numerous train of slaves and attendants. The baggage and wardrobe move in the front, and are immediately followed by a multitude of cooks and inferior ministers, employed in the service of the kitchens and of the table. The main body is composed of a promiscuous crowd of slaves, increased by the accidental concourse of idle or dependent plebeians. The rear is closed by the favourite band of eunuchs, distributed from age to youth according to the order of seniority. Their numbers and their deformity excite the horror of the indignant spectators, who are ready to execrate the memory of Semiramis for the cruel art which she invented of frustrating the purposes of nature, and of blasting in the bud the hopes of future generations. In the exercise of domestic jurisdiction, the nobles of Rome express an exquisite sensibility for any personal injury, and a contemptuous indifference for the rest of the human species. When they have called for warm water, if a slave has been tardy in his obedience, he is instantly chastised with three hundred lashes: but should the same slave commit a wilful murder, the master will mildly observe, that he is a worthless fellow; but that, if he repeats the offence, he shall not escape punishment. Hospitality was formerly the virtue of the Romans; and every stranger who could plead either merit or misfortune was relieved or rewarded by their generosity. At present, if a foreigner, perhaps of no contemptible rank, is introduced to one of the proud and wealthy senators, he is welcomed indeed in the first audience with such warm professions, and such kind inquiries, that he retires enchanted with the affability of his illustrious friend, and full of regret that he had so long delayed his journey to Rome, the native seat of manners as well as of empire. Secure of a favourable reception, he repeats his visit the ensuing

ceded by a troop of Numidian light horse, who announced, by a cloud of dust, the approach of a great man. 2. Their baggage-mules transported not only their precious vases, but even the fragile vessels of crystal and *murra*, which last is almost proved, by the learned French translator of Seneca (tom. iii, p. 402—422), to mean the porcelain of China and Japan. 3. The beautiful faces of the young slaves were covered with a medicated crust or ointment, which secured them against the effects of the sun and frost.

day, and is mortified by the discovery that his person, his name, and his country; are already forgotten. If he still has resolution to persevere, he is gradually numbered in the train of dependents, and obtains the permission to pay his assiduous and unprofitable court to a haughty patron, incapable of gratitude or friendship; who scarcely deigns to remark his presence, his departure, or his return. Whenever the rich prepare a solemn and popular entertainment,* whenever they celebrate with profuse and pernicious luxury their private banquets, the choice of the guests is the subject of anxious deliberation. The modest, the sober, and the learned, are seldom preferred; and the nomenclators, who are commonly swayed by interested motives, have the address to insert in the list of invitations the obscure names of the most worthless of mankind. But the frequent and familiar companions of the great, are those parasites who practise the most useful of all arts, the art of flattery; who eagerly applaud each word and every action of their immortal patron; gaze with rapture on his marble columns and variegated pavements, and strenuously praise the pomp and elegance which he is taught to consider as a part of his personal merit. At the Roman tables, the birds, the *squirrels*,† or the fish, which appear of an uncommon size,

* *Distributio solemnium sportularum.* The *sportulæ* or *sportellæ*, were small baskets, supposed to contain a quantity of hot provisions, of the value of one hundred quadrantes, or twelve pence halfpenny, which were ranged in order in the hall, and ostentatiously distributed to the hungry or servile crowd, who waited at the door. This indelicate custom is very frequently mentioned in the epigrams of Martial, and the satires of Juvenal. See likewise Suetonius, in Claud. c. 21; in Neron. c. 16; in Domitian. c. 4. 7. These baskets of provisions were afterwards converted into large pieces of gold and silver coin or plate, which were mutually given and accepted, even by persons of the highest rank, (see Symmach. epist. 4, 55; 9, 124; and Miscell. p. 256,) on solemn occasions, of consulships, marriages, &c.

† The want of an English name obliges me to refer to the common genus of squirrels, the Latin *glis*, the French *loir*; a little animal who inhabits the woods, and remains torpid in cold weather. (See Plin. Hist. Natur. 8, 82. Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. viii, p. 158. Pennant's Synopsis of Quadrupeds, p. 289.) The art of rearing and fattening great numbers of *glîres* was practised in Roman villas, as a profitable article of rural economy. (Varro, de Re Rusticâ, 3, 15.) The excessive demand of them, for luxurious tables, was increased by the foolish prohibitions of the censors; and it is reported that they are still esteemed in modern Rome, and are frequently sent as pre-

are contemplated with curious attention; a pair of scales is accurately applied to ascertain their real weight; and while the more rational guests are disgusted by the vain and tedious repetition, notaries are summoned to attest, by an authentic record, the truth of such a marvellous event. Another method of introduction into the houses and society of the great, is derived from the profession of gaming, or, as it is more politely styled, of play. The confederates are united by a strict and indissoluble bond of friendship, or rather of conspiracy: a superior degree of skill in the Tesserarian art (which may be interpreted the game of dice and tables);* is a sure road to wealth and reputation. A

sents by the Colonna princeps. (See Brotier, the last editor of Pliny, tom. ii, p. 458, apud Barbou, 1779. [The Latin *glis* and French *loir*, are generally considered to be the little animal to which we have given the hybrid name of *dormouse*. M. Schreiter, in his translation, renders it by *murmeltier*, which corresponds with our marmot. Pliny (8. 82) and all ancient writers mention the winter torpor that characterized the *glis*. In other respects, he classed it there with the rat, and (16. 7) with the mouse, pointing out the beech-nut as its chief sustenance, which again supports the opinion that it was the *dormouse*. The sumptuary law, which forbade the Romans to feed on this insignificant animal, bred in their own fields, is ascribed by Pliny to M. Seaurus, Consul and Princeps Senatus A.U.C. 639. It was either abrogated or left in quiet abeyance before the fall of the Republic. Apulcius, in the Augustan age, gave instructions for fattening the *glircs* (l. 8, c. 9), and Petronius Arbiter, in the time of Nero, informs us that they were eaten with honey and poppy seed, "melle et papavere sparsos." (Sat. p. 101.) "What beastly fellows those Romans were," exclaimed the horrified painter, at the feast after the manner of the ancients, in Peregrine Pickle (c. 44) when the Doctor recommended to his guest, "a pie made of dormice and syrup of poppies," apologizing because he had been obliged to substitute the latter for the more correct and classical "toasted poppy-seed and honey." Perhaps the people of Borsippa had no *glircs*, and so supplied their place by winged mice, the large bats which Strabo says (l. 16) that they fattened and feasted upon. It is somewhat remarkable, that Horace never mentioned *glircs*, in his Satires, as among the luxuries of his time.—ED.]

*This game, which might be translated by the more familiar names of *trictrac*, or *backgammon*, was a favourite amusement of the gravest Romans; and old Mucius Scaevola, the lawyer, had the reputation of a very skilful player. It was called *ludus duodecim scriptorum*, from the twelve *scripta*, or lines which equally divided the *alveolus*, or table. On these, the two armies, the white and the black, each consisting of fifteen men, or *calculi*, were regularly placed, and alternately moved, according to the laws of the game, and the chances of the *tessera* or dice. Dr. Hyde, who diligently traces the history and varieties of the *nerdiludium* (a name of

master of that sublime science, who in a supper or assembly is placed below a magistrate, displays in his countenance the surprise and indignation which Cato might be supposed to feel, when he was refused the prætorship by the votes of a capricious people. The acquisition of knowledge seldom engages the curiosity of the nobles, who abhor the fatigue and disdain the advantages of study; and the only books which they peruse are the satires of Juvenal and the verbose and fabulous histories of Marius Maximus.* The libraries which they have inherited from their fathers, are secluded, like dreary sepulchres, from the light of day.† But the costly instruments of the theatre, flutes, and enormous lyres, and hydraulic organs, are constructed for their use; and the harmony of vocal and instrumental music is incessantly repeated in the palaces of Rome. In those palaces sound is preferred to sense, and the care of the body to that of the mind. It is allowed as a salutary maxim, that the light and frivolous suspicion of a contagious malady is of sufficient weight to excuse the visits of the most intimate friends; and even the servants, who are dispatched to make the decent inquiries, are not suffered to return home till they have undergone the ceremony of a previous

Persic etymology) from Ireland to Japan, pours forth, on this trifling subject, a copious torrent of classical and oriental learning. See Syntagma Dissertat. tom. ii, p. 217—405. * Marius Maximus, homo omnium verhosissimus, qui et mythistoricis se voluminibus implicavit. Vopiscus, in Hist. August. p. 242. He wrote the lives of the emperors from Trajan to Alexander Severus. See Gerard Vossius de Historicis Latin. l. 2, c. 3, in his works, vol. iv, p. 47.

† This satire is probably exaggerated. The Saturnalia of Macrobius, and the epistles of Jerome, afford satisfactory proofs that Christian theology, and classic literature, were studiously cultivated by several Romans, of both sexes, and of the highest rank. [It is not likely that Jerome encouraged in others the study of a literature, from which he himself desisted as profane and desecratory of the temple. *A total neglect of all general education* prevailed at that time. Even those bishops who, living frugally themselves, applied their surplus incomes to public works, *established no schools*. Neander (Hist. of Chris. vol. iii, p. 195) has enumerated their charitable institutions. Among them we find almshouses and hospitals, hostleries for strangers, infirmaries for the aged and sick, and homes for orphans, porticoes, bridges, canals, aqueducts and baths, *but not one aid to education*. There were indeed seminaries for training the priesthood, such as those at Antioch, Alexandria, Athens, Constantinople, Cæsarea and other places. The system, on which students were there taught to

ablution. Yet this selfish and unmanly delicacy occasionally yields to the more imperious passion of avarice. The prospect of gain will urge a rich and gouty senator as far as Spoleto; every sentiment of arrogance and dignity is subdued by the hopes of an inheritance, or even of a legacy; and a wealthy childless citizen is the most powerful of the Romans. The art of obtaining the signature of a favourable testament, and sometimes of hastening the moment of its execution, is perfectly understood; and it has happened, that in the same house, though in different apartments, a husband and a wife, with the laudable desire of over-reaching each other, have summoned their respective lawyers to declare at the same time their mutual but contradictory intentions. The distress which follows and chastises extravagant luxury often reduces the great to the use of the most humiliating expedients. When they desire to borrow they employ the base and supplicating style of the slave in the comedy; but when they are called upon to pay they assume the royal and tragic declamation of the grandsons of Hercules. If the demand is repeated, they readily procure some trusty sycophant, instructed to maintain a charge of poison or magic against the insolent creditor; who is seldom released from prison, till he has signed a discharge of the whole debt. These vices, which degrade the moral character of the Romans, are mixed with a puerile superstition that disgraces their understanding. They listen with confidence to the predictions of haruspices, who pretend to read, in the entrails of victims, the signs of future greatness and prosperity; and there are many who do not presume either to bathe, or to dine, or to appear in public, till they have diligently consulted, according to the rules of astrology, the situation of Mercury and the aspect of the moon.* It is singular enough that this vain credulity may often be discovered among the profane sceptics who impiously doubt, or deny, the existence of a celestial power."

In populous cities, which are the seat of commerce and manufactures, the middle ranks of inhabitants, who derive their subsistence from the dexterity or labour of their

act, is explained by the same writer (p. 211).—Ed.] * Macrobius the friend of these Roman nobles, considered the stars as the cause, or at least the signs, of future events. (De Somn. Scipion. l. 1, c. 19, p. 63.)

hands, are commonly the most prolific, the most useful, and in that sense, the most respectable part of the community. But the plebeians of Rome, who disdained such sedentary and servile arts, had been oppressed, from the earliest times, by the weight of debt and usury; and the husbandman during the term of his military service, was obliged to abandon the cultivation of his farm.* The lands of Italy, which had been originally divided among the families of free and indigent proprietors, were insensibly purchased or usurped by the avarice of the nobles; and in the age which preceded the fall of the republic, it was computed that only two thousand citizens were possessed of an independent substance.† Yet as long as the people bestowed, by their suffrages, the honours of the state, the command of the legions, and the administration of wealthy provinces, their conscious pride alleviated in some measure, the hardships of poverty; and their wants were seasonably supplied by the ambitious liberality of the candidates, who aspired to secure a venal majority in the thirty-five tribes, or the hundred and ninety-three centuries, of Rome. But when the prodigal commons had imprudently alienated not only the *use*, but the *inheritance*, of power, they sank, under the reign of the Cæsars, into a vile and wretched populace, which must, in a few generations, have been totally extinguished, if it had not been continually recruited by the manumission of slaves, and the influx of strangers. As early as the time of Hadrian, it was the just complaint of the ingenious natives, that the capital had attracted the vices of the universe and the manners of the most opposite nations. The intemperance of the Gauls, the cunning and levity of the Greeks, the savage obstinacy of the Egyptians and Jews, the servile temper of the Asiatics, and the dissolute, effeminate prostitution of the Syrians, were mingled in the

* The histories of Livy (see particularly 6. 36,) are full of the extortions of the rich, and the sufferings of the poor debtors. The melancholy story of a brave old soldier (Dionys. Hal. l. 6, c. 26, p. 347, edit. Hudson, and Livy, 2. 23,) must have been frequently repeated in those primitive times, which have been so undeservedly praised.

† Non esse in civitate duo millia hominum qui rem haberent. Cicero. Offic. 2. 21, and Comment. Paul. Manut. in edit. Grav. This vague computation was made A.U.C. 649, in a speech of the tribune Philippus; and it was his object, as well as that of the Gracchi (see Plutarch), to deplore, and perhaps to exaggerate, the misery of the

various multitude: which, under the proud and false denomination of Romans, presumed to despise their fellow-subjects, and even their sovereigns, who dwelt beyond the precincts of the ETERNAL CITY.*

Yet the name of that city was still pronounced with respect; the frequent and capricious tumults of its inhabitants were indulged with impunity; and the successors of Constantine, instead of crushing the last remains of the democracy, by the strong arm of military power, embraced the mild policy of Augustus, and studied to relieve the poverty, and to amuse the idleness, of an innumerable people.† I. For the convenience of the lazy plebeians, the monthly distributions of corn were converted into a daily allowance of bread; a great number of ovens were constructed and maintained at the public expense; and at the appointed hour, each citizen, who was furnished with a ticket, ascended the flight of steps, which had been assigned to his peculiar quarter or division, and received, either as a gift, or at a very low price, a loaf of bread, of the weight of three pounds, for the use of his family. II. The forest of Lucania, whose acorns fattened large droves of wild hogs,‡

common people. * See the third Satire (60—125) of Juvenal, who indignantly complains,

—Quamvis quota portio facis Achæi!
Jampridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes
Et linguam et mores, &c.

Seneca, when he proposes to comfort his mother (Consolat. ad Helv. c. 6,) by the reflection that a great part of mankind were in a state of exile, reminds her how few of the inhabitants of Rome were born in the city.

† Almost all that is said of the bread, bacon, oil, wine, &c., may be found in the fourteenth book of the Theodosian Code; which expressly treats of the police of the great cities. See particularly the titles 3. 4. 15. 16. 17. 24. The collateral testimonies are produced in Godefroy's Commentary, and it is needless to transcribe them. According to a law of Theodosius, which appreciates in money the military allowance, a piece of gold (eleven shillings) was equivalent to eighty pounds of bacon, or to eighty pounds of oil, or to twelve modii (or pecks) of salt. (Cod. Theod. l. 8, tit. 4, leg. 27.) This equation, compared with another of seventy pounds of bacon for an amphora, (Cod. Theod. l. 14, tit. 4, leg. 4,) fixes the price of wine at about sixteen pence the gallon.

‡ The anonymous author of the Description of the World (p. 14, in tom. iii, Geograph. Minor, Hudson), observes of Lucania, in his barbarous Latin, *Regio olivæ, et ipsa omnibus habundans, et lardum multum ferax mittit.* Propter quod est in montibus, ejus ascam animalium variam, &c. [Niebuhr

afforded as a species of tribute, a plentiful supply of cheap and wholesome meat. During five months of the year, a regular allowance of bacon was distributed to the poorer citizens; and the annual consumption of the capital, at a time when it was much declined from its former lustre, was ascertained, by an edict of Valentinian the Third, at three millions six hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds.*

III. In the manners of antiquity, the use of oil was indispensable for the lamp as well as for the bath; and the annual tax, which was imposed on Africa for the benefit of Rome, amounted to the weight of three millions of pounds, to the measure, perhaps, of three hundred thousand English gallons. IV. The anxiety of Augustus to provide the metropolis with sufficient plenty of corn, was not extended beyond that necessary article of human subsistence; and when the popular clamour accused the dearness and scarcity of wine, a proclamation was issued by the grave reformer, to remind his subjects, that no man could reasonably complain of thirst, since the aqueducts of Agrippa had introduced into the city so many copious streams of pure and salubrious water.† This rigid sobriety was insensibly relaxed; and although the generous design of Aurelian‡ does not appear to have been executed in its full extent, the

(Lectures, vol. ii, p. 264) refers to the Theodosian Code, which proves "nearly the whole of Lucania to have been, in the days of Honorius, pasture-land, where the owners, partly Romans and partly Sicilians, kept large studs of horses and herds of cattle." Its fertility was always celebrated. Horace ranks the "*Calabris saltibus adjecti Lucani*" (Epist. 1. 2, 2. 178), among the possessions which the dying most regretted to leave. Strabo (lib. 6) and Pliny (24. 8) commend its grapes; and the roses of Pæstum, that bloomed twice a year, were the themes of Virgil (Georg. 4. 119.) and Ovid (Metam. 15. 708).—Ed.] * See Novell. ad calcem Cod. Theod. D. Val. 1. 1, tit. 15. This law was published at Rome, June 29, A.D. 452.

† Sueton. in August. c. 42. The utmost debauch of the emperor himself, in his favourite wine of Rætia, never exceeded a *sextarius* (an English pint). Id. c. 77. Torrentius ad loc., and Arbuthnot's Tables, p. 86. [The friends of Augustus did not imitate his sobriety. Horace (Carm. 3. 8) invited his patron to carouse with him more jovially.

Sume, Mæcenæ, cyathos amici
Sospitis centum, et vigiles lucernas
Perfer in lucem.—Ed.]

‡ His design was to plant vineyards along the sea-coast of Hetruria (Vopiscus, in Hist. August. p. 225), the dreary, unwholesome, unculti-

use of wine was allowed on very easy and liberal terms. The administration of the public cellars was delegated to a magistrate of honourable rank; and a considerable part of the vintage of Campania was reserved for the fortunate inhabitants of Rome.

The stupendous aqueducts, so justly celebrated by the praises of Augustus himself, replenished the *Thermæ* or baths, which he had been constructed in every part of the city, with imperial magnificence. The baths of Antoninus Caracalla, which were open at stated hours for the indiscriminate service of the senators and the people, contained above sixteen hundred seats of marble; and more than three thousand were reckoned in the baths of Diocletian.* The walls of the lofty apartments were covered with curious mosaics, that imitated the art of the pencil in the elegance of design and the variety of colours. The Egyptian granite was beautifully incrustated with the precious green marble of Numidia; the perpetual stream of hot water was poured into the capacious basins, through so many wide mouths of bright and massy silver; and the meanest Roman could purchase with a small copper coin the daily enjoyment of a scene of pomp and luxury, which might excite the envy of the kings of Asia.† From these stately palaces issued a swarm of dirty and ragged plebeians, without shoes, and without a mantle; who loitered away whole days in the street or Forum, to hear news and to hold disputes; who dissipated in extravagant gaming, the miserable pittance of their wives and children; and spent the hours of the night in obscure taverns and brothels, in the indulgence of gross and vulgar sensuality.‡

But the most lively and splendid amusement of the idle multitude depended on the frequent exhibitions of public games and spectacles. The piety of Christian princes had suppressed the inhuman combats of gladiators; but the

tivated *Maremma* of modern Tuscany.

* Olympiodor. apud

Phot. p. 197.

† Seneca (epistol. 86,) compares the baths of Scipio Africanus, at his villa of Liternum, with the magnificence (which was continually increasing) of the public baths of Rome, long before the stately *Thermæ* of Antoninus and Diocletian were erected. The *quadrans* paid for admission was the quarter of the *as*, about one-eighth of an English penny.

‡ Ammianus, (l. 14, c. 6, and l. 28, c. 4,) after describing the luxury and pride of the nobles of Rome, exposes with equal indignation, the vices and follies of the

Roman people still considered the Circus as their home, their temple, and the seat of the republic. The impatient crowd rushed at the dawn of day to secure their places, and there were many who passed a sleepless and anxious night in the adjacent porticoes. From the morning to the evening, careless of the sun or of the rain, the spectators, who sometimes amounted to the number of four hundred thousand, remained in eager attention; their eyes fixed on the horses and charioteers, their minds agitated with hope and fear for the success of the colours which they espoused; and the happiness of Rome appeared to hang on the event of a race.* The same immoderate ardour inspired their clamours and their applause, as often as they were entertained with the hunting of wild beasts, and the various modes of theatrical representation. These representations in modern capitals may deserve to be considered as a pure and elegant school of taste, and perhaps of virtue. But the tragic and comic muse of the Romans, who seldom aspired beyond the imitation of Attic genius,† had been almost totally silent since the fall of the republic;‡ and their place was unworthily occupied by licentious farce, effeminate music, and splendid pageantry. The pantomimes,§ who maintained their repu-

common people. * Juvenal Satir. 11. 191, &c. The expressions of the historian Ammianus, are not less strong and animated than those of the satirist; and both the one and the other painted from the life. The numbers which the great Circus was capable of receiving, are taken from the *original notitiæ* of the city. The differences between them prove that they did not transcribe each other; but the sum may appear incredible, though the country on these occasions flocked to the city.

† Sometimes indeed they composed original pieces,

——— Vestigia Græca

Ausi deserere et celebrare domestica facta.

Horat. Epistol. ad Pisones, 287, and the learned, though perplexed, note of Dacier, who might have allowed the name of tragedies to the *Brutus* and the *Decius* of Pacuvius, or to the *Cato* of Maternus. The *Octavia*, ascribed to one of the Senecas, still remains a very unfavourable specimen of Roman tragedy. ‡ In the time of Quintilian

and Pliny, a tragic poet was reduced to the imperfect method of hiring a great room, and reading his play to the company, whom he invited for that purpose. (See Dialog. de Oratoribus, c. 9. 11, and Plin. Epist. 7. 17.) § See the Dialogue of Lucian, entitled de Saltatione, tom. ii, p. 265—317, edit. Reitz. The pantomimes obtained the honourable name of *χοροδοχοί*; and it was required that they should be conversant with almost every art and science. Burette (in the *Mémoires de*

tation from the age of Augustus to the sixth century, expressed, without the use of words, the various fables of the gods and heroes of antiquity; and the perfection of their art, which sometimes disarmed the gravity of the philosopher, always excited the applause and wonder of the people. The vast and magnificent theatres of Rome were filled by three thousand female dancers, and by three thousand singers, with the masters of the respective chorusses. Such was the popular favour which they enjoyed, that, in a time of scarcity, when all strangers were banished from the city, the merit of contributing to the public pleasures exempted them from a law, which was strictly executed against the professors of the liberal arts.*

It is said, that the foolish curiosity of Elagabalus attempted to discover, from the quantity of spiders' webs, the number of the inhabitants of Rome. A more rational method of inquiry might not have been undeserving of the attention of the wisest princes, who could easily have resolved a question so important for the Roman government, and so interesting to succeeding ages. The births and deaths of the citizens were duly registered; and if any writer of antiquity had condescended to mention the annual amount, or the common average, we might now produce some satisfactory calculation, which would destroy the extravagant assertions of critics, and perhaps confirm the modest and probable conjectures of philosophers.† The most diligent researches have collected only the following circumstances; which, slight and imperfect as they are, may tend in some degree to illustrate the question of the populousness of ancient Rome. I. When the capital of the empire was besieged by the Goths, the circuit of the walls was accurately measured by Ammonius the mathematician, who found it

l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. i, p. 127, &c.,) has given a short history of the art of pantomimes.

* *Ammianus, l. 14, c. 6.* He complains, with decent indignation, that the streets of Rome were filled with crowds of females, who might have given children to the state, but whose only occupation was to curl and dress their hair, and jactari volubilibus gyris, dum expriment innumera simulacra, que finxere fabulæ theatrales.

† *Lipsius (tom. iii, p. 423, de Mag. Romana, l. 3, c. 3.)* and *Isaac Vossius, (Observat. Var. p. 26—34.)* have indulged strange dreams of four, or eight, or fourteen millions in Rome. Mr. Hume, (*Essays, vol. i, p. 450—457.*) with admirable good sense and scepticism, betrays some secret disposition to extenuate the

equal to twenty-one miles.* It should not be forgotten, that the form of the city was almost that of a circle; the geometrical figure which is known to contain the largest space within any given circumference. II. The architect Vitruvius, who flourished in the Augustan age, and whose evidence, on this occasion, has peculiar weight and authority, observes, that the innumerable habitations of the Roman people would have spread themselves far beyond the narrow limits of the city; and that the want of ground, which was probably contracted on every side by gardens and villas, suggested the common though inconvenient practice of raising the houses to a considerable height in the air.† But the loftiness of these buildings, which often consisted of hasty work, and insufficient materials, was the cause of frequent and fatal accidents; and it was repeatedly enacted by Augustus, as well as by Nero, that the height of private edifices, within the walls of Rome, should not exceed the measure of seventy feet from the ground.‡ Juvenal§ laments, as it should seem from his own experience, the hardships of the poorer citizens, to whom he addresses the salutary advice of emigrating, without delay, from the smoke of Rome, since they might purchase, in the little towns of Italy, a cheerful commodious dwelling, at the same price which they annually paid for a dark and miserable lodging. House-rent was therefore immoderately dear: the rich

populousness of ancient times.

* Olympiodor. ap. Phot. p. 197.

See Fabricius, Bibl. Græc. tom. ix, p. 400.

† In eâ autem majestate urbis, et civium infinitâ frequentiâ innumerabiles habitationes opus fuit explicare. Ergo cum recipere non posset area plana tantam multitudinem in urbe, ad auxilium altitudinis ædificiorum res ipsa coëgit devenire. Vitruv. 2. 8. This passage, which I owe to Vossius, is clear, strong, and comprehensive.

‡ The successive testimonies of Pliny, Aristides, Claudian, Rutilius, &c., prove the insufficiency of these restrictive edicts. See Lipsius, de Magnitud. Romanâ, l. 3, c. 4.

——— Tabulata tibi jam tertia fumant;

Tu nescis; nam si gradibus trepidatur ab imis

Ultimus ardebit, quem tegula sola tuetur

A pluvia.

Juvenal, Satir. 3. 199.

§ Read the whole third satire, but particularly 166. 223, &c. The description of a crowded *insula*, or lodging-house, in Petronius, (c. 95. 97,) perfectly tallies with the complaints of Juvenal; and we learn from legal authority, that in the time of Augustus, (Heineccius, Hist. Juris. Roman. c. 4, p. 181,) the ordinary rent of the several *cænacula*,

acquired, at an enormous expense, the ground, which they covered with palaces and gardens; but the body of the Roman people was crowded into a narrow space; and the different floors and apartments of the same house were divided, as it is still the custom of Paris and other cities, among several families of plebeians. IV. The total number of houses in the fourteen regions of the city, is accurately stated in the description of Rome, composed under the reign of Theodosius, and they amount to forty-eight thousand three hundred and eighty-two.* The two classes of *domus* and of *insulae*, into which they are divided, include all the habitations of the capital, of every rank and condition, from the marble palace of the Anicii, with a numerous establishment of freedmen and slaves, to the lofty and narrow lodging-house, where the poet Codrus and his wife were permitted to hire a wretched garret immediately under the tiles. If we adopt the same average, which, under similar circumstances, has been found applicable to Paris,† and indifferently allow about twenty-five persons for each house, of every degree, we may fairly estimate the inhabitants of Rome at twelve hundred thousand: a number which cannot be thought excessive for the capital of a mighty empire, though it exceeds the populousness of the greatest cities of modern Europe.‡

Such was the state of Rome, under the reign of Honorius; at the time when the Gothic army formed the siege,§ or

or apartments of an *insula*, annually produced forty thousand *sestercies*, between three and four hundred pounds sterling (Pandect. l. 19, t. 2, No. 30), a sum which proves at once the large extent, and high value, of those common buildings.

* This sum total is composed of one thousand seven hundred and eighty *domus*, or great houses, of forty-six thousand six hundred and two *insulae* or plebeian habitations (see Nardini, *Roma Antica*, l. 3, p. 88); and these numbers are ascertained by the agreement of the texts of the different authors.

† See that acute writer, M. de Més- Nardini, l. 8, p. 498. 500.

‡ See Recherches sur la Population, p. 175—187. From probable, or certain grounds, he assigns to Paris, twenty-three thousand five hundred and sixty-five houses, seventy-one thousand one hundred and fourteen families, and five hundred and seventy-six thousand six hundred and thirty inhabitants.

§ This computation is not very different from that which M. Brotier, the last editor of Tacitus, (tom. ii, p. 380,) has assumed from similar principles; though he seems to aim at a degree of precision, which it is neither possible nor important to obtain.

§ For the events of the first siege of Rome, which are often confounded with those of the second and third, see

rather the blockade, of the city. By a skilful disposition of his numerous forces, who impatiently watched the moment of an assault, Alaric encompassed the walls, commanded the twelve principal gates, intercepted all communication with the adjacent country, and vigilantly guarded the navigation of the Tiber, from which the Romans derived the surest and most plentiful supply of provisions. The first emotions of the nobles and of the people, were those of surprise and indignation, that a vile barbarian should dare to insult the capital of the world: but their arrogance was soon humbled by misfortune; and their unmanly rage, instead of being directed against an enemy in arms, was meanly exercised on a defenceless and innocent victim. Perhaps in the person of Serena, the Romans might have respected the niece of Theodosius; the aunt, nay even the adopted mother, of the reigning emperor: but they abhorred the widow of Stilicho; and they listened with credulous passion to the tale of calumny, which accused her of maintaining a secret and criminal correspondence with the Gothic invader. Actuated or overawed by the same popular frenzy, the senate, without requiring any evidence of her guilt, pronounced the sentence of her death. Serena was ignominiously strangled; and the infatuated multitude were astonished to find, that this cruel act of injustice did not immediately produce the retreat of the barbarians, and the deliverance of the city. That unfortunate city gradually experienced the distress of scarcity, and at length the horrid calamities of famine. The daily allowance of three pounds of bread was reduced to one-half, to one-third, to nothing; and the price of corn still continued to rise in a rapid and extravagant proportion. The poorer citizens, who were unable to purchase the necessaries of life, solicited the precarious charity of the rich; and for awhile the public misery was alleviated by the humanity of Læta, the widow of the emperor Gratian, who had fixed her residence at Rome, and consecrated to the use of the indigent, the princely revenue which she annually received from the grateful successors of her husband. But these private

Zosimus, l. 5, p. 350. 354; Sozomen, l. 9, c. 6; Olympiodorus, ap. Phot. p. 180; Philostorgius, l. 12, c. 3; and Godefroy, Dissertat. p. 467—475.

* The mother of Læta was named Pissamene. Her father, family, and country, are unknown. Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 59. [See also Zosimus, v. 39. 7, and Sozomen, vii. 13.—Ed.]

and temporary donatives. were insufficient to appease the hunger of a numerous people; and the progress of famine invaded the marble palaces of the senators themselves. The persons of both sexes, who had been educated in the enjoyment of ease and luxury, discovered how little is requisite to supply the demands of nature; and lavished their unavailing treasures of gold and silver, to obtain the coarse and scanty sustenance which they would formerly have rejected with disdain. The food the most repugnant to sense or imagination, the aliments the most unwholesome and pernicious to the constitution, were eagerly devoured, and fiercely disputed by the rage of hunger. A dark suspicion was entertained, that some desperate wretches fed on the bodies of their fellow-creatures, whom they had secretly murdered; and even mothers (such was the horrid conflict of the two most powerful instincts implanted by nature in the human breast), even mothers are said to have tasted the flesh of their slaughtered infants.* Many thousands of the inhabitants of Rome expired in their houses, or in the streets, for want of sustenance; and as the public sepulchres without the walls were in the power of the enemy, the stench which arose from so many putrid and unburied carcasses, infected the air; and the miseries of famine were succeeded and aggravated by the contagion of a pestilential disease. The assurances of speedy and effectual relief, which were repeatedly transmitted from the court of Ravenna, supported, for some time, the fainting resolution of the Romans, till at length the despair of any human aid tempted them to accept the offers of a preternatural deliverance. Pompeianus, prefect of the city, had been persuaded, by the art or fanaticism of some Tuscan diviners, that, by the mysterious force of spells and sacrifices, they could extract the lightning from the clouds, and point those celestial fires against the camp of the barbarians.† The

* *Ad nefandos cibos erupit esurientium rabies, et sua invicem membra laniant, dum mater non pareit lactenti infantie; et recipit utero, quem paullo ante effuderat.* Jerome ad Principian. tom. i, p. 121. The same horrid circumstance is likewise told of the sieges of Jerusalem and Paris. For the latter, compare the tenth book of the *Henriade*, and the *Journal de Henry IV.* tom. i, p. 47—23; and observe that a plain narrative of facts is much more pathetic than the most laboured descriptions of epic poetry. † Zosimus (l. 5, p. 355, 356) speaks of these ceremonies, like a Greek unacquainted

important secret was communicated to Innocent, the bishop of Rome; and the successor of St. Peter is accused, perhaps without foundation, of preferring the safety of the republic to the rigid severity of the Christian worship. But when the question was agitated in the senate; when it was proposed, as an essential condition, that those sacrifices should be performed in the Capitol, by the authority, and in the presence, of the magistrates; the majority of that respectable assembly, apprehensive either of the divine, or of the imperial, displeasure, refused to join in an act, which appeared almost equivalent to the public restoration of Paganism.*

The last resource of the Romans was in the clemency, or at least in the moderation, of the king of the Goths. The senate, who in this emergency assumed the supreme powers of government, appointed two ambassadors to negotiate with the enemy. This important trust was delegated to Basilius, a senator, of Spanish extraction, and already conspicuous in the administration of provinces; and to John, the first tribune of the notaries, who was peculiarly qualified, by his dexterity in business, as well as by his former intimacy with the Gothic prince. When they were introduced into his presence, they declared, perhaps in a more lofty style than became their abject condition, that the Romans were resolved to maintain their dignity, either in peace or war; and that if Alaric refused them a fair and honourable capitulation, he might sound his trumpets and prepare to give battle to an innumerable people, exercised

with the national superstition of Rome and Tuscany. I suspect that they consisted of two parts, the secret, and the public; the former were probably an imitation of the arts and spells by which Numa had drawn down Jupiter and his thunder, on mount Aventine.

———Quid agant laqueis, quæ carmina dicant.
Quâque trahant superis sedibus arte Jovem
Scire nefas homini.

The *ancilia*, or shields of Mars, the *pignora Imperii*, which were carried in solemn procession on the calends of March, derived their origin from this mysterious event. (Ovid. *Fast.* 3. 259—398). It was probably designed to revive this ancient festival, which had been suppressed by Theodosius. In that case, we recover a chronological date, (March 1, A.D. 409,) which has not hitherto been observed.

* Sozomen (l. 9, c. 6,) insinuates, that the experiment was actually, though unsuccessfully, made; but he does not mention the name of Innocent: and Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. x, p. 645,) is determined not to believe, that a pope could be guilty of such impious conde-

in arms and animated by despair. "The thicker the hay, the easier it is mowed," was the concise reply of the barbarian; and this rustie metaphor was accompanied by a loud and insulting laugh, expressive of his contempt for the menaces of an unwarlike populace, enervated by luxury before they were emaciated by famine. He then descended to fix the ransom which he would accept as the price of his retreat from the walls of Rome: *all* the gold and silver in the city, whether it were the property of the state, or of individuals; *all* the rich and precious moveables; and *all* the slaves who could prove their title to the name of *barbarians*. The ministers of the senate presumed to ask, in a modest and suppliant tone:—"If such, O king! are your demands, what do you intend to leave us?"—"YOUR LIVES," replied the haughty conqueror. They trembled and retired. Yet before they retired, a short suspension of arms was granted, which allowed some time for a more temperate negotiation. The stern features of Alarie were insensibly relaxed; he abated much of the rigour of his terms; and at length consented to raise the siege on the immediate payment of five thousand pounds of gold, of thirty thousand pounds of silver, of four thousand robes of silk, of three thousand pieces of fine scarlet cloth, and of three thousand pounds weight of pepper.* But the public treasury was exhausted; the annual rents of the great estates in Italy and the provinces were intercepted by the calamities of war; the gold and gems had been exchanged, during the famine, for the vilest sustenance; the hoards of secret wealth were still concealed by the obstinacy of avarice; and some remains of consecrated spoils afforded the only resource that could avert the impending ruin of the city. As soon as the Romans had

scension.
 * Pepper was a favourite ingredient of the most expensive Roman cookery, and the best sort commonly sold for fifteen denarii, or ten shillings the pound. See Pliny, *Hist. Natur.* 12. 14. It was brought from India; and the same country, the coast of Malabar, still affords the greatest plenty; but the improvement of trade and navigation has multiplied the quantity, and reduced the price. See *Histoire Politique et Philosophique*, &c., tom. i., p. 457. [Pliny (12. 14, and 16. 59) describes a shrub, then produced in Italy, and not unlike the myrtle, the berries of which were very similar to pepper, but of inferior pungency. These and the fruit of the juniper, were used to mix with and adulterate the genuine spice.—Ed.]

satisfied the rapacious demands of Alaric they were restored in some measure to the enjoyment of peace and plenty. Several of the gates were cautiously opened; the importation of provisions from the river, and the adjacent country, was no longer obstructed by the Goths; the citizens resorted in crowds to the free market, which was held during three days in the suburbs; and while the merchants who undertook this gainful trade made a considerable profit, the future subsistence of the city was secured by the ample magazines which were deposited in the public and private granaries. A more regular discipline than could have been expected was maintained in the camp of Alaric; and the wise barbarian justified his regard for the faith of treaties by the just severity with which he chastised a party of licentious Goths who had insulted some Roman citizens on the road to Ostia. His army, enriched by the contributions of the capital, slowly advanced into the fair and fruitful province of Tuscany, where he proposed to establish his winter quarters; and the Gothic standard became the refuge of forty thousand barbarian slaves, who had broken their chains, and aspired, under the command of their great deliverer, to revenge the injuries and the disgrace of their cruel servitude. About the same time he received a more honourable reinforcement of Goths and Huns, whom Adolphus,* the brother of his wife, had conducted, at his pressing invitation, from the banks of the Danube to those of the Tiber, and who had cut their way, with some difficulty and loss, through the superior numbers of the imperial troops. A victorious leader, who united the daring spirit of a barbarian with the art and discipline of a Roman general, was at the head of a hundred thousand fighting

* This Gothic chieftain is called, by Jornandes and Isidore, *Athaulphus*; by Zosimus and Orosius, *Ataulphus*; and by Olympiodorus, *Adaoulphus*. I have used the celebrated name of *Adolphus*, which seems to be authorized by the practice of the Swedes, the sons or brothers of the ancient Goths. [*Atta* was the earliest Gothic form of *Father*. In his translation, Ulphilas rendered *Pater Noster* by *Atta Unsar*. From denoting the head of a family, it was used to designate the chief of a tribe, and was the root of the present German *Adel*, nobility. It was often introduced into proper names as *Athanaric*, *Athalinga*, *Attaulph*, &c. *Hjolf* had the same relation to the modern *külfe*, help, of the Germans. The name of *Attahjolfas*, therefore signified, the helping or assistant chief. *Adolphus* is its modern repre-

men; and Italy pronounced with terror and respect the formidable name of Alaric.*

At the distance of fourteen centuries we may be satisfied with relating the military exploits of the conquerors of Rome, without presuming to investigate the motives of their political conduct. In the midst of his apparent prosperity, Alaric was conscious perhaps of some secret weakness, some internal defect; or perhaps the moderation which he displayed was intended only to deceive and disarm the easy credulity of the ministers of Honorius. The king of the Goths repeatedly declared that it was his desire to be considered as the friend of peace and of the Romans. Three senators, at his earnest request, were sent ambassadors to the court of Ravenna, to solicit the exchange of hostages and the conclusion of the treaty; and the proposals, which he more clearly expressed during the course of the negotiations, could only inspire a doubt of his sincerity, as they might seem inadequate to the state of his fortune. The barbarian still aspired to the rank of master-general of the armies of the west; he stipulated an annual subsidy of corn and money; and he chose the provinces of Dalmatia, Noricum, and Venetia, for the seat of his new kingdom, which would have commanded the important communication between Italy and the Danube. If these modest terms should be rejected Alaric shewed a disposition to relinquish his pecuniary demands, and even to content himself with the possession of Noricum; an exhausted and impoverished country, perpetually exposed to the inroads of the barbarians of Germany.† But the hopes of peace were disappointed by the weak obstinacy, or interested views, of the minister Olympius. Without listening to the salutary remonstrances of the senate he dismissed their ambassadors under the conduct of a military escort, too numerous for a retinue of honour and too feeble for an army of defence. Six thousand Dalmatians, the flower of the imperial legions, were ordered to march from Ravenna to Rome, through an open country, which was occupied by the formidable myriads of the barbarians. These brave

sentative.—ED.]

* The treaty between Alaric and the Romans, &c., is taken from Zosimus, l. 5, p. 354, 355, 358, 359, 362, 363. The additional circumstances are too few and trifling to require any other quotation.

† Zosimus, l. 5, p. 367—369.

legionaries, encompassed and betrayed, fell a sacrifice to ministerial folly; their general, Valens, with a hundred soldiers, escaped from the field of battle; and one of the ambassadors, who could no longer claim the protection of the law of nations, was obliged to purchase his freedom with a ransom of thirty thousand pieces of gold. Yet Alaric, instead of resenting this act of impotent hostility, immediately renewed his proposals of peace; and the second embassy of the Roman senate, which derived weight and dignity from the presence of Innocent, bishop of the city, was guarded from the dangers of the road by a detachment of Gothic soldiers.*

Olympius† might have continued to insult the just resentment of a people, who loudly accused him as the author of the public calamities; but his power was undermined by the secret intrigues of the palace. The favourite eunuchs transferred the government of Honorius and the empire to Jovius, the prætorian prefect; an unworthy servant, who did not atone, by the merit of personal attachment, for the errors and misfortunes of his administration. The exile or escape of the guilty Olympius, reserved him for more vicissitudes of fortune: he experienced the adventures of an obscure and wandering life; he again rose to power; he fell a second time into disgrace; his ears were cut off; he expired under the lash; and his ignominious death afforded a grateful spectacle to the friends of Stilicho. After the removal of Olympius, whose character was deeply tainted with religious fanaticism, the Pagans and heretics were delivered from the impolitic proscription which excluded them from the dignities of the state. The brave Gennerid,‡ a soldier of barbarian origin, who still adhered to the wor-

* Zosimus, l. 5, p. 360—362. The bishop, by remaining at Ravenna, escaped the impending calamities of the city. Orosius, l. 7, c. 39, p. 573.

† For the adventures of Olympius, and his successors in the ministry, see Zosimus, l. 5, p. 363. 365, 366, and Olympiodor. ap. Phot. p. 180, 181.

‡ Zosimus (l. 5, p. 364) relates this circumstance with visible complacency, and celebrates the character of Gennerid as the last glory of expiring Paganism. Very different were the sentiments of the council of Carthage, who deputed four bishops to the court of Ravenna, to complain of the law, which had been just enacted, that all conversions to Christianity should be free and voluntary. See Baronius, *Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 409, No. 12; A.D. 410, No. 47, 48.

ship of his ancestors, had been obliged to lay aside the military belt; and though he was repeatedly assured by the emperor himself, that laws were not made for persons of his rank or merit, he refused to accept any partial dispensation, and persevered in honourable disgrace till he had extorted a general act of justice from the distress of the Roman government. The conduct of Gennerid, in the important station to which he was promoted or restored, of master-general of Dalmatia, Pannonia, Noricum, and Rhætia, seemed to revive the discipline and spirit of the republic. From a life of idleness and want, his troops were soon habituated to severe exercise, and plentiful subsistence; and his private generosity often supplied the rewards which were denied by the avarice or poverty of the court of Ravenna. The valour of Gennerid, formidable to the adjacent barbarians, was the firmest bulwark of the Illyrian frontier; and his vigilant care assisted the empire with a reinforcement of ten thousand Huns, who arrived on the confines of Italy, attended by such a convoy of provisions, and such a numerous train of sheep and oxen as might have been sufficient, not only for the march of an army, but for the settlement of a colony. But the court and councils of Honorius still remained a scene of weakness and distraction, of corruption and anarchy. Instigated by the prefect Jovius, the guards rose in furious mutiny, and demanded the heads of two generals and of the two principal eunuchs. The generals, under a perfidious promise of safety, were sent on ship-board and privately executed; while the favour of the eunuchs procured them a mild and secure exile at Milan and Constantinople. Eusebius the eunuch, and the barbarian Allobich, succeeded to the command of the bedchamber and of the guards; and the mutual jealousy of these subordinate ministers was the cause of their mutual destruction. By the insolent order of the count of the domestics, the great chamberlain was shamefully beaten to death with sticks, before the eyes of the astonished emperor; and the subsequent assassination of Allobich, in the midst of a public procession, is the only circumstance of his life in which Honorius discovered the faintest symptom of courage or resentment. Yet before they fell, Eusebius and Allobich had contributed their part to the ruin of

the empire, by opposing the conclusion of a treaty which Jovius; from a selfish, and perhaps a criminal, motive, had negotiated with Alaric, in a personal interview under the walls of Rimini. During the absence of Jovius, the emperor was persuaded to assume a lofty tone of inflexible dignity, such as neither his situation nor his character could enable him to support: and a letter, signed with the name of Honorius, was immediately dispatched to the prætorian prefect, granting him a free permission to dispose of the public money, but sternly refusing to prostitute the military honours of Rome to the proud demands of a barbarian. This letter was imprudently communicated to Alaric himself; and the Goth, who in the whole transaction had behaved with temper and decency, expressed, in the most outrageous language, his lively sense of the insult so wantonly offered to his person and to his nation. The conference of Rimini was hastily interrupted; and the prefect Jovius, on his return to Ravenna, was compelled to adopt, and even to encourage, the fashionable opinions of the court. By his advice and example, the principal officers of the state and army were obliged to swear, that, without listening, in *any* circumstances, to *any* conditions of peace, they would still persevere in perpetual and implacable war against the enemy of the republic. This rash engagement opposed an insuperable bar to all future negotiation. The ministers of Honorius were heard to declare, that, if they had only invoked the name of the Deity, they would consult the public safety, and trust their souls to the mercy of Heaven: but they had sworn by the sacred head of the emperor himself; they had touched, in solemn ceremony, that august seat of majesty and wisdom; and the violation of their oath would expose them to the temporal penalties of sacrilege and rebellion.*

While the emperor and his court enjoyed, with sullen pride, the security of the marshes and fortifications of

* Zosimus, l. 5, p. 367—369. This custom of swearing by the head or life, or safety, or genius, of the sovereign, was of the highest antiquity; both in Egypt (Genesis, xlii. 15) and Scythia. It was soon transferred, by flattery, to the Cæsars; and Tertullian complains, that it was the only oath which the Romans of his time affected to reverence. See an elegant Dissertation of the Abbé Massieu, on the Oaths of the Ancients, in the Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. i, p. 208, 209.

Ravenna, they abandoned Rome, almost without defence, to the resentment of Alaric. Yet such was the moderation which he still preserved or affected, that, as he moved with his army along the Flaminian way, he successively dispatched the bishops of the towns of Italy to reiterate his offers of peace, and to conjure the emperor that he would save the city and its inhabitants from hostile fire and the sword of the barbarians.* These impending calamities were however averted, not indeed by the wisdom of Honorius, but by the prudence or humanity of the Gothic king; who employed a milder, though not less effectual, method of conquest. Instead of assaulting the capital, he successfully directed his efforts against the *Port* of Ostia, one of the boldest and most stupendous works of Roman magnificence.† The accidents to which the precarious subsistence of the city was continually exposed in a winter navigation and an open road, had suggested to the genius of the first Caesar the useful design, which was executed under the reign of Claudius. The artificial moles which formed the narrow entrance, advanced far into the sea, and firmly repelled the fury of the waves, while the largest vessels securely rode at anchor within three deep and capacious basins, which received the northern branch of the Tiber, about two miles from the ancient colony of Ostia.‡ The

* Zosimus, l. 5, p. 368, 369. I have softened the expression of Alaric, who expatiates, in too florid a manner, on the history of Rome.

† See Sueton. in Claud. c. 20. Dion Cassius, lib. 60, p. 949, edit. Reimar, and the lively description of Juvenal, Satir. 12, 75, &c. In the sixteenth century, when the remains of this Augustan port were still visible, the antiquarians sketched the plan. (see D'Anville, Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxx, p. 198.) and declared with enthusiasm, that all the monarchs of Europe would be unable to execute so great a work. (Bergier, Hist. des grands Chêminés des Romains, tom. ii, p. 356.)

‡ The *Ostia Tiberina*, (see Cluver. Italia Antiq. l. 3, p. 870—879,) in the plural number, the two mouths of the Tiber, were separated by the Holy Island, an equilateral triangle whose sides were each of them computed at about two miles. The colony of Ostia was founded immediately beyond the left, or southern, and the *Port* immediately beyond the right, or northern branch of the river; and the distance between their remains measures something more than two miles on Cingolani's map. In the time of Strabo, the sand and mud deposited by the Tiber had choked the harbour of Ostia; the progress of the same cause has added much to the size of the Holy Island, and gradually left both Ostia and the *Port* at a considerable distance from the shore. The dry channels (*fiumi morti*)

Roman *Port* insensibly swelled to the size of an episcopal city,* where the corn of Africa was deposited in spacious granaries for the use of the capital. As soon as Alaric was in possession of that important place, he summoned the city to surrender at discretion; and his demands were enforced by the positive declaration, that a refusal, or even a delay, should be instantly followed by the destruction of the magazines on which the life of the Roman people depended. The clamours of that people and the terror of famine, subdued the pride of the senate; they listened without reluctance to the proposal of placing a new emperor on the throne of the unworthy Honorius; and the suffrage of the Gothic conqueror bestowed the purple on Attalus, prefect of the city. The grateful monarch immediately acknowledged his protector as master-general of the armies of the west; Adolphus, with the rank of count of the domestics, obtained the custody of the person of

and the large estuaries (*stagno di Ponente, di Levante*) mark the changes of the river, and the efforts of the sea. Consult, for the present state of this dreary and desolate tract, the excellent map of the Ecclesiastical State by the mathematicians of Benedict XIV., an actual survey of the *Agro Romano*, in six sheets, by Cingolani, which contains one hundred and thirteen thousand eight hundred and nineteen *rubbia* (about five hundred and seventy thousand acres); and the large topographical map of *Ameti*, in eight sheets. [The district at the mouths of the Tiber was anciently the *Silva Mœsia* and belonged to the people of *Veii*. *Ancus Martius* took it from them and built the town of *Ostia*. (*Liv. l. 1, c. 33.*) He immediately established salt-works there, to supply the rising city. This appears to have been his object, in extending the Roman dominion to the sea, for his subjects had no foreign commerce that required the command of a harbour. In the time of *Julius Cæsar*, both entrances of the Tiber were so much blocked up, that among the projected works, which his death intercepted, was that of opening a new passage to the sea at *Terracina*, and constructing from it a canal through the Pontine marshes to meet the river. Instead of executing this plan, *Trajan* drained the marshes and formed the new harbour of *Centumcellæ*, from which the present town of *Civita Vecchia* arose. The hot springs, found there, he collected in baths, and erected also a villa for himself.—Ed.]

* As early as the third (*Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel, part 2, vol. iii, p. 89—92,*) or at least the fourth, century (*Carol. a Sancto Paulo, Notit. Eccles. p. 47,*) the port of Rome was an episcopal city, which was demolished, as it should seem, in the ninth century, by pope Gregory IV. during the incursions of the Arabs. It is now reduced to an inn, a church, and the house or palace of the bishop; who ranks as one of six cardinal bishops of

Attalus; and the two hostile nations seemed to be united in the closest bands of friendship and alliance.*

The gates of the city were thrown open, and the new emperor of the Romans, encompassed on every side by the Gothic arms, was conducted, in tumultuous procession, to the palace of Augustus and Trajan. After he had distributed the civil and military dignities among his favourites and followers, Attalus convened an assembly of the senate; before whom, in a formal and florid speech, he asserted his resolution of restoring the majesty of the republic, and of uniting to the empire the provinces of Egypt and the east, which had once acknowledged the sovereignty of Rome. Such extravagant promises inspired every reasonable citizen with a just contempt for the character of an unwarlike usurper; whose elevation was the deepest and most ignominious wound which the republic had yet sustained from the insolence of the barbarians. But the populace, with their usual levity, applauded the change of masters. The public discontent was favourable to the rival of Honorius; and the sectaries, oppressed by his persecuting edicts, expected some degree of countenance, or at least of toleration, from a prince, who, in his native country of Ionia, had been educated in the Pagan superstition, and who had since received the sacrament of baptism from the hands of an Arian bishop.† The first days of the reign of Attalus were fair and prosperous. An officer of confidence was sent with an inconsiderable body of troops to secure the obedience of Africa; the greatest part of Italy submitted to the terror of the Gothic powers; and though the city of Bologna made a vigorous and effectual resistance, the people of Milan, dissatisfied perhaps with the absence of Honorius, accepted, with loud acclamations, the choice of the Roman senate. At the head of a formidable army, Alaric conducted his royal captive almost to the gates of Ravenna; and a solemn embassy of the principal ministers, of Jovius, the

the Roman church. See Eschinard, *Descrizione di Roma et dell' Agro Romano*, p. 328.
* For the elevation of Attalus, consult Zosimus, l. 6, p. 377—380; Sozomen, l. 2, c. 8, 9; Olympiodor. ap. Phot. p. 180, 181; Philostorg. l. 12, c. 3; and Godefroy, *Dissertat.* p. 470.

† We may admit the evidence of Sozomen for the Arian baptism, and that of Philostorgius for the Pagan education of Attalus. The visible joy of Zosimus, and the discontent which he imputes to the Anician family, are very unfavourable to the Christianity of the new

prætorian prefect, of Valens, master of the cavalry and infantry, of the quæstor Potamius, and of Julian, the first of the notaries, was introduced with martial pomp into the Gothie camp. In the name of their sovereign, they consented to acknowledge the lawful election of his competitor, and to divide the provinces of Italy and the west between the two emperors. Their proposals were rejected with disdain; and the refusal was aggravated by the insulting elemency of Attalus, who condescended to promise, that if Honorius would instantly resign the purple, he should be permitted to pass the remainder of his life in the peaceful exile of some remote island.* So desperate, indeed, did the situation of the son of Theodosius appear to those who were the best acquainted with his strength and resources, that Jovius and Valens, his minister and his general, betrayed their trust, infamously deserted the sinking cause of their benefactor, and devoted their treacherous allegiance to the service of his more fortunate rival. Astonished by such examples of domestic treason, Honorius trembled at the approach of every servant, at the arrival of every messenger. He dreaded the secret enemies, who might lurk in his capital, his palæe, his bedchamber; and some ships lay ready in the harbour of Ravenna, to transport the abdicated monarch to the dominions of his infant nephew, the emperor of the east.

But there is a providence (such at least was the opinion of the historian Procopius)† that watches over innocence and folly; and the pretensions of Honorius to its peculiar care cannot reasonably be disputed. At the moment when his despair, incapable of any wise or manly resolution, meditated a shameful flight, a seasonable reinforcement of four thousand veterans unexpectedly landed in the port of Ravenna. To these valiant strangers, whose fidelity had not been corrupted by the factions of the court, he committed the walls and gates of the city; and the slumbers of the emperor were no longer disturbed by the apprehension

emperor. * He carried his insolence so far, as to declare that he should mutilate Honorius before he sent him into exile. But this assertion of Zosimus is destroyed by the more impartial testimony of Olympiodorus, who attributes the ungenerous proposal (which was absolutely rejected by Attalus) to the baseness, and perhaps the treachery, of Jovius. † Procop. de Bell. Vandal. l. 1, c. 2.

of imminent and internal danger. The favourable intelligence which was received from Africa, suddenly changed the opinions of men, and the state of public affairs. The troops and officers, whom Attalus had sent into that province, were defeated and slain; and the active zeal of Heracian maintained his own allegiance, and that of his people. The faithful count of Africa transmitted a large sum of money, which fixed the attachment of the imperial guards; and his vigilance, in preventing the exportation of corn and oil, introduced famine, tumult, and discontent, into the walls of Rome. The failure of the African expedition was the source of mutual complaint and recrimination in the party of Attalus; and the mind of his protector was insensibly alienated from the interest of a prince, who wanted spirit to command, or docility to obey. The most imprudent measures were adopted, without the knowledge, or against the advice of Alaric; and the obstinate refusal of the senate, to allow, in the embarkation, the mixture even of five hundred Goths, betrayed a suspicious and distrustful temper, which, in their situation, was neither generous nor prudent. The resentment of the Gothic king was exasperated by the malicious arts of Jovius, who had been raised to the rank of patrician, and who afterwards excused his double perfidy, by declaring, without a blush, that he had only *seemed* to abandon the service of Honorius, more effectually to ruin the cause of the usurper. In a large plain near Rimini, and in the presence of an innumerable multitude of Romans and barbarians, the wretched Attalus was publicly despoiled of the diadem and purple; and those ensigns of royalty were sent by Alaric, as the pledge of peace and friendship, to the son of Theodosius.* The officers who returned to their duty, were reinstated in their employments, and even the merit of a tardy repentance was graciously allowed: but the degraded emperor of the Romans, desirous of life, and insensible of disgrace, implored the permission of following the Gothic camp, in the train of a haughty and capricious barbarian.†

* See the cause and circumstances of the fall of Attalus in Zosimus, l. 6, p. 380—383. Sozomen, l. 9, c. 8. Philostorg. l. 12, c. 3. The two acts of indemnity in the Theodosian Code, l. 9, tit. 38, lxx. 11, 12, which were published the 12th of February, and the 5th of August, A.D. 410, evidently relate to this usurper.

† In hoc, Alaricus.

The degradation of Attalus removed the only real obstacle to the conclusion of the peace; and Alaric advanced within three miles of Ravenna, to press the irresolution of the imperial ministers, whose insolence soon returned with the return of fortune. His indignation was kindled by the report, that a rival chieftain, that Sarus, the personal enemy of Adolphus and the hereditary foe of the house of Balti, had been received into the palace. At the head of three hundred followers, that fearless barbarian immediately sallied from the gates of Ravenna; surprised, and cut in pieces, a considerable body of Goths; re-entered the city in triumph; and was permitted to insult his adversary, by the voice of a herald, who publicly declared that the guilt of Alaric had for ever excluded him from the friendship and alliance of the emperor.* The crime and folly of the court of Ravenna was expiated, a third time, by the calamities of Rome. The king of the Goths, who no longer dissembled his appetite for plunder and revenge, appeared in arms under the walls of the capital; and the trembling senate, without any hopes of relief, prepared, by a desperate resistance, to delay the ruin of their country. But they were unable to guard against the secret conspiracy of their slaves and domestics; who, either from birth or interest, were attached to the cause of the enemy. At the hour of midnight, the Salarian gate was silently opened, and the inhabitants were awakened by the tremendous sound of the Gothic trumpet. Eleven hundred and sixty-three years after the foundation of Rome, the imperial city, which had subdued and civilized so considerable a part of mankind, was delivered to the licentious fury of the tribes of Germany and Scythia.†

imperatore facto, infecto, relecto, ac defecto Mimum risit, et ludum spectavit imperii. Orosius, l. 7, c. 42, p. 582.

* Zosimus, l. 6, p. 384. Sozomen, l. 9, c. 9. Philostorgius, l. 12, c. 3. In this place the text of Zosimus is mutilated, and we have lost the remainder of his sixth and last book, which ended with the sack of Rome. Credulous and partial as he is, we must take our leave of that historian with some regret.

† *Adest Alaricus, trepidam Romam obsidet, turbat, irrumpit.* Orosius, l. 7, c. 39, p. 573. He dispatches this great event in seven words; but he employs whole pages in celebrating the devotion of the Goths. I have extracted, from an improbable story of Procopius, the circumstances which had an air of probability. Procop. de Bell. Vandal. l. 1, c. 2. He sup-

The proclamation of Alaric, when he forced his entrance into a vanquished city, discovered, however, some regard for the laws of humanity and religion. He encouraged his troops boldly to seize the rewards of valour and to enrich themselves with the spoils of a wealthy and effeminate people: but he exhorted them, at the same time, to spare the lives of the unresisting citizens, and to respect the churches of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, as holy and inviolable sanctuaries. Amidst the horrors of a nocturnal tumult, several of the Christian Goths displayed the fervour of a recent conversion; and some instances of their uncommon piety and moderation are related, and perhaps adorned, by the zeal of ecclesiastical writers.* While the barbarians roamed through the city in quest of prey, the humble dwelling of an aged virgin, who had devoted her life to the service of the altar, was forced open by one of the powerful Goths. He immediately demanded, though in civil language, all the gold and silver in her possession; and was astonished at the readiness with which she conducted him to a splendid hoard of massy plate, of the richest materials, and the most curious workmanship. The barbarian viewed with wonder and delight this valuable acquisition, till he was interrupted by a serious admonition, addressed to him in the following words:—"These," said she, "are the consecrated vessels belonging to St. Peter; if you presume to touch them, the sacrilegious deed will remain on your conscience. For my part, I dare not keep what I am unable to defend." The Gothic captain, struck with reverential awe, dispatched a messenger to inform the king of the treasure which he had discovered; and received a peremptory order from Alaric, that all the consecrated plate and ornaments should be transported, without damage or delay,

poses that the city was surprised while the senators slept in the afternoon; but Jerome, with more authority and more reason, affirms, that it was in the night, nocte Moab capta est; nocte cecidit murus (Jua-
tom. i, p. 121, ad Principian.) * Orosius (l. 7, c. 29, p. 573
—576,) applauds the piety of the Christian Goths, without seeming to perceive that the greatest part of them were Arian heretics. Jordanes (c. 30, p. 653), and Isidore of Seville. (Chron. p. 711, edit. Grot.) who were both attached to the Gothic cause, have repeated and embellished these edifying tales. According to Isidore, Alaric himself was heard to say, that he waged war with the Romans, and not with the Apostles. Such was the style of the seventh century; two

to the church of the apostle. From the extremity, perhaps, of the Quirinal hill, to the distant quarter of the Vatican, a numerous detachment of Goths, marching in order of battle through the principal streets, protected, with glittering arms, the long train of their devout companions, who bore aloft, on their heads, the sacred vessels of gold and silver; and the martial shouts of the barbarians were mingled with the sound of religious psalmody. From all the adjacent houses, a crowd of Christians hastened to join this edifying procession; and a multitude of fugitives, without distinction of age, or rank, or even of sect, had the good fortune to escape to the secure and hospitable sanctuary of the Vatican. The learned work, concerning the *City of God*, was professedly composed by St. Augustin, to justify the ways of Providence in the destruction of the Roman greatness. He celebrates, with peculiar satisfaction, this memorable triumph of Christ; and insults his adversaries, by challenging them to produce some similar example, of a town taken by storm, in which the fabulous gods of antiquity had been able to protect either themselves or their deluded votaries.*

In the sack of Rome some rare and extraordinary examples of barbarian virtue have been deservedly applauded. But the holy precincts of the Vatican and the apostolic churches could receive a very small proportion of the Roman people: many thousand warriors, more especially of the Huns, who served under the standard of Alaric, were strangers to the name, or at least to the faith of Christ; and we may suspect, without any breach of charity or candour, that in the hour of savage licence, when every passion was inflamed and every restraint was removed, the precepts of the gospel seldom influenced the behaviour of the Gothic Christians. The writers the best disposed to exaggerate their clemency, have freely confessed that a cruel slaughter was made of the Romans;† and that the streets of the city were filled

hundred years before the fame and merit had been ascribed, not to the apostles, but to Christ.

* See Augustin, de Civitat. Dei, l. 1, c. 1—6. He particularly appeals to the examples of Troy, Syracuse, and Tarentum.

† Jerome (tom. 1, p. 121, ad Principiam) has applied to the sack of Rome all the strong expressions of Virgil:—

Quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando,
Explicet, &c.

with dead bodies, which remained without burial during the general consternation. The despair of the citizens was sometimes converted into fury; and whenever the barbarians were provoked by opposition they extended the promiscuous massacre to the feeble, the innocent, and the helpless. The private revenge of forty thousand slaves was exercised without pity or remorse: and the ignominious lashes which they had formerly received were washed away in the blood of the guilty or obnoxious families. The matrons and virgins of Rome were exposed to injuries more dreadful in the apprehension of chastity, than death itself; and the ecclesiastical historian has selected an example of female virtue for the admiration of future ages.* A Roman lady of singular beauty and orthodox faith, had excited the impatient desires of a young Goth, who, according to the sagacious remark of Sozomen, was attached to the Arian heresy. Exasperated by her obstinate resistance he drew his sword, and with the anger of a lover slightly wounded her neck. The bleeding heroine still continued to brave his resentment and to repel his love, till the ravisher desisted from his unavailing efforts, respectfully conducted her to the sanctuary of the Vatican, and gave six pieces of gold to the guards of the church, on condition that they should restore her inviolate to the arms of her husband. Such instances of courage and generosity were not extremely common. The brutal soldiers satisfied their sensual appetites without consulting either the inclination or the duties of their female captives; and a nice question of casuistry was seriously agitated, Whether those tender victims, who

Procopius (l. 1, c. 2) positively affirms, that great numbers were slain by the Goths. Augustin (de Civ. Dei, l. 1, c. 12, 13.) offers Christian comfort for the death of those whose bodies (*multa corpora*) had remained (in tantâ strage) unburied. Baronius, from the different writings of the fathers, has thrown some light on the sack of Rome, Annal. Eccles. A.D. 410, No. 16—14.

* Sozomen, l. 2, c. 16. Augustin (de Civitat. Dei, l. 1, c. 17) intimates, that some virgins or matrons actually killed themselves to escape violation; and though he admires their spirit, he is obliged, by his theology, to condemn their rash presumption. Perhaps the good bishop of Hippo was too easy in the belief, as well as too rigid in the censure, of this act of female heroism. The twenty maidens (if they ever existed) who threw themselves into the Elbe, when Magdeburg was taken by storm, have been multiplied to the number of twelve hundred. See Harte's History of Gustavus Adolphus, vol. i. p. 302.

had inflexibly refused their consent to the violation which they sustained, had lost by their misfortune the glorious crown of virginity?*. There were other losses indeed of a more substantial kind, and more general concern. It cannot be presumed that all the barbarians were at all times capable of perpetrating such amorous outrages; and the want of youth, or beauty, or chastity, protected the greatest part of the Roman women from the danger of a rape. But avarice is an insatiate and universal passion; since the enjoyment of almost every object that can afford pleasure to the different tastes and tempers of mankind, may be procured by the possession of wealth. In the pillage of Rome, a just preference was given to gold and jewels, which contain the greatest value in the smallest compass and weight: but after these portable riches had been removed by the more diligent robbers, the palaces of Rome were rudely stripped of their splendid and costly furniture. The sideboards of massy plate, and the variegated wardrobes of silk and purple, were irregularly piled in the wagons that always followed the march of a Gothic army. The most exquisite works of art were roughly handled, or wantonly destroyed; many a statue was melted for the sake of the precious materials; and many a vase, in the division of the spoil, was shivered into fragments by the stroke of a battle-axe. The acquisition of riches served only to stimulate the avarice of the rapacious barbarians, who proceeded by threats, by blows, and by tortures, to force from their prisoners the confession of hidden treasure.† Visible splendour and expense were alleged as the proof of a plentiful fortune; the appearance of poverty was imputed to a parsimonious disposition; and the obstinacy of some misers,

* See Augustin, de Civitat. Dei, l. 1, c. 16. 18. He treats the subject with remarkable accuracy; and, after admitting that there cannot be any crime, where there is no consent, he adds: *Sed quia non solum quod ad dolorem, verum etiam quod ad libidinem, pertinet, in corpore alieno perpetrari potest; quicquid tale factum fuerit, etsi retentam constantissimo animo pudicitiam non excutit, pudorem tamen incutit, ne credatur factum cum mentis etiam voluntate, quod fieri fortasse sine carnis aliquâ voluptate non potuit.* In c. 18, he makes some curious distinctions between moral and physical virginity.

† Marcella, a Roman lady, equally respectable for her rank, her age, and her piety, was thrown on the ground, and cruelly beaten and whipped, *cæsam fustibus flagellisque*, &c. Jerome, tom. i, p. 121, ad Principiam. See Augustin, de Civ. Dei. l. 1, c. 10 The modern Sacco

who endured the most cruel torments before they would discover the secret object of their affection, was fatal to many unhappy wretches, who expired under the lash for refusing to reveal their imaginary treasures. The edifices of Rome, though the damage has been much exaggerated, received some injury from the violence of the Goths. At their entrance through the Salarian gate they fired the adjacent houses to guide their march, and to distract the attention of the citizens: the flames, which encountered no obstacle in the disorder of the night, consumed many private and public buildings; and the ruins of the palace of Sallust* remained in the age of Justinian a stately monument of the Gothic conflagration.† Yet a contemporary historian has observed that fire could scarcely consume the enormous beams of solid brass, and that the strength of man was insufficient to subvert the foundations of ancient structures. Some truth may possibly be concealed in his devout assertion, that the wrath of Heaven supplied the imperfections of hostile rage; and that the proud Forum of Rome, decorated with the statues of so many gods and heroes, was levelled in the dust by the stroke of lightning.‡

di Roma, p. 208, gives an idea of the various methods of torturing prisoners for gold.

* The historian Sallust, who usefully practised the vices which he has so eloquently censured, employed the plunder of Numidia to adorn his palace and gardens on the Quirinal hill. The spot where the house stood is now marked by the church of St. Susanna, separated only by a street from the baths of Diocletian, and not far distant from the Salarian gate. See Nardini, *Roma Antica*, p. 192, 193, and the great Plan of Modern Rome, by Nelli.

† The expressions of Procopius are distinct and moderate (De Bell. Vandal. l. 1, c. 2). The Chronicle of Marcellinus speaks too strongly: *partem urbis Romæ cremavit*; and the words of Philostorgius, (*ἱερῶν δὲ τῆς πόλεως κειμήλια*, l. 12, c. 3,) convey a false and exaggerated idea. Bætzus has composed a particular dissertation (tom. iv, *Antiquit. Rom. Græc.*) to prove that the edifices of Rome were not subverted by the Goths and Vandals. ‡ Orosius, l. 2, c. 19, p. 143. He speaks as if he disapproved *all* statues; *vel Deum vel hominem mentiuntur*. They consisted of the Kings of Alba and Rome from Æneas, the Romans illustrious either in arms or arts, and the deified Cæsars. The expression which he uses of *Fora* is somewhat ambiguous, since there existed *five* principal *Fora*; but as they were all contiguous and adjacent, in the plain which is surrounded by the Capitoline, the Quirinal, the Esquiline and the Palatine hills, they might fairly be considered as one. See the *Roma Antiqua* of Huetius,

Whatever might be the numbers of equestrian or plebeian rank who perished in the massacre of Rome, it is confidently affirmed that only one senator lost his life by the sword of the enemy.* But it was not easy to compute the multitudes who, from an honourable station and a prosperous fortune, were suddenly reduced to the miserable condition of captives and exiles. As the barbarians had more occasion for money than for slaves, they fixed at a moderate price the redemption of their indigent prisoners; and the ransom was often paid by the benevolence of their friends or the charity of strangers.† The captives who were regularly sold, either in open market or by private contract, would have legally regained their native freedom, which it was impossible for a citizen to lose or to alienate.‡ But as it was soon discovered that the vindication of their liberty would endanger their lives; and that the Goths, unless they were tempted to sell, might be provoked to murder their useless prisoners; the civil jurisprudence had been already qualified by a wise regulation that they should be obliged to serve the moderate term of five years, till they had discharged by their labour the price of their redemption.§ The nations who invaded the Roman empire had driven before them into Italy whole troops of hungry and affrighted provincials, less apprehensive of servitude than of famine. The calamities of Rome and Italy dispersed the inhabitants to the most lonely, the most secure, the most distant places of refuge. While the Gothic cavalry spread terror and desolation along the sea-coast of Campania and Tuscany, the little island of Igilium, separated by a

p. 162—201, and the *Roma Antica* of Nardini, p. 212—273. The former is more useful for the ancient descriptions, the latter for the actual topography.

* Orosius (l. 2, c. 19, p. 142,) compares the cruelty of the Gauls and the clemency of the Goths. *Ibi vix quemquam inventum senatorum, qui vel absens evaserit; hic vix quemquam requiri, qui forte ut latens perierit.* But there is an air of rhetoric, and perhaps of falsehood, in this antithesis; and Socrates (l. 7, c. 10,) affirms, perhaps by an opposite exaggeration, that many senators were put to death with various and exquisite tortures.

† Multi . . . Christiani in captivitatem ducti sunt. Augustin, de Civ. Dei, l. 1, c. 14, and the Christians experienced no peculiar hardships.

‡ See Heineccius, *Antiquitat. Juris Roman.* tom. i, p. 96.

§ Appendix Cod. Theodos. 16, in Sirmond. Opera, tom. i. p. 735. This edict was published the 11th of December, A.D. 408, and is more reasonable than properly belonged to the ministers of Honorius.

narrow channel from the Argentarian promontory, repulsed or eluded their hostile attempts; and at so small a distance from Rome great numbers of citizens were securely concealed in the thick woods of that sequestered spot.* The ample patrimonies which many senatorian families possessed in Africa invited them, if they had time and prudence to escape from the ruin of their country, to embrace the shelter of that hospitable province. The most illustrious of these fugitives was the noble and pious Proba,† the widow of the prefect Petronius. After the death of her husband, the most powerful subject of Rome, she had remained at the head of the Anician family, and successively supplied, from her private fortune, the expense of the consulships of her three sons. When the city was besieged and taken by the Goths, Proba supported, with Christian resignation, the loss of immenso riches; embarked in a

- * *Eminus Igilii sylvosa cacumina miror;
 Quem fraudare nefas laudis honore sum.
 Hæc proprios nuper tutata est insula saltus;
 Sive loci ingenio, seu Domini genio.
 Gurgite cum modico victricibus obstitit armis
 Tanquam longiuquo dissociata mari.
 Hæc multos lacerâ suscepit ab urbe fugatos,
 Hic fessis posito certa timore salus.
 Plurima terreno populaverat aquora bello,
 Contra naturam classe timendus eques:
 Unum, mira fides, vario discrimine portum!
 Tam prope Romanis, tam procul esse Getis.*

Rutilius, in *Itinerar*, l. 1. 325.

The island is now called Giglio. See Cluver. *Ital. Antiq.* l. 2, p. 502. [This islet is rarely noticed by ancient writers. It is mentioned incidentally by Cesar (*De Bell. Civ.* l. 34,) and by Pliny (3. 12) under the name of *Ægiliûm*, who classes it with the islands on the western coast of Italy. Zedler's *Lexicon* gives it a circumference of three German (fifteen English) miles; and Malte Brun (*Geog.* vol. vii, p. 606) says, that it is now noted for its quarries of granite and marble, that its hills are still covered with woods, and that it produces wine abundantly.—Ed.]

† As the adventures of Proba and her family are connected with the life of St. Augustin, they are diligently illustrated by Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclési.* tom. xiii, p. 620—635. Some time after their arrival in Africa Demetrius took the veil, and made a vow of virginity; an event which was considered as of the highest importance to Rome and to the world. All the *Saints* wrote congratulatory letters to her; that of Jerome is still extant, (tom. i, p. 62—73, ad Demetriadæ de servandâ Virginitate,) and contains a mixture of absurd reasoning, spirited declamation, and curious facts, some of

small vessel, from whence she beheld at sea the flames of her burning palace, and fled with her daughter Læta, and her grand-daughter, the celebrated virgin Demetrias, to the coast of Africa. The benevolent profusion with which the matron distributed the fruits or the price of her estates, contributed to alleviate the misfortunes of exile and captivity. But even the family of Proba herself was not exempt from the rapacious oppression of count Heracian, who basely sold, in matrimonial prostitution, the noblest maidens of Rome to the lust or avarice of the Syrian merchants. The Italian fugitives were dispersed through the provinces, along the coast of Egypt and Asia, as far as Constantinople and Jerusalem; and the village of Bethlem, the solitary residence of St. Jerome and his female converts, was crowded with illustrious beggars of either sex and every age, who excited the public compassion by the remembrance of their past fortune.* This awful catastrophe of Rome filled the astonished empire with grief and terror. So interesting a contrast of greatness and ruin disposed the fond credulity of the people to deplore, and even to exaggerate, the afflictions of the queen of cities. The clergy, who applied to recent events the lofty metaphors of oriental prophecy, were sometimes tempted to confound the destruction of the capital and the dissolution of the globe.

There exists in human nature a strong propensity to depreciate the advantages, and to magnify the evils of the present times. Yet, when the first emotions had subsided, and a fair estimate was made of the real damage, the more learned and judicious contemporaries were forced to confess, that infant Rome had formerly received more essential injury from the Gauls, than she had now sustained from the Goths in her declining age.† The experience of eleven

* See the which relate to the siege and sack of Rome. pathetic complaint of Jerome, (tom. 5, p. 400,) in his preface to the second book of his Commentaries on the prophet Ezekiel.

† Orosius, though with some theological partiality, states this comparison, l. 2, c. 19, p. 142; l. 7, c. 39, p. 575. But, in the history of the taking of Rome by the Gauls, everything is uncertain, and perhaps fabulous. See Beaufort sur l'Incertitude, &c., de l'Histoire Romaine, p. 356; and Melot, in the Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xv, p. 1—21. [Gibbon has here instituted very judiciously two comparisons, which afford us material assistance in judging correctly of the ancient Goths, and the extent of injury wrought by them where they

centuries has enabled posterity to produce a much more singular parallel; and to affirm with confidence that the ravages of the barbarians, whom Alarie had led from the banks of the Danube, were less destructive than the hostilities exercised by the troops of Charles V. a Catholic prince, who styled himself emperor of the Romans.* The Goths evacuated the city at the end of six days, but Rome remained above nine months in the possession of the imperialists; and every hour was stained by some atrocious act of cruelty, lust, and rapine. The authority of Alarie preserved some order and moderation among the ferocious multitude, which acknowledged him for their leader and king; but the constable of Bourbon had gloriously fallen in the attack of the walls; and the death of the general removed every restraint of discipline from an army which consisted of three independent nations, the Italians, the Spaniards, and the Germans. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the manners of Italy exhibited a remarkable scene of the depravity of mankind. They united the sanguinary crimes that prevail in an unsettled state of society, with the polished vices which spring from the abuse of art and luxury; and the loose adventurers, who had violated every prejudice of patriotism and superstition, to assault the palace of the Roman pontiff, must deserve to be considered as the most profligate of the *Italians*. At the same era, the *Spaniards* were the terror both of the conquered. The far more destructive ravages of the Gauls, when they made themselves masters of Rome eight hundred years before, are told in Niebuhr's Lectures, (vol. i, p. 374,) which contain the latest and most matured deductions of that eminent historian. They present a melancholy picture of barbarian warfare or rather wanton desolation, which may teach us to think more favourably of Alarie's followers. Yet even from that utter ruin Rome recovered, and instead of ten "dark ages," centuries of light and glory followed.—[E.]

* The reader who wishes to inform himself of the circumstances of this famous event may peruse an admirable narrative in Dr. Robertson's History of Charles V., vol. ii, p. 283, or consult the *Annali d'Italia* of the learned Muratori, tom. xiv, p. 230—241, octavo edition. If he is desirous of examining the originals, he may have recourse to the eighteenth book of the great, but unfinished, history of Guicciardini. But the account which most truly deserves the name of authentic and original, is a little book, entitled, *Il Sacco di Roma*, composed, within less than a month after the assault of the city, by the brother of the historian Guicciardini, who appears to have been an able magistrate, and a dispassionate writer.

Old and New World; but their high-spirited valour was disgraced by gloomy pride, rapacious avarice, and unrelenting cruelty. Indefatigable in the pursuit of fame and riches, they had improved, by repeated practice, the most exquisite and effectual methods of torturing their prisoners; many of the Castilians who pillaged Rome, were familiars of the holy inquisition; and some volunteers, perhaps, were lately returned from the conquest of Mexico. The *Germans* were less corrupt than the Italians, less cruel than the Spaniards; and the rustic or even savage aspect of those *Tramontane* warriors, often disguised a simple and merciful disposition. But they had imbibed, in the first fervour of the Reformation, the spirit as well as the principles of Luther. It was their favourite amusement to insult or destroy the consecrated objects of Catholic superstition: they indulged, without pity or remorse, a devout hatred against the clergy of every denomination and degree, who form so considerable a part of the inhabitants of modern Rome; and their fanatic zeal might aspire to subvert the throne of Antichrist, to purify, with blood and fire, the abominations of the spiritual Babylon.*

* The furious spirit of Luther, the effect of temper and enthusiasm, has been forcibly attacked (Bossuet, *Hist. des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, livre 1, p. 20—36,) and feebly defended (Seckendorf, *Comment. de Lutheranismo*, especially l. 1, No. 78, p. 120, and l. 3, No. 122, p. 556. [There are two points in Gibbon's reference to this event which claim some notice. We must cease to regard the Goths, as the enemies of civilized life, and destroyers of its decorative monuments. They were plunderers; and carried away all portable wealth. But they did not mischievously deface or crush what they had no interest in removing. They left untouched even the arch of Honorius, which commemorated their defeat and their imaginary subjugation. For nearly a thousand years it was allowed to tell the egregious falsehood. This single fact outweighs whole volumes of exaggerated narrative and declamatory lamentation. In fact, Rome was more spared by the Goths, than by any enemy that ever ruled within its walls. Schmidt (*Geschichte der Deutschen* (1 p. 263) says, that they generally conducted themselves with great moderation, and that the excesses of which they are accused, are the wild tales of fugitives, who fled from Rome before the enemy had arrived; that these carried consternation with them into Africa and Asia, gave the most terrific accounts of what they had not witnessed, and thus furnished the materials used by historians. In the more dismal fate which befel the city eleven centuries later, it does not appear that there was any solid ground for Gibbon's surmise that the German Imperialists were actuated by "fanatic zeal." Luther was certainly impo

The retreat of the victorious Goths, who evacuated Rome on the sixth day,* might be the result of prudence; but it was not surely the effect of fear.† At the head of an army, encumbered with rich and weighty spoils, their intrepid leader advanced along the Appian way into the southern provinces of Italy, destroying whatever dared to oppose his passage, and contenting himself with the plunder of the unresisting country. The fate of Capua, the proud and luxurious metropolis of Campania, and which was respected even in its decay as the eighth city of the empire,‡ is buried in oblivion; whilst the adjacent town of Nola§ has been illustrated, on this occasion, by the sanctity of Paulinus,¶ who was successively a consul, a monk, and a bishop. At the age of forty, he renounced the enjoyment of wealth and honour, of society and literature, to embrace a life of solitude and penance; and the loud applause of

tuous in resisting the arrogance and presumption, which he encountered. But it is scarcely probable, that his inveteracy against Rome would be allowed to actuate the troops of a Catholic prince.—En.]

* Marcellinus, in Chron. Orosius (l. 7, c. 39, p. 575) asserts, that he left Rome on the *third* day; but this difference is easily reconciled by the successive motions of great bodies of troops.

† Socrates (l. 7, c. 10) pretends, without any colour of truth or reason, that Alaric fled, on the report that the armies of the eastern empire were in full march to attack him.

‡ Ausonius de Claris Urbibus, p. 233, edit. Toll. The luxury of Capua had formerly surpassed that of Sybaris itself. See Athenæus Deipnosophist. l. 12, p. 52a, edit. Casaubon. [At the time of the Punic wars, Capua aspired to rival Rome, and stand at the head of Italy. Niebuhr says (Lectures, vol. ii, p. 104) that "Livy's description of the way in which Hannibal established himself there, is wonderfully beautiful, yet certainly but a romance. Whether it be true, that winter-quarters in so luxurious a city made the troops of Hannibal effeminate or dissolute, or whether this be a mere rhetorical flourish, can now never be decided." He admits however, that they fell into a state of lassitude, and from that time experienced only reverses. Perhaps Alaric had heard Hannibal's story; and though he was the leader of forces not strictly disciplined, yet he avoided the dangers of "Capua, minime salubris militari disciplina," where even their energy might be relaxed.—En.]

§ Forty-eight years before the foundation of Rome (about eight hundred before the Christian era), the Tuscanæ built Capua and Nola, at the distance of twenty-three miles from each other; but the latter of the two cities never emerged from a state of mediocrity.

¶ Tillemont (Mém. Ecclési. tom. xiv, p. 1—146) has compiled, with his usual diligence, all that relates to the life and writings of Paulinus, whose retreat is celebrated by his own pen, and by the praise of St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustin, Sulpicius Severus, &c., his

the clergy encouraged him to despise the reproaches of his worldly friends, who ascribed this desperate act to some disorder of the mind or body.* An early and passionate attachment determined him to fix his humble dwelling in one of the suburbs of Nola, near the miraculous tomb of St. Felix, which the public devotion had already surrounded with five large and populous churches. The remains of his fortune and of his understanding were dedicated to the service of the glorious martyr; whose praise, on the day of his festival, Paulinus never failed to celebrate by a solemn hymn; and in whose name he erected a sixth church, of superior elegance and beauty, which was decorated with many curious pictures from the history of the Old and New Testament. Such assiduous zeal secured the favour of the saint,† or at least of the people; and, after fifteen years' retirement, the Roman consul was compelled to accept the bishopric of Nola, a few months before the city was invested by the Goths. During the siege, some religious persons were satisfied that they had seen, either in dreams or visions, the divine form of their tutelar patron; yet it soon appeared, by the event, that Felix wanted power or inclination to preserve the flock of which he had formerly been the shepherd. Nola was not saved from the general devastation,‡ and the captive bishop was protected only by the general opinion of his innocence and poverty. Above four years elapsed from the successful invasion of Italy by the arms of Alaric to the voluntary retreat of the Goths, under the conduct of his successor Adolphus; and, during the whole time they reigned without control over a country which, in the opinion of the ancients, had united all the various excellences of nature and art. The prosperity, indeed, which Italy had attained in the auspicious age of the Antonines, had gradually declined with the

Christian friends and contemporaries.

* See the affectionate letters of Ausonius (epist. 19—25, p. 650—698, edit. Toll.) to his colleague, his friend, and his disciple, Paulinus. The religion of Ausonius is still a problem. (See *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xv, p. 123—138.) I believe that it was such in his own time, and consequently, that in his heart he was a Pagan.

† The humble Paulinus once presumed to say, that he believed St. Felix *did* love him; at least, as a master loves his little dog.

‡ See Jornandes, de Reb. Get. c. 30, p. 653. Philostorgius, l. 12, c. 3. Augustin, de Civ. Dei, l. 1, c. 10. Baronius, Annal. Eccles. A.D. 410, No. 45, 46.

decline of the empire. The fruits of a long peace perished under the rude grasp of the barbarians; and they themselves were incapable of tasting the more elegant refinements of luxury, which had been prepared for the use of the soft and polished Italians. Each soldier, however, claimed an ample portion of the substantial plenty, the corn and cattle, oil and wine, that was daily collected and consumed in the Gothic camp; and the principal warriors insulted the villas and gardens once inhabited by Lucullus and Cicero, along the beauteous coast of Campania. Their trembling captives, the sons and daughters of Roman senators, presented, in goblets of gold and gems, large draughts of Falernian wine to the haughty victors; who stretched their huge limbs under the shade of plane-trees,* artificially disposed to exclude the scorching rays, and to admit the genial warmth of the sun. These delights were enhanced by the memory of past hardships: the comparison of their native soil, the bleak and barren hills of Scythia, and the frozen banks of the Elbe and Danube, added new charms to the felicity of the Italian climate. †

Whether fame, or conquest, or riches were the object of

* The *platanus*, or plane-tree, was a favourite of the ancients, by whom it was propagated, for the sake of shade, from the east to Gaul. Pliny, *Hist. Natur.* 12. 3—5. He mentions several of an enormous size; one in the imperial villa at Velitra, which Caligula called his nest, as the branches were capable of holding a large table, the proper attendants, and the emperor himself, whom Pliny quaintly styles *pars umbra*; an expression which might, with equal reason, be applied to Alaric. [Gibbon is scarcely justified in assuming any parity between Caligula and Alaric. The premature death of the latter was a misfortune to Europe. Had his life been prolonged, Europe would probably have been spared from some of the calamities of succeeding ages.—Ed.]

† The prostrate South to the destroyer yields
Her boasted titles, and her golden fields:
With grim delight the brood of winter view
A brighter day, and skies of azure hue;
Scent the new fragrance of the opening rose,
And quaff the pendant vintage as it grows.

See Gray's Poems, published by Mr. Mason, p. 157. Instead of compiling tables of chronology and natural history, why did not Mr. Gray apply the powers of his genius to finish the philosophic poem, of which he has left such an exquisite specimen? [It is more than probable that the hosts led by Alaric had never seen "the bleak and barren hills of Scythia," as, for at least one generation, they had been

Alaric, he pursued that object with an indefatigable ardour which could neither be quelled by adversity, nor satiated by success. No sooner had he reached the extreme land of Italy, than he was attracted by the neighbouring prospect of a fertile and peaceful island. Yet even the possession of Sicily he considered only as an intermediate step to the important expedition which he already meditated against the continent of Africa. The straits of Rhegium and Messina* are twelve miles in length, and, in the narrowest passage, about one mile and a half broad; and the fabulous monsters of the deep, the rocks of Scylla and the whirlpool of Charybdis, could terrify none but the most timid and unskilful mariners. Yet as soon as the first division of the Goths had embarked, a sudden tempest arose, which sunk or scattered many of the transports; their courage was daunted by the terrors of a new element; and the whole design was defeated by the premature death of Alaric, which fixed, after a short illness, the fatal term of his conquests. *The ferocious character of the barbarians was displayed in the funeral of a hero, whose valour and fortune they celebrated with mournful applause.* By the labour of a captive multitude, they forcibly diverted the course of the Busentinus, a small river that washes the walls of Consentia. The royal sepulchre, adorned with the splendid toils and trophies of Rome, was constructed in the vacant bed; the waters were then restored to their natural channel; and the secret spot, where the remains of Alaric had been deposited, was for ever concealed by the inhuman massacre of the prisoners who had been employed to execute the work.†

The personal animosities and hereditary feuds of the

hovering on the confines of the empire.—ED.]

* For the perfect description of the straits of Messina, Scylla, Charybdis, &c., see Cluverius (Ital. Antiq. l. 4, p. 1293, and Sicilia Antiq. l. 1, p. 60—76,) who had diligently studied the ancients, and surveyed with a curious eye the actual face of the country.

† Jornandes, de Reb. Get. c. 30, p. 654. [The only authority for this massacre is Jornandes, who lived a hundred and forty years after it, and was never unwilling to cast obloquy on Arians, even of his own nation. Orosius, a contemporary of Alaric, records the time and place of his death, but is quite silent on this barbarous transaction. His bitterness against the heresy of the Goths marks many of his pages, and would not have been withheld on this occasion, had there been any ground for the

barbarians, were suspended by the strong necessity of their affairs; and the brave Adolphus, the brother-in-law of the deceased monarch, was unanimously elected to succeed to his throne. The character and political system of the new king of the Goths may be best understood from his own conversation with an illustrious citizen of Narbonne, who afterwards, in a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, related it to St. Jerome, in the presence of the historian Orosius. "In the full confidence of valour and victory, I once aspired (said Adolphus) to change the face of the universe; to obliterate the name of Rome; to erect on its ruins the dominion of the Goths; and to acquire, like Augustus, the immortal fame of the founder of a new empire. By repeated experiments, I was gradually convinced, that laws are essentially necessary to maintain and regulate a well-constituted state; and that the fierce untractable humour of the Goths was incapable of bearing the salutary yoke of laws and civil government. From that moment I proposed to myself a different object of glory and ambition; and it is now my sincere wish, that the gratitude of future ages should acknowledge the merit of a stranger, who employed the sword of the Goths, not to subvert, but to restore and maintain, the prosperity of the Roman empire."* With these pacific views, the successor of Alaric suspended the operations of war; and seriously negotiated with the imperial court a treaty of friendship and alliance. It was the interest of the ministers of Honorius, who were now released from the obligation of their extravagant oath, to deliver Italy from the intolerable weight of the Gothic powers; and they readily accepted their service against the tyrants and barbarians who infested the provinces beyond the Alps.†

charge.—Ed.] * Orosius, l. 7, c. 43, p. 584, 585. He was sent by St. Augustine, in the year 415, from Africa to Palestine, to visit St. Jerome, and to consult with him on the subject of the Pelagian controversy. [This conversation, if not actually apocryphal, is, at least, there is little doubt, overrated; Orosius was always ready to draw inferences unfavourable to the Goths. There is no evidence of their ever having been habitually insubordinate, nor is it likely that Adolphus would have gratuitously decried his own people.—Ed.] † Jornandes supposes, without much probability, that Adolphus visited and plundered Rome a second time (more locustarum crast). Yet he agrees with Orosius in supposing that a treaty of peace was concluded between the Gothic prince and Honorius. See Oros. l. 7, c. 43, p. 584, 585. Jornandes, de Reb. Geticis, c. 31, p. 654, 655.

Adolphus, assuming the character of a Roman general, directed his march from the extremity of Campania to the southern provinces of Gaul. His troops, either by force or agreement, immediately occupied the cities of Narbonne, Thoulouse, and Bordeaux; and though they were repulsed by count Boniface from the walls of Marseilles, they soon extended their quarters from the Mediterranean to the ocean. The oppressed provincials might exclaim, that the miserable remnant, which the enemy had spared, was cruelly ravished by their pretended allies; yet some specious colours were not wanting to palliate or justify the violence of the Goths. The cities of Gaul, which they attacked, might perhaps be considered as in a state of rebellion against the government of Honorius; the articles of the treaty, or the secret instructions of the court, might sometimes be alleged in favour of the seeming usurpations of Adolphus; and the guilt of any irregular, unsuccessful act of hostility might always be imputed, with an appearance of truth, to the ungovernable spirit of a barbarian host, impatient of peace or discipline. The luxury of Italy had been less effectual to soften the temper, than to relax the courage of the Goths; and they had imbibed the vices, without imitating the arts and institutions, of civilized society.*

The professions of Adolphus were probably sincere, and his attachment to the cause of the republic was secured by the ascendant which a Roman princess had acquired over the heart and understanding of the barbarian king. Placidia,† the daughter of the great Theodosius, and of Galla his second wife, had received a royal education in the palace of Constantinople; but the eventful story of her life is connected with the revolutions which agitated the western empire under the reign of her brother Honorius. When Rome was first invested by the arms of Alaric, Placidia, who was then about twenty years of age, resided in the city; and her ready consent to the death of her cousin Serena has a cruel and an ungrateful appearance, which, according to the circumstances of the action, may be aggra-

* The retreat of the Goths from Italy, and their first transactions in Gaul, are dark and doubtful. I have derived much assistance from Mascou (*Hist. of the Ancient Germans*, lib. 8, c. 29, 35—37), who has illustrated and connected the broken chronicles and fragments of the times.

† See an account of Placidia in Ducange, *Fam.*

A.D. 414.]

WITH PLACIDIA.

rated or excused, by the consideration of her tender age.* The victorious barbarians detained, either as a hostage or a captive,† the sister of Honorius; but, while she was exposed to the disgrace of following round Italy the motions of a Gothic camp, she experienced, however, a decent and respectful treatment. The authority of Jornandes, who praises the beauty of Placidia, may perhaps be counterbalanced by the silence, the expressive silence, of her flatterers; yet the splendour of her birth, the bloom of youth, the elegance of manners, and the dexterous insinuation which she condescended to employ, made a deep impression on the mind of Adolphus; and the Gothic king aspired to call himself the brother of the emperor. The ministers of Honorius rejected with disdain the proposal of an alliance, so injurious to every sentiment of Roman pride; and repeatedly urged the restitution of Placidia, as an indispensable condition of the treaty of peace. But the daughter of Theodosius submitted without reluctance, to the desires of the conqueror, a young and valiant prince, who yielded to Alaric in loftiness of stature, but who excelled in the more attractive qualities of grace and beauty. The marriage of Adolphus and Placidia‡ was consummated before the Goths retired from Italy; and the solemn, perhaps the anniversary day of their nuptials, was afterwards celebrated in the house of Ingenuus, one of the most illustrious citizens of Narbonne in Gaul. The bride, attired and adorned like a Roman empress, was placed on a throne of state; and the king of the Goths, who assumed, on this occasion, the Roman habit, contented himself with a less honourable seat by her side. The nuptial gift, which, according to the custom of his nation,§ was offered to

Byzant. p. 72, and Tillemont Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 260, 356, &c. tom. vi. p. 240. * Zosim. lib. 5, p. 350.

† Zosim. lib. 6, p. 383. Orosius (lib. 7, c. 40, p. 576) and the Chronicles of Marcellinus and Idatius seem to suppose, that the Goths did not carry away Placidia till after the last siege of Rome.

‡ See the pictures of Adolphus and Placidia, and the account of their marriage, in Jornandes, de Reb. Geticis, c. 31, p. 654, 655. With regard to the place where the nuptials were stipulated, or consummated, or celebrated, the MSS. of Jornandes vary between two neighbouring cities, Forli and Imola. (Forum Livii and Forum Cornelian.) It is fair and easy to reconcile the Gothic historian with Olympiodorus (see Maseou, lib. 8, c. 46); but Tillemont grows peevish, and avers that it is not worth while to try to conciliate Jornandes with any good authors.

§ The Visigoths (the subjects of Adolphus) restrained

Placidia, consisted of the rare and magnificent spoils of her country. Fifty beautiful youths, in silken robes, carried a basin in each hand; and one of these basins was filled with pieces of gold, the other with precious stones of an inestimable value. Attalus, so long the sport of fortune and of the Goths, was appointed to lead the chorus of the hymeneal song; and the degraded emperor might aspire to the praise of a skilful musician. The barbarians enjoyed the insolence of their triumph; and the provincials rejoiced in this alliance, which tempered, by the mild influence of love and reason, the fierce spirit of their Gothic lord.*

The hundred basins of gold and gems, presented to Placidia at her nuptial feast, formed an inconsiderable portion of the Gothic treasures; of which some extraordinary specimens may be selected from the history of the successors of Adolphus. Many curious and costly ornaments of pure gold, enriched with jewels, were found in their palace of Narbonne, when it was pillaged in the sixth century by the Franks: sixty cups or chalices; fifteen patens, or plates for the use of the communion; twenty boxes or cases, to hold the books of the Gospels: this consecrated wealth† was distributed by the son of Clovis among the

by subsequent laws, the prodigality of conjugal love. It was illegal for a husband to make any gift or settlement for the benefit of his wife during the first year of their marriage; and his liberality could not at any time exceed the tenth part of his property. The Lombards were somewhat more indulgent: they allowed the *morningcap* immediately after the wedding night; and this famous gift, the reward of virginity, might equal the fourth part of the husband's substance. Some cautious maidens, indeed, were wise enough to stipulate beforehand a present, which they were too sure of not deservng. (See Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, lib. 19, c. 25. Muratori, *delle Antichità Italiane*, tom. i, *Disertaz.* 20, p. 243.) [Gibbon's *morningcap*, is the well-known *Morgengabe* (morning-gift) of the Germans, a custom not yet entirely obsolete. It is presented to the bride by her husband the morning after marriage, and is quite distinct from any kind of settlement. All the circumstances connected with the marriage of Adolphus illustrate that respect for the female sex which is so striking a feature in the Gothic character. (See Mallet's *North. Antiq.*, edit. Bohn, p. 199.)—Ed.]

* We owe the curious detail of this nuptial feast to the historian Olympiodorus, ap. Photium, p. 185, 188. † See in the great collection of the historians of France by Dom. Bouquet, tom. ii, *Greg. Turonens.* lib. 3, c. 10, p. 191. *Gesta Regum Francorum*, c. 23, p. 557. The anonymous writer, with an ignorance worthy of his times, supposes that these instruments of Christian worship had belonged to the temple of Solomon. If he has any meaning it must be, that they were

A.D. 414.]

churches of his dominions, and his pious liberality seems to upbraid some former sacrilege of the Goths. They possessed with more security of conscience, the famous *missorium*, or great dish for the service of the table, of massy gold of the weight of five hundred pounds, and of far superior value from the precious stones, the exquisite workmanship, and the tradition that it had been presented by Ætius the patrician, to Torismond king of the Goths. One of the successors of Torismond purchased the aid of the French monarch by the promise of this magnificent gift. When he was seated on the throne of Spain, he delivered it with reluctance to the ambassadors of Dagobert; despoiled them on the road; stipulated, after a long negotiation, the inadequate ransom of two hundred thousand pieces of gold; and preserved the *missorium*, as the pride of the Gothic treasury.* When that treasury, after the conquest of Spain, was plundered by the Arabs, they admired, and they have celebrated, another object still more remarkable; a table of considerable size, of one single piece of solid emerald,† encircled with three rows of fine pearls, supported by three hundred and sixty-five feet of gems and massy gold, and estimated at the price of five hundred thousand pieces of gold.‡ Some portion of the Gothic treasures might be the gift of friendship, or the tribute of obedience; but the far greater part had been the fruits of war and rapine, the spoils of the empire, and perhaps of Rome.

After the deliverance of Italy from the oppression of the Goths, some secret counsellor was permitted, amidst the factions of the palace, to heal the wounds of that afflicted found in the sack of Rome.

* Consult the following original testimonies in the historians of France, tom. ii, *Fredegarii Scholastici Chron.* c. 73, p. 441. *Fredegar. Fragment.* 3, p. 463. *Gesta Regis Dagoberti.* c. 29, p. 557. The accession of Sigismund to the throne of Spain happened A.D. 631. The two hundred thousand pieces of gold were appropriated by Dagobert to the foundation of the church of St. Denis.

† The president Goguet (*Origine des Loix*, &c. tom. ii, p. 239) is of opinion that the stupendous pieces of emerald, the statues, and columns, which antiquity has placed in Egypt, at Gades, at Constantinople, were in reality artificial compositions of coloured glass. The famous emerald dish which is shown at Genoa, is supposed to countenance the suspicion.

‡ Eilmacin. *Hist. Saracenicæ*, lib. 1, p. 85. Roderic. *Tolct. Hist. Arab.* c. 9. Cardenne, *Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous les Arabes*, tom. i, p. 88. It was called the table of Solomon, according to the custom of the orientals, who ascribe to that prince every ancient work of knowledge or magnificence.

country.* By a wise and humane regulation, the eight provinces which had been the most deeply injured, Campania, Tuscany, Picenum, Samnium, Apulia, Calabria, Bruttium and Lucania, obtained an indulgence of five years: the ordinary tribute was reduced to one-fifth, and even that fifth was destined to restore and support the useful institution of the public posts. By another law the lands which had been left without inhabitants or cultivation, were granted, with some diminution of taxes, to the neighbours who should occupy, or the strangers who should solicit them; and the new possessors were secured against the future claims of the fugitive proprietors. About the same time a general amnesty was published in the name of Honorius, to abolish the guilt and memory of all the *involuntary* offences, which had been committed by his unhappy subjects during the term of the public disorder and calamity. A decent and respectful attention was paid to the restoration of the capital; the citizens were encouraged to rebuild the edifices which had been destroyed or damaged by hostile fire; and extraordinary supplies of corn were imported from the coast of Africa. The crowds that so lately fled before the sword of the barbarians, were soon recalled by the hopes of plenty and pleasure; and Albinus, prefect of Rome, informed the court with some anxiety and surprise, that in a single day, he had taken an account of the arrival of fourteen thousand strangers.† In less than seven years, the vestiges of the Gothic invasion were almost obliterated; and the city appeared to resume its former splendour and tranquillity. The venerable matron replaced her crown of laurel, which had been ruffled by the storms of war; and was still amused in the last moment of her decay, with the prophecies of revenge, of victory, and of eternal dominion.‡

cence. * His three laws are inserted in the Theodosian Code, lib. 11, tit. 28, leg. 7; lib. 13, tit. 11, leg. 12; lib. 15, tit. 14, leg. 14. The expressions of the last are very remarkable; since they contain not only a pardon but an apology.

† Olympiodorus ap. Phot. p. 188. Philostorgius (lib. 12, c. 5) observes that when Honorius made his triumphal entry, he encouraged the Romans with his hand and voice (*χειρὶ καὶ γλώτῳ*) to rebuild their city; and the Chronicle of Prosper commends Heraclian, qui in Romanæ urbis reparationem strenuum exhibuerat ministerium.

‡ The date of the voyage of Claudius Rutilius Numatianus is clogged with some difficulties; but Scaliger has deduced from astronomical characters, that he left

This apparent tranquillity was soon disturbed by the approach of a hostile armament from the country which afforded the daily subsistence of the Roman people. Heraclian, count of Africa, who under the most difficult and distressful circumstances, had supported with active loyalty the cause of Honorius, was tempted in the year of his consulship, to assume the character of a rebel and the title of emperor. The ports of Africa were immediately filled with the naval forces, at the head of which he prepared to invade Italy: and his fleet, when it cast anchor at the mouth of the Tiber, indeed surpassed the fleets of Xerxes and Alexander, if *all* the vessels, including the royal galley and the smallest boat, did actually amount to the incredible number of three thousand two hundred.* Yet with such an armament, which might have subverted or restored the greatest empire of the earth, the African usurper made a very faint and feeble impression on the provinces of his rival. As he marched from the port, along the road which leads to the gates of Rome, he was encountered, terrified, and routed, by one of the imperial captains; and the lord of this mighty host, deserting his fortune and his friends, ignominiously fled with a single ship.† When Heraclian landed in the harbour of Carthage, he found that the whole province, disdaining such an unworthy ruler, had returned to their allegiance. The rebel was beheaded in the ancient temple of Memory; his consulship was abolished,‡ and the

Rome the 24th of September, and embarked at Porto the 9th of October, A.D. 416. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v, p. 820. In this poetical Itinerary, Rutilius (lib. 1, 115, &c.) addresses Rome in a high strain of congratulation:—

Erige crimales lauros, seniumque sacratum
Verticis in virides, Roma, recinge comas, &c.

[Rutilius himself (l. 135) marks the commencement of his travels as A.D. 416, which by Varro's computation agrees with A.D. 416.—*Ed.*]

* Orosius composed his history in Africa, only two years after the event; yet his authority seems to be overbalanced by the improbability of the fact. The Chronicle of Marcellinus gives Heraclian seven hundred ships and three thousand men; the latter of these numbers is ridiculously corrupt; but the former would please me very much. [Orosius probably combined in one the two numbers of Marcellinus, for he gives Heraclian 3700 ships. *Oros. 7, 42.—Ed.*]

† The Chronicle of Idatius affirms, without the least appearance of truth, that he advanced as far as Otricoli, in Umbria, where he was overthrown in a great battle with the loss of fifty thousand men.

‡ See *Cod. Theod. lib. 15, tit. 14, leg. 12.* The legal acts performed

remains of his private fortune, not exceeding the moderate sum of four thousand pounds of gold, were granted to the brave Constantius, who had already defended the throne which he afterwards shared with his feeble sovereign. Honorius viewed with supine indifference, the calamities of Rome and Italy,* but the rebellious attempts of Attalus and Heraclian against his personal safety, awakened for a moment the torpid instinct of his nature. He was probably ignorant of the causes and events which preserved him from these impending dangers; and as Italy was no longer invaded by any foreign or domestic enemies, he peaceably existed in the palace of Ravenna, while the tyrants beyond the Alps were repeatedly vanquished in the name, and by the lieutenants, of the son of Theodosius.† In the course of a busy and interesting narrative, I might possibly forget to mention the death of such a prince; and I shall therefore take the precaution of observing in this place, that he survived the last siege of Rome about thirteen years.

The usurpation of Constantine, who received the purple from the legions of Britain, had been successful; and seemed to be secure. His title was acknowledged from the wall of Antoninus to the columns of Hercules; and, in the midst of the public disorder, he shared the dominion and the plunder of Gaul and Spain with the tribes of barbarians, whose destructive progress was no longer checked by the Rhine or Pyrenees. Stained with the blood of the kinsmen of Honorius, he extorted from the court of

in his name, even the manumission of slaves, were declared invalid, till they had been formally repeated.

* I have disdained to mention a very foolish, and probably a false report (Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. 1, c. 2), that Honorius was alarmed by the loss of Rome, till he understood that it was not a favourite chicken of that name, but *only* the capital of the world, which had been lost. Yet even this story is some evidence of the public opinion.

† The materials for the lives of all these tyrants are taken from six contemporary historians, two Latins and four Greeks; Orosius, lib. 7, c. 42, p. 581—583; Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, apud Gregor. Turon. lib. 2, c. 9, in the historians of France, tom. ii, p. 165, 166; Zosimus, lib. 6, p. 370, 371; Olympiodorus, apud Phot. p. 180, 181, 184, 185; Sozomen, lib. 9, c. 12—15; and Philostorgius, lib. 12, c. 5. 6, with Godefroy's Dissertations, p. 447—481; besides the four Chronicles of Prosper Tyro, Prosper of Aquitain, Idatius, and Marcellinus.

Ravenna, with which he secretly corresponded, the ratification of his rebellious claims. Constantine engaged himself, by a solemn promise, to deliver Italy from the Goths; advanced as far as the banks of the Po; and after alarming, rather than assisting, his pusillanimous ally, hastily returned to the palace of Arles, to celebrate, with intemperate luxury, his vain and ostentatious triumph. But this transient prosperity was soon interrupted and destroyed by the revolt of count Gerontius, the bravest of his generals, who, during the absence of his son Constans, a prince already invested with the imperial purple, had been left to command in the provinces of Spain. For some reason, of which we are ignorant, Gerontius, instead of assuming the diadem, placed it on the head of his friend Maximus, who fixed his residence at Tarragona, while the active count pressed forwards through the Pyrenees, to surprise the two emperors, Constantine and Constans, before they could prepare for their defence. The son was made prisoner at Vienna, and immediately put to death; and the unfortunate youth had scarcely leisure to deplore the elevation of his family, which had tempted or compelled him sacrilegiously to desert the peaceful obscurity of the monastic life. The father maintained a siege within the walls of Arles; but those walls must have yielded to the assailants, had not the city been unexpectedly relieved by the approach of an Italian army. The name of Honorius, the proclamation of a lawful emperor, astonished the contending parties of the rebels. Gerontius, abandoned by his own troops, escaped to the confines of Spain; and rescued his name from oblivion by the Roman courage which appeared to animate the last moments of his life. In the middle of the night, a great body of his perfidious soldiers surrounded and attacked his house, which he had strongly barricaded. His wife, a valiant friend of the nation of the Alani, and some faithful slaves, were still attached to his person; and he used, with so much skill and resolution, a large magazine of darts and arrows, that above three hundred of the assailants lost their lives in the attempt. His slaves, when all the missile weapons were spent, fled at the dawn of day; and Gerontius, if he had not been restrained by conjugal tenderness, might have imitated their example; till the soldiers, provoked by such obstinate resistance, applied fire on all sides

to the house. In this fatal extremity he complied with the request of his barbarian friend, and cut off his head. The wife of Gerontius, who conjured him not to abandon her to a life of misery and disgrace, eagerly presented her neck to his sword; and the tragic scene was terminated by the death of the count himself, who, after three ineffectual strokes, drew a short dagger, and sheathed it in his heart.* The unprotected Maximus, whom he had invested with the purple, was indebted for his life to the contempt that was entertained of his power and abilities. The caprice of the barbarians who ravaged Spain, once more seated this imperial phantom on the throne: but they soon resigned him to the justice of Honorius; and the tyrant Maximus, after he had been shown to the people of Ravenna and of Rome, was publicly executed.

The general, Constantius was his name, who raised by his approach the siege of Arles, and dissipated the troops of Gerontius, was born a Roman; and this remarkable distinction is strongly expressive of the decay of military spirit among the subjects of the empire. The strength and majesty which were conspicuous in the person of that general† marked him, in the popular opinion, as a candidate worthy of the throne, which he afterwards ascended. In the familiar intercourse of private life, his manners were cheerful and engaging: nor would he sometimes disdain, in the licence of convivial mirth, to vie with the pantomimes themselves in the exercises of their ridiculous profession. But when the trumpet summoned him to arms; when he mounted his horse, and bending down (for such was his singular practice) almost upon the neck, fiercely rolled his large animated eyes round the field, Constantius then struck terror into his foes, and inspired his soldiers with the assurance of victory. He had received from the court of Ravenna the important commission of extirpating

* The praises which Sozomen has bestowed on this act of despair, appear strange and scandalous in the mouth of an ecclesiastical historian. He observes (p 379) that the wife of Gerontius was a *Christian*, and that her death was worthy of her religion and of immortal fame.

† Εἰδὸς ἀξίον τυραννίδος, is the expression of Olympiodorus, which he seems to have borrowed from *Æolus*, a tragedy of Euripides, of which some fragments only are now extant. (Euripid. Barnes. tom. ii, p. 443, ver. 33.) This allusion may prove that the ancient tragic poets were still familiar to the Greeks of the fifth century.

rebellion in the provinces of the west; and the pretended emperor Constantine, after enjoying a short and anxious respite, was again besieged in his capital by the arms of a more formidable enemy. Yet this interval allowed time for a successful negotiation with the Franks and Allemanni; and his ambassador, Edobie, soon returned, at the head of an army, to disturb the operations of the siege of Arles. The Roman general, instead of expecting the attack in his lines, boldly, and perhaps wisely, resolved to pass the Rhone and to meet the barbarians. His measures were conducted with so much skill and secrecy, that while they engaged the infantry of Constantius in the front, they were suddenly attacked, surrounded, and destroyed by the cavalry of his lieutenant Ulphilas, who had silently gained an advantageous post in their rear. The remains of the army of Edobie were preserved by flight or submission, and their leader escaped from the field of battle to the house of a faithless friend, who too clearly understood that the head of his obnoxious guest would be an acceptable and lucrative present for the imperial general. On this occasion, Constantius behaved with the magnanimity of a genuine Roman. Subduing or suppressing every sentiment of jealousy, he publicly acknowledged the merit and services of Ulphilas: but he turned with horror from the assassin of Edobie, and sternly intimated his commands, that the camp should no longer be polluted by the presence of an ungrateful wretch, who had violated the laws of friendship and hospitality. The usurper, who beheld from the walls of Arles the ruin of his last hopes, was tempted to place some confidence in so generous a conqueror. He required a solemn promise for his security; and after receiving, by the imposition of hands, the sacred character of a Christian presbyter, he ventured to open the gates of the city. But he soon experienced that the principles of honour and integrity, which might regulate the ordinary conduct of Constantius, were superseded by the loose doctrines of political morality. The Roman general, indeed, refused to sully his laurels with the blood of Constantine; but the abdicated emperor and his son Julian, were sent under a strong guard into Italy; and before they reached the palace of Ravenna, they met the ministers of death.

At a time when it was universally confessed that almost

every man in the empire was superior in personal merit to the princes whom the accident of their birth had seated on the throne, a rapid succession of usurpers, regardless of the fate of their predecessors, still continued to arise. This mischief was peculiarly felt in the provinces of Spain and Gaul, where the principles of order and obedience had been extinguished by war and rebellion. Before Constantine resigned the purple, and in the fourth month of the siege of Arles, intelligence was received in the imperial camp that Jovinus had assumed the diadem at Mentz, in the Upper Germany, at the instigation of Goar, king of the Alani, and of Guntiarus, king of the Burgundians; and that the candidate, on whom they had bestowed the empire, advanced with a formidable host of barbarians, from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Rhone. Every circumstance is dark and extraordinary in the short history of the reign of Jovinus. It was natural to expect that a brave and skilful general, at the head of a victorious army, would have asserted, in a field of battle, the justice of the cause of Honorius. The hasty retreat of Constantius might be justified by weighty reasons; but he resigned, without a struggle, the possession of Gaul: and Dardanus, the prætorian prefect, is recorded as the only magistrate who refused to yield obedience to the usurper.* When the Goths, two years after the siege of Rome, established their quarters in Gaul, it was natural to suppose that their inclination could be divided only between the emperor Honorius, with whom they had formed a recent alliance, and the degraded Attalus, whom they reserved in their camp for the occasional purpose of acting the part of a musician or a monarch. Yet in a moment of disgust (for which it is not easy to assign a cause or a date), Adolphus connected himself with the usurper of Gaul; and imposed on Attalus the ignominious task of negotiating the treaty, which ratified his own disgrace. We are again surprised

* Sidonius Apollinaris (lib. 5, epist. 9, p. 139, and Not. Sirmond. p. 58), after stigmatizing the *inconstancy* of Constantine, the *facility* of Jovinus, the *perfidy* of Gerontius, continues to observe, that all the vices of these tyrants were united in the person of Dardanus. Yet the prefect supported a respectable character in the world, and even in the church: held a devout correspondence with St. Augustin and St. Jerome; and was complimented by the latter (tom. iii, p. 66), with the epithets of *Christianorum Nobilissime*, and *Nobilium Christianissime*.

to read that, instead of considering the Gothic alliance as the firmest support of his throne, Jovinus upbraided, in dark and ambiguous language, the officious importunity of Attalus; that, scorning the advice of his great ally, he invested with the purple his brother Sebastian; and that he most imprudently accepted the service of Sarus, when that gallant chief, the soldier of Honorius, was provoked to desert the court of a prince, who knew not how to reward or punish. Adolphus, educated among a race of warriors, who esteemed the duty of revenge as the most precious and sacred portion of their inheritance, advanced with a body of ten thousand Goths to encounter the hereditary enemy of the house of Balthi. He attacked Sarus at an unguarded moment, when he was accompanied only by eighteen or twenty of his valiant followers. United by friendship, animated by despair, but at length oppressed by multitudes, this band of heroes deserved the esteem, without exciting the compassion, of their enemies; and the lion was no sooner taken in the toils,* than he was instantly dispatched. The death of Sarus dissolved the loose alliance which Adolphus still maintained with the usurpers of Gaul. He again listened to the dictates of love and prudence; and soon satisfied the brother of Placidia, by the assurance that he would immediately transmit to the palace of Ravenna the heads of the two tyrants, Jovinus and Sebastian. The king of the Goths executed his promise without difficulty or delay: the helpless brothers, unsupported by any personal merit, were abandoned by their barbarian auxiliaries; and the short opposition of Valentia was expiated by the ruin of one of the noblest cities of Gaul. The emperor, chosen by the Roman senate, who had been promoted, degraded, insulted, restored, again degraded, and again insulted, was finally abandoned to his fate: but when the Gothic king withdrew his protection, he was restrained, by pity or contempt, from offering any violence to the person of Attalus. The unfortunate Attalus, who was left without

* The expression may be understood almost literally; Olympe-dorus says, *public ἐσκαρὸς ἐξώρηται*. Σάκκος (or ἐσκαρὸς) may signify a sack, or a loose garment; and this method of entangling and catching an enemy, *lacinis contortis*, was much practised by the Huns. (Ammian. 31, 2.) Il fut pris viv avec des filets, is the translation of Tille-mont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 668.

subjects or allies, embarked in one of the ports of Spain in search of some secure and solitary retreat; but he was intercepted at sea, conducted to the presence of Honorius, led in triumph through the streets of Rome or Ravenna, and publicly exposed to the gazing multitude on the second step of the throne of his *invincible* conqueror. The same measure of punishment with which, in the days of his prosperity, he was accused of manacng his rival, was inflicted on Attalus himself; he was condemned, after the amputation of two fingers, to a perpetual exile in the isle of Lipari, where he was supplied with the decent necessities of life. The remainder of the reign of Honorius was undisturbed by rebellion; and it may be observed, that in the space of five years, seven usurpers had yielded to the fortune of a prince who was himself incapable either of counsel or of action.*

The situation of Spain, separated on all sides from the enemies of Rome by the sea, by the mountains, and by intermediate provinces, had secured the long tranquillity of that remote and sequestered country; and we may observe as a sure symptom of domestic happiness, that in a period of four hundred years, Spain furnished very few materials to the history of the Roman empire. The footsteps of the barbarians, who in the reign of Gallienus, had penetrated beyond the Pyrenees, were soon obliterated by the return of peace; and in the fourth century of the Christian era, the cities of Emerita or Merida, of Corduba, Seville, Bracara, and Tarragona, were numbered with the most illustrious of the Roman world. The various plenty of the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms, was improved and manufactured by the skill of an industrious people; and the peculiar advantages of naval stores contributed to support an extensive and profitable trade.† The

* Yet these usurpers, even the most short-lived among them, all had their coins, boasting of victories; and Attalus, the very puppet of Rome's conqueror, proclaimed the "glory of the invincible and eternal city." (Eckhel, Num. Vet. vol. viii, p. 179, 180.)—ED.

† Without recurring to the more ancient writers, I shall quote three respectable testimonies which belong to the fourth and seventh centuries; the *Expositio totius Mundi* (p. 16, in the third volume of Hudson's *Minor Geographers*); Ausonius (*de Claris Urbibus*, p. 242, edit. Toll.); and Isidore of Seville (*Prefat. ad Chron. ap. Grotium, Hist. Goth.* p. 707.) Many particulars relative to the fertility and

arts and sciences flourished under the protection of the emperors; and if the character of the Spaniards was enfeebled by peace and servitude, the hostile approach of the Germans, who had spread terror and desolation from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, seemed to rekindle some sparks of military ardour. As long as the defence of the mountains was intrusted to the hardy and faithful militia of the country, they successfully repelled the frequent attempts of the barbarians. But no sooner had the national troops been compelled to resign their post to the Honorian bands, in the service of Constantine, than the gates of Spain were treacherously betrayed to the public enemy, about ten months before the sack of Rome by the Goths.* The consciousness of guilt and the thirst of rapine, prompted the mercenary guards of the Pyrenees to desert their station, and to invite the arms of the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Alani; and to swell the torrent which was poured with irresistible violence from the frontiers of Gaul to the sea of Africa. The misfortunes of Spain may be described in the language of its most eloquent historian, who has concisely expressed the passionate, and perhaps exaggerated, declamations of contemporary writers.† “The irruption of these nations was followed by the most dreadful calamities: as the barbarians exercised their indiscriminate cruelty on the fortunes of the Romans and the Spaniards; and ravaged with equal fury, the cities and the open country. The progress of famine reduced the miserable inhabitants to feed on the flesh of their fellow-creatures; and even the wild beasts, who multiplied without control in the desert, were exasperated by the taste of blood, and the impatience of hunger, boldly to attack and devour their human prey. Pestilence soon appeared, the inseparable companion of famine; a large proportion of the people was swept away, and the groans of the dying excited only the envy of their surviving friends. At length the barbarians, satiated with

trade of Spain, may be found in Nounius, *Hispania Illustrata*; and in Huet, *Hist. du Commerce des Anciens*, c. 40, p. 225—231.

* The date is accurately fixed in the Fasti, and the Chronicle of Idatius. Orosius (lib. 7, c. 40, p. 578) imputes the loss of Spain to the treachery of the Honorians: while Sozomen (lib. 9, c. 12) accuses only their negligence.

† Idatius wishes to apply the prophecies of Daniel to these national calamities; and is, therefore, obliged to accommodate the circumstances of the event to the terms of the

carnage and rapine, and afflicted by the contagious evils which they themselves had introduced, fixed their permanent seats in the depopulated country. The ancient Galicia, whose limits included the kingdom of old Castille, was divided between the Suevi and the Vandals; the Alani were scattered over the provinces of Carthagera and Lusitania, from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic ocean: and the fruitful territory of Bætica was allotted to the Silingi, another branch of the Vandalic nation. After regulating this partition, the conquerors contracted with their new subjects some reciprocal engagements of protection and obedience: the lands were again cultivated, and the towns and villages were again occupied by a captive people. The greatest part of the Spaniards was even disposed to prefer this new condition of poverty and barbarism to the severe oppressions of the Roman government; yet there were many who still asserted their native freedom; and who refused, more especially in the mountains of Galicia, to submit to the barbarian yoke.”*

The important present of the heads of Jovinus and Sebastian had approved the friendship of Adolphus, and restored Gaul to the obedience of his brother Honorius. Peace was incompatible with the situation and temper of the king of the Goths. He readily accepted the proposal of turning his victorious arms against the barbarians of Spain: the troops of Constantius intercepted his communication with the sea-ports of Gaul, and gently pressed his march towards the Pyrenees;† he passed the mountains, and surprised, in the name of the emperor, the city of Barcelona. The fondness of Adolphus for his Roman bride was not abated by time or possession; and the birth of a son, surnamed from his illustrious grandsire, Theodosius, ap-
prediction.

* Mariana, de Rebus Hispanicis, lib. 5, c. 1, tom. i, p. 148. Hag. Comit. 1733. He had read, in Orosius (lib. 7, c. 41, p. 579), that the barbarians had turned their swords into ploughshares; and that many of the provincials had preferred “inter barbaros pauperem libertatem quam inter Romanos tributariam solitudinem sustinere.” [This admission, that the Spanish provincials preferred their Gothic to their Roman governors, must not be overlooked. If as subjects of barbarian rulers they were more contented than they had been, during a long term of prosperity, under the Romans, the fact contradicts the charge of violence and cruelty brought against the conquerors.—Ed.]

† This mixture of force and persuasion may be fairly inferred from comparing Orosius and Jornandes, the

peared to fix him for ever in the interest of the republic. The loss of that infant, whose remains were deposited in a silver coffin in one of the churches near Barcelona, afflicted his parents; but the grief of the Gothic king was suspended by the labours of the field, and the course of his victories was soon interrupted by domestic treason. He had imprudently received into his service, one of the followers of Sarus; a barbarian of a daring spirit, but of a diminutive stature; whose secret desire of revenging the death of his beloved patron, was continually irritated by the sarcasms of his insolent master. Adolphus was assassinated in the palace of Barcelona; the laws of the succession were violated by a tumultuous faction;* and a stranger to the royal race;

Roman and the Gothic historian.

* According to the system of Jornandes (c. 33, p. 659), the true hereditary right to the Gothic sceptre was vested in the *Amali*; but those princes, who were the vassals of the Huns, commanded the tribes of the Ostrogoths in some distant parts of Germany or Scythia. [The right of the *Amali* to regal authority did not at that time extend beyond the Ostrogoths, whom they ruled as the *Balthi* did the Visigoths. This was known to Jornandes (c. 5, p. 20), after whom Mariana repeats it (*De Rebus Hisp.* lib. 5, c. 20). It is very probable that before their division into two tribes, the Goths were under one jurisdiction. The traditional or fabulous genealogy given by Jornandes (c. 14, p. 42) makes Ostrogotha the grandson of Amala, which probably indicates the time of separation. The origin of the name of Amali is more remote and not so clear as that of its compeer, the Balthi; yet it no doubt had its distinct meaning. Very early traces of it seem to appear in Amalek, "the first of the nations" (*Numbers*, xx. xxi), and in Amalthæa, the goat-nurse of Jupiter. In later times it meets us frequently in various combinations. Adelung by a very far-fetched and improbable etymology gives it the signification of "*the spotless*." Higher philological research discovers, in simpler ages, *am* as a radical expressing the idea of *collection* or *connection*, and *al*, that of *all* or *the whole*. *Amal* therefore denoted "the uniter of all," by which a first organizer and head of a general association would be appropriately designated. This is not a dry piece of antiquarian etymology; it is connected with and serves to illustrate the interesting question, which Gibbon has here opened—Was hereditary sovereignty an element of Gothic government? He has perhaps answered it somewhat too positively in the affirmative. As a general law, it was rejected and observed; but departed from as expediency or necessity required. Minors and incapables were set aside, but their next of kin were substituted; and popular consent or approbation was most frequently expressed in some forms indicative of election. Jornandes must be understood as asserting the rights of a family rather than those of primogeniture; and the same is perhaps the proper interpretation of "*reges ex substitute*," as used by Tacitus.

Singeric, the brother of Sarus himself, was seated on the Gothic throne. The first act of his reign was the inhuman murder of the six children of Adolphus, the issue of a former marriage, whom he tore without pity from the feeble arms of a venerable bishop.* The unfortunate Placidia, instead of the respectful compassion which she might have excited in the most savage breasts, was treated with cruel and wanton insult. The daughter of the emperor Theodosius, confounded among a crowd of vulgar captives, was compelled to march on foot above twelve miles, before the horse of a barbarian, the assassin of a husband whom Placidia loved and lamented.†

But Placidia soon obtained the pleasure of revenge; and the view of her ignominious sufferings might rouse an indignant people against the tyrant, who was assassinated on the seventh day of his usurpation. After the death of Singeric, the free choice of the nation bestowed the Gothic sceptre on Wallia; whose warlike and ambitious temper appeared in the beginning of his reign, extremely hostile to the republic. He marched in arms from Barcelona to the shores of the Atlantic ocean, which the ancients revered and dreaded as the boundary of the world. But when he reached the southern promontory of Spain,‡ and from the rock now covered by the fortress of Gibraltar, contemplated the neighbouring and fertile coast of Africa,

(Germ. c. 7.) It cannot be doubted, that we here see the first rudiments of the system so eloquently described by Gibbon at the commencement of his seventh chapter. "No trace of an hereditary rule is to be found in any Italian people." (Niebuhr, Lectures, vol. i, p. 151.) This guarantee against the contests of ambition and confusion of anarchy has therefore descended to us from those primeval forests, in which our ancestors voluntarily submitted to the government of their Amali.—ED.]

* The murder is related by Olympiodorus; but the number of the children is taken from an epitaph of suspected authority.

† The death of Adolphus was celebrated at Constantinople with illuminations and Circensian games. (See Chron. Alexandrin.) It may seem doubtful, whether the Greeks were actuated, on this occasion, by their hatred of the barbarians or of the Latins.

‡ *Quod Tartessiacis avus hujus Vallia terris
Vandalicas turmas, et juncti Martis Alanos
Stravit, et occiduum texere cadavera Calpen.*

Sidon. Apollinar. in Panegy. Arthem. 363
p. 300, edit. Sirmond.

A.D. 415-418.] AND INHABIT SPAIN.

Wallia resumed the designs of conquest which had been interrupted by the death of Alaric. The winds and waves again disappointed the enterprise of the Goths; and the minds of a superstitious people were deeply affected by the repeated disasters of storms and shipwrecks. In this disposition, the successor of Adolphus no longer refused to listen to a Roman ambassador, whose proposals were enforced by the real or supposed approach of a numerous army, under the conduct of the brave Constantius. A solemn treaty was stipulated and observed, Placidia was honourably restored to her brother, six hundred thousand measures of wheat were delivered to the hungry Goths; and Wallia engaged to draw his sword in the service of the empire. A bloody war was instantly excited among the barbarians of Spain; and the contending princes are said to have addressed their letters, their ambassadors, and their hostages, to the throne of the western emperor, exhorting him to remain a tranquil spectator of their contest; the events of which must be favourable to the Romans, by the mutual slaughter of their common enemies.† The Spanish war was obstinately supported during three campaigns, with desperate valour and various success; and the martial

* This supply was very acceptable: the Goths were incited by the Vandals of Spain with the epithet of *Tralli*, because in their caldres distress they had given a piece of gold for a *tralla*, or about half a pound of flour. Olympiod. apud Phot. p. 179. (According to Diacourt (G. 1822) the Latin term for a measure of corn in the middle ages was *Trugga* (*mensura frumentaria*). If there be no mistake in the word, *Tralli* must have been a term of contempt, having a very different meaning. *Trullare* was the act of drawing the juice from the grapes in the wine press, "*was prolo prueret*." From the expression, "*ventris emittere*."—Ed.]

† Orosius inserts a copy of these pretended letters. Tu cum omnibus pacem habes, omniumque obides imperi: non ulla commigimus, nobis perimus, tibi vincimus: immortalis vero quæritur respublicæ tuæ, si utrique periculis. The 16. 17. 18. 19. But I cannot persuade myself that it was entertained or expressed by the barbarians. [Gibbon might well "whisper in a note" his doubts to the authenticity of these letters. Orosius himself tells with apparent simplicity, "Quis hæc crudelit, nisi res deceret?" It is very evident that the fact of dissension and strife having arisen among the new rulers in Spain, suggested the idea of such communications having been made to the emperor. Had such a correspondence been carried on, it is not reasonable to suppose that Constantius would have found it so very of it among the documents of his office, and used them in the history

achievements of Wallia diffused through the empire the superior renown of the Gothic hero. He exterminated the Silingi, who had irretrievably ruined the elegant plenty of the province of Bætica. He slew in battle the king of the Alani; and the remains of those Scythian wanderers who escaped from the field, instead of choosing a new leader, humbly sought a refuge under the standard of the Vandals, with whom they were ever afterwards confounded. The Vandals themselves, and the Suevi, yielded to the efforts of the invincible Goths. The promiscuous multitude of barbarians, whose retreat had been intercepted, were driven into the mountains of Galicia; where they still continued, in a narrow compass, and on a barren soil, to exercise their domestic and implacable hostilities. In the pride of victory, Wallia was faithful to his engagements: he restored his Spanish conquests to the obedience of Honorius; and the tyranny of the imperial officers soon reduced an oppressed people to regret the time of their barbarian servitude. While the event of the war was still doubtful, the first advantages obtained by the arms of Wallia had encouraged the court of Ravenna to decree the honours of a triumph to their feeble sovereign. He entered Rome like the ancient conquerors of nations; and if the monuments of servile corruption had not long since met with the fate which they deserved, we should probably find that a crowd of poets and orators, of magistrates and bishops, applauded the fortune, the wisdom, and the invincible courage, of the emperor Honorius.*

Such a triumph might have been justly claimed by the ally of Rome, if Wallia, before he repassed the Pyrenees, had extirpated the seeds of the Spanish war. His victorious Goths, forty-three years after they had passed the Danube, were established, according to the faith of treaties, in the possession of the second Aquitain; a maritime province between the Garonne and the Loire, under the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Bourdeaux. That metropolis, advantageously situated for the trade of the ocean,

for Jornandes to epitomize.—Ed.]

* *Romam triumphans ingreditur*, is the formal expression of Prosper's Chronicle. The facts which relate to the death of Adolphus, and the exploits of Wallia, are related from Olympiodorus (apud Phot. p. 188), Orosius (l. 7, c. 43, n. 584—587), Jornandes (*de Rebus Geticis*, c. 31, 32), and the Chronicle

IN AQUITAIN.

A.D. 419.]

was built in a regular and elegant form; and its numerous inhabitants were distinguished among the Gauls by their wealth, their learning, and the politeness of their manners. The adjacent province, which has been fondly compared to the garden of Eden, is blessed with a fruitful soil and a temperate climate: the face of the country displayed the arts and the rewards of industry; and the Goths, after their martial toils, luxuriously exhausted the rich vineyards of Aquitaine.* The Gothic limits were enlarged by the additional gift of some neighbouring dioceses: and the successors of Alarie fixed their royal residence at Thoulouse, which included five populous quarters, or cities, within the spacious circuit of its walls. About the same time, in the last years of the reign of Honorius, the Goths, the Burgundians, and the Franks, obtained a permanent seat and dominion in the provinces of Gaul. The liberal grant of the usurper Jovinus to his Burgundian allies was confirmed by the lawful emperor; the lauds of the First, or Upper Germany, were ceded to those formidable barbarians; and they gradually occupied, either by conquest or treaty, the two provinces which still retain, with the titles of *Duchy* and of *County*, the national appellation of Burgundy.† The Franks, the valiant and faithful allies of the Roman republic, were soon tempted to imitate the invaders whom they had so bravely resisted. Treves, the capital of Gaul, was pillaged by their lawless bands; and the humble colony, which they so long maintained in the district of Toxandria, in Brabant, insensibly multiplied along the banks of the Meuse and Scheldt, till their independent power filled the whole extent of the Second, or Lower Germany. These facts may be sufficiently justified by historic evidence; but the foundation of the French monarchy by Pharamond, the conquests, the laws, and even the existence of that hero,

of Idatius and Isidore. * Ausonius (de Clara Urbis, p. 257—262) celebrates Bordeaux with the partial affection of a native. See in Salvian (de Gubern. Dei, p. 225, Paris, 1608) a florid description of the provinces of Aquitaine and Novempopulania. † Orosius (l. 7, c. 32, p. 559) commends the nobleness and modesty of these Burgundians, who treated their subjects of Gaul as their Christian brethren. Maccou has illustrated the origin of their kingdom in the four first annotations at the end of his laborious History of the Ancient Germans, vol. ii, p. 555—572, of the English translation.

have been justly arraigned by the impartial severity of modern criticism.*

The ruin of the opulent provinces of Gaul may be dated from the establishment of these barbarians, whose alliance was dangerous and oppressive, and who were capriciously impelled, by interest or passion, to violate the public peace. A heavy and partial ransom was imposed on the surviving provincials, who had escaped the calamities of war; the fairest and most fertile lands were assigned to the rapacious strangers, for the use of their families, their slaves, and their cattle; and the trembling natives relinquished with a sigh the inheritance of their fathers. Yet these domestic misfortunes, which are seldom the lot of a vanquished people, had been felt and inflicted by the Romans themselves, not only in the insolence of foreign conquest but in the madness of civil discord. The triumvirs proscribed eighteen of the most flourishing colonies of Italy; and distributed their lands and houses to the veterans, who revenged the death of Cæsar and oppressed the liberty of their country. Two poets, of unequal fame, have deplored in similar circumstances the loss of their patrimony; but the legionaries of Augustus appear to have surpassed; in violence and injustice, the barbarians who invaded Gaul under the reign of Honorius. It was not without the utmost difficulty that Virgil escaped from the sword of the centurion, who had usurped his farm in the neighbourhood of Mantua;† but Paulinus of Bourdeaux received a sum of money from his Gothic purchaser, which he accepted with

* See Mascon, l. 8, c. 43—45. Except in a short and suspicious line of the Chronicle of Prosper (in tom. i, p. 638) the name of Pharamond is never mentioned before the seventh century. The author of the *Gesta Francorum* (in tom. ii, p. 543) suggests, probably enough, that the choice of Pharamond, or at least of a king, was recommended to the Franks by his father Marcomir, who was an exile in Tuscany.

† O Lycida, vivi pervenimus: advena nostri
(Quod nunquam veriti sumus) ut possessor agelli
Diceret: Hæc mea sunt; veteres migrate coloni
Nunc vincti tristes, &c.

See the whole of the ninth eclogue, with the useful Commentary of Servius. Fifteen miles of the Mantuan territory were assigned to the veterans, with a reservation, in favour of the inhabitants, of three miles round the city. Even in this favour they were cheated by Alfenus Varus, a famous lawyer, and one of the commissioners, who measured eight hundred paces of water and morass.

pleasure and surprise; and, though it was much inferior to the real value of his estate, this act of rapine was disguised by some colours of moderation and equity.* The odious name of conquerors was softened into the mild and friendly appellation of the *guests* of the Romans: and the barbarians of Gaul, more especially the Goths, repeatedly declared that they were bound to the people by the ties of hospitality, and to the emperor by the duty of allegiance and military service. The title of Honorius and his successors, their laws, and their civil magistrates, were still respected in the provinces of Gaul, of which they had resigned the possession to the barbarian allies; and the kings, who exercised a supreme and independent authority over their native subjects, ambitiously solicited the more honourable rank of master-generals of the imperial armies.† Such was the involuntary reverence which the Roman name still impressed on the minds of those warriors who had borne away in triumph the spoils of the Capitol.

Whilst Italy was ravaged by the Goths, and a succession of feeble tyrants oppressed the provinces beyond the Alps, the British island separated itself from the body of the Roman empire. The regular forces which guarded that remote province had been gradually withdrawn; and Britain was abandoned without defence, to the Saxon pirates and the savages of Ireland and Caledonia. The Britons, reduced to this extremity, no longer relied on the tardy and doubtful aid of a declining monarchy. They assembled in arms, repelled the invaders, and rejoiced in the important discovery of their own strength.‡ Afflicted by similar cala-

* See the remarkable passage of the Eucharisticon of Paulinus, 575, apud Mascon, l. 8, c. 42.

† This important truth is established by the accuracy of Tillemont (*Hist. des Emp. tom. v, p. 611*) and by the ingenuity of the abbé Dubos (*Hist. de l'Établissement de la Monarchie Française dans les Gaules, tom. i, p. 259*). [This may probably account for a coin found at Toulouse, which, together with the head and titles of Honorius, has the additional inscription "RICHI RICHIERI REGIS." But the king whom it records is unknown, unless the name be a corruption or abbreviation of Theodorici. Richier, who reigned over the Suevi in Spain, was not king till twenty-five years after the death of Honorius. Eckhel, *Num. Vet. vol. viii, p. 172—Eck.*]

‡ Zosimus (l. 6, p. 376. 383) relates in a few words the revolt of Britain and Armorica. Our antiquarians, even the great Camden himself, have been betrayed into many gross errors, by their imperfect knowledge of the history of the continent. [These errors have been

mities, and actuated by the same spirit, the Armorican provinces (a name which comprehended the maritime countries of Gaul, between the Seine and the Loire*) resolved to imitate the example of the neighbouring island. They expelled the Roman magistrates, who acted under the authority of the usurper Constantine; and a free government was established among a people who had so long been subject to the arbitrary will of a master. The independence of Britain and Armorica was soon confirmed by Honorius himself, the lawful emperor of the west; and the letters, by which he committed to the new states the care of their own safety, might be interpreted as an absolute and perpetual abdication of the exercise and rights of sovereignty. This interpretation was in some measure justified by the event. After the usurpers of Gaul had successively fallen, the maritime provinces were restored to the empire. Yet their obedience was imperfect and precarious; the vain, inconstant, rebellious disposition of the people was incompatible either with freedom or servitude;† and Armorica, though it could not long maintain the form of a republic,‡ pointed out in a note on ch. 27, p. 216. The peopling of Armorica by an emigration from Britain is, according to Niebuhr, a fable. (Lectures, vol. iii, p. 42.) The suspicions which Mr. Hallam says Gibbon "whispers" in a following note, do not extend to this question; but the discussions to which they refer show that a separate and independent government, whatever its form may have been, then arose in Bretagne. This again marks the period at which a people preserving the language and manners of ancient Gallia, were detached from their Franco-Roman neighbours.—ED.]

* The limits of Armorica are defined by two national geographers, Messieurs de Valois and D'Anville, in their *Notitias* of Ancient Gaul. The word had been used in a more extensive, and was afterwards contracted to a much narrower, signification.

† Gens inter geminos notissima clauditur amnes,
 Armoricana prius veteri cognomine dicta.
 Torva, ferox, ventosa, procax, incauta, rebellis;
 Inconstans, disparque sibi novitatis amore;
 Prodigia verborum, sed non et prodigia facti.

Erricus Monach. in Vita St. Germani, l. 5, apud Vales. Notit. Galliarum, p. 43. Valesius alleges several testimonies to confirm this character; to which I shall add the evidence of the presbyter Constantine (A.D. 488) who, in the life of St. Germain, calls the Armorican rebels mobilem et indisciplinatum populum. See the Historians of France, tom. i. p. 643.

‡ I thought it necessary to enter my protest against this part of the system of the abbé Dubos, which Montesquieu has so vigorously opposed. See *Esprit des Loix*, l. 30, c. 24.

was agitated by frequent and destructive revolts. Britain was irrecoverably lost.* But as the emperors wisely acquiesced in the independence of a remote province, the separation was not embittered by the reproach of tyranny or rebellion; and the claims of allegiance and protection were succeeded by the mutual and voluntary offices of national friendship.†

This revolution dissolved the artificial fabric of civil and military government; and the independent country, during a period of forty years, till the descent of the Saxons, was ruled by the authority of the clergy, the nobles, and the municipal towns.‡ I. Zosimus, who alone has preserved the memory of this singular transaction, very accurately observes, that the letters of Honorius were addressed to the *cities* of Britain.§ Under the protection of the Romans, ninety-two considerable towns had arisen in the several parts of that great province; and among these, thirty-three cities were distinguished above the rest, by their superior privileges and importance.¶ Each of these cities, as in all the other provinces of the empire, formed a legal corporation, for the purpose of regulating their domestic policy; and the powers of municipal government were distributed among annual

* Βρεταννίαν μίτροι Ῥωμαῖοι ἀναπόσπασθαι οὐκ ἔτι ἔχον, are the words of Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. 1, c. 2, p. 181, Louvre edition), in a very important passage, which has been too much neglected. Even Bede (Hist. Gent. Anglican. l. 1, c. 12, p. 50, edit. Smith) acknowledges that the Romans finally left Britain in the reign of Honorius. Yet our modern historians and antiquaries extend the term of their dominion; and there are some who allow only the interval of a few months between their departure and the arrival of the Saxons. [The application to Aëtius, twenty-three years after the death of Honorius, shows that the Britons did not at that time feel themselves independent. Bede, Eccl. Hist. i, 13, p. 22, edit. Bohn.—Ed.]

† Bede has not forgotten the occasional aid of the legions against the Scots and Picts; and more authentic proof will hereafter be produced, that the independent Britons raised twelve thousand men for the service of the emperor Anthemius, in Gaul. [These twelve thousand men were Bretons of Armorica, as will be shown in ch. 56.—Ed.]

‡ I owe it to myself, and to historic truth, to declare that some circumstances in this paragraph are founded only on conjecture and analogy. The stubbornness of our language has sometimes forced me to deviate from the conditional into the indicative mood.

§ Ἡπὸς τὰς ἐν Βρεταννίᾳ πόλεις. Zosimus, l. 6, p. 585.

¶ Two cities of Britain were *municipia*, *bis e. l. ora*, ten *Lati jure donata*, twelve *stipendiaria* of eminent note. This detail is taken from Richard of Cirencester, De situ Britanniae, p. 55; and though it may not seem probable that he wrote from the MSS. of a Roman general,

magistrates, a select senate, and the assembly of the people, according to the original model of the Roman constitution.* The management of a common revenue, the exercise of civil and criminal jurisdiction, and the habits of public counsel and command, were inherent to these petty republics; and when they asserted their independence, the youth of the city, and of the adjacent districts, would naturally range themselves under the standard of the magistratè. But the desire of obtaining the advantages, and of escaping the burdens of political society, is a perpetual and inexhaustible source of discord; nor can it reasonably be presumed, that the restoration of British freedom was exempt from tumult and faction. The pre-eminence of birth and fortune must have been frequently violated by bold and popular citizens; and the haughty nobles, who complained that they were become the subjects of their own servants,† would sometimes regret the reign of an arbitrary monarch. II. The jurisdiction of each city over the adjacent country, was supported by the patrimonial influence of the principal senators; and the smaller towns, the villages, and the proprietors of land, consulted their own safety by adhering to the shelter of these rising republics. The sphere of their attraction was proportioned to the respective degrees of their wealth and populousness; but the hereditary lords of ample possessions, who were not oppressed by the neighbourhood of any powerful city, aspired to the rank of independent princes, and boldly exercised the rights of peace and war. The gardens and villas, which exhibited some faint imitation of Italian elegance, would soon be converted into strong castles, the refuge, in time of danger, of the adjacent country:‡ the produce of the land was applied to purchase arms and horses; to maintain a military force of slaves, of peasants, and of licentious followers; and the chieftain might assume, within his own domain, the powers of a civil magistrate. Several of these British chiefs might be shown a genuine knowledge of antiquity, very extraordinary for a monk of the fourteenth century.

* See Maffei Verona Illustrata, part 1, l. 5, p. 83—136.

† *Leges restituit, libertatemque reducit,
Et servos famulis non sinit esse suis.*

Itinerar. Rutil. l. 1. 215.

‡ An inscription (apud Sirmond, Not. ad Sidon. Apollinar. p. 59) describes a castle, *cum muris et portis, tuitioni omnium*, erected by Dardanus on his own estate, near Sisteron, in the second Narbonnese,

be the genuine posterity of ancient kings; and many more would be tempted to adopt this honourable genealogy, and to vindicate their hereditary claims, which had been suspended by the usurpation of the Cæsars.* Their situation and their hopes would dispose them to affect the dress, the language, and the customs of their ancestors. If the *princes* of Britain relapsed into barbarism, while the *cities* studiously preserved the laws and manners of Rome, the whole island must have been gradually divided by the distinction of two national parties; again broken into a thousand subdivisions of war and faction, by the various provocations of interest and resentment. The public strength, instead of being united against a foreign enemy, was consumed in obscure and intestine quarrels; and the personal merit which had placed a successful leader at the head of his equals, might enable him to subdue the freedom of some neighbouring cities; and to claim a rank among the *tyrants*,† who infested Britain after the dissolution of the Roman government. III. The British church might be composed of thirty or forty bishops,‡ with an adequate proportion of the inferior clergy; and the want of riches (for they seem to have been poor)§ would compel them to deserve the public esteem, by a decent and exemplary behaviour. The interest, as well as the temper of the clergy, was favourable to the peace and union of their distracted country; those salutary lessons might be frequently inculcated in their popular discourses; and the episcopal synods were the only councils that could

and named by him Theopolis.

* The establishment of their power would have been easy indeed, if we could adopt the impracticable scheme of a lively and learned antiquarian; who supposes that the British monarchs of the several tribes continued to reign, though with subordinate jurisdiction, from the time of Claudius to that of Honorius. See Whitaker's History of Manchester, vol. i, p. 247. 257.

† ΑΑΑ' οὖσα ὑπὸ τυράννοις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἱσταί. Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. l. 1, c. 2, p. 151. Britannia, fertilis provincia tyrannorum, was the expression of Jerome in the year 415 (tom. ii, p. 255. ad Claud. phont.) By the pilgrims, who resorted every year to the Holy Land, the monk of Bethlem received the earliest and most accurate intelligence. [This passage has been before quoted by Gibbon. See note, p. 214.—Ed.]

‡ See Bingham's Eccles. Antiquities, vol. i, l. 9, c. 6, p. 384.

§ It is reported of *three* British bishops who assisted at the council of Rimini, A.D. 359, tam pauperes fuisse ut nihil haberent. Sulpicius Severus, Hist. Sacra, l. 2, p. 429. Some of their brethren, however,

pretend to the weight and authority of a national assembly. In such councils, where the princes and magistrates sat promiscuously with the bishops, the important affairs of the state, as well as of the church, might be freely debated; differences reconciled, alliances formed, contributions imposed, wise resolutions often concerted, and sometimes executed; and there is reason to believe, that, in moments of extreme danger, a *pendragon* or dictator, was elected by the general consent of the Britons. These pastoral cares, so worthy of the episcopal character, were interrupted, however, by zeal and superstition; and the British clergy incessantly laboured to eradicate the Pelagian heresy, which they abhorred, as the peculiar disgrace of their native country.*

It is somewhat remarkable, or rather it is extremely natural, that the revolt of Britain and Armorica should have introduced an appearance of liberty into the obedient provinces of Gaul. In a solemn edict,† filled with the strongest assurances of that paternal affection which princes so often express, and so seldom feel, the emperor Honorius promulgated his intention of convening an annual assembly of the *seven provinces*: a name peculiarly appropriated to Aquitain and the ancient Narbonnese, which had long since exchanged their Celtic rudeness for the useful and elegant arts of Italy.‡ Arles, the seat of government and commerce, was appointed for the place of the assembly; which regularly continued twenty-eight days, from the 15th of August to the 13th of September, of every year. It consisted of the prætorian prefect of the Gauls; of seven provincial governors, one consular and six presidents; of the magistrates, and perhaps the bishops, of about sixty cities; and of a competent, though indefinite number, of the most

were in better circumstances.

Eccles. Britannicar. c. 8—12.

† See the correct text of this edict, as published by Sirmond. (Not. ad Sidon. Apollin. p. 147.) Hincmar of Rheims, who assigns a place to the *bishops*, had probably seen (in the ninth century) a more perfect copy. Dubos, Hist. Critique de la Monarchie Française, tom. i, p. 241—255.

‡ It is evident from the Notitia, that the seven provinces were the Viennensis, the maritime Alps, the first and second Narbonnese, Novempopulania, and the first and second Aquitain. In the room of the first Aquitain, the abbé Dubos, on the authority of Hincmar, desires to introduce the first Lugdunensis, or Lyonnese.

* Consult Usher, de Antiq.

honourable and opulent *possessors* of land, who might justly be considered as the representatives of their country. They were empowered to interpret and communicate the laws of their sovereign; to expose the grievances and wishes of their constituents; to moderate the excessive or unequal weight of taxes; and to deliberate on every subject of local or national importance, that could tend to the restoration of the peace and prosperity of the seven provinces. If such an institution, which gave the people an interest in their own government, had been universally established by Trajan or the Antonines, the seeds of public wisdom and virtue might have been cherished and propagated in the empire of Rome. The privileges of the subject would have secured the throne of the monarch; the abuses of an arbitrary administration might have been prevented, in some degree, or corrected, by the interposition of these representative assemblies; and the country would have been defended against a foreign enemy by the arms of natives and freemen. Under the mild and generous influence of liberty, the Roman empire might have remained invincible and immortal; or if its excessive magnitude and the instability of human affairs, had opposed such perpetual continuance, its vital and constituent members might have separately preserved their vigor and independence. But in the decline of the empire, when every principle of health and life had been exhausted, the tardy application of this partial remedy was incapable of producing any important or salutary effects. The emperor Honorius expresses his surprise, that he must compel the reluctant provinces to accept a privilege which they should ardently have solicited. A fine of three, or even five pounds of gold, was imposed on the absent representatives; who seem to have declined this imaginary gift of a free constitution, as the last and most cruel insult of their oppressors.

CHAPTER XXXII.—ARCADIUS EMPEROR OF THE EAST.—ADMINISTRATION AND DISGRACE OF EUTROPIUS.—REVOLT OF GAINAS.—PERSECUTION OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.—THEODOSIUS II. EMPEROR OF THE EAST.—HIS SISTER PULCHERIA.—HIS WIFE EUDOCIA.—THE PERSIAN WAR; AND DIVISION OF ARMENIA.

THE division of the Roman world between the sons of Theodosius, marks the final establishment of the empire of the east, which, from the reign of Arcadius to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, subsisted one thousand and fifty-eight years, in a state of premature and perpetual decay. The sovereign of that empire assumed, and obstinately retained, the vain, and at length fictitious, title of Emperor of the ROMANS; and the hereditary appellations of CÆSAR and AUGUSTUS continued to declare that he was the legitimate successor of the first of men, who had reigned over the first of nations. The palace of Constantinople rivalled, and perhaps excelled, the magnificence of Persia; and the eloquent sermons of St. Chrysostom* celebrate, while they condemn, the pompous luxury of the reign of Arcadius. "The emperor (says he) wears on his head either a diadem, or a crown of gold, decorated with precious stones of inestimable value. These ornaments and his purple garments, are reserved for his sacred person alone; and his robes of silk are embroidered with the figures of golden dragons. His throne is of massy gold. Whenever he appears in public, he is surrounded by his courtiers, his guards, and his attendants. Their spears, their shields, their cuirasses, the bridles and trappings of their horses, have either the substance, or the appearance of gold; and the large splendid boss in the midst of their shield, is encircled with smaller bosses, which represent the shape of the human eye. The two mules that draw the chariot of the monarch, are perfectly white, and shining all over with gold. The chariot itself, of pure and solid gold, attracts the admi-

* Father Montfaucon, who, by the command of his Benedictine superiors, was compelled (see Longueruana, tom. i, p. 205) to execute the laborious edition of St. Chrysostom, in thirteen volumes in folio, (Paris, 1738) amused himself with extracting from that immense collection of morals, some curious *antiquities*, which illustrate the manners of the Theodosian age (see Chrysostomi Opera, tom. xiii, p. 192—196) and his French Dissertation, in the Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscr.

ration of the spectators, who contemplate the purple curtains, the snowy carpet, the size of the precious stones, and the resplendent plates of gold, that glitter as they are agitated by the motion of the carriage. The imperial pictures are white, on a blue ground; the emperor appears seated on his throne, with his arms, his horses, and his guards beside him; and his vanquished enemies in chains at his feet." The successors of Constantine established their perpetual residence in the royal city, which he had erected on the verge of Europe and Asia. Inaccessible to the menaces of their enemies, and perhaps to the complaints of their people, they received with each wind, the tributary productions of every climate; while the impregnable strength of their capital continued for ages to defy the hostile attempts of the barbarians. Their dominions were bounded by the Adriatic and the Tigris; and the whole interval of twenty-five days' navigation, which separated the extreme cold of Scythia from the torrid zone of Æthiopia,* was comprehended within the limits of the empire of the east. The populous countries of that empire were the seat of art and learning, of luxury and wealth; and the inhabitants, who had assumed the language and manners of Greeks, styled themselves, with some appearance of truth, the most enlightened and civilized portion of the human species. The form of government was a pure and simple monarchy; the name of the ROMAN REPUBLIC, which so long preserved a faint tradition of freedom, was confined to the Latin provinces; and the princes of Constantinople measured their greatness by the servile obedience of their people. They were ignorant how much this passive disposition enervates and degrades every faculty of the mind. The

tions, tom. xiii, p. 474—490.
 * According to the more recent opinions, that a ship could sail with a fair wind, one thousand miles, or one hundred and twenty-five miles, in the revolution of a day and night, Diodorus Siculus computes ten days from the Palus-Mæotis to Rhodus; and four days from Rhodus to Alexandria. The navigation of the Nile, from Alexandria to Syene, under the tropic of Cancer, requires, as it was against the stream, ten days more. Diodor. Sicul. lib. i. l. 3, p. 200, edit. Weeding. He might, without much improbability, measure the extreme heat from the verge of the torrid zone; but he speaks of the Mæotis in the forty-seventh degree of northern latitude, as if it lay within the polar circle. [In the time of Diodorus, the entrance into this sea, from the Euxine, was still called *palus*.]

subjects who had resigned their will to the absolute commands of a master, were equally incapable of guarding their lives and fortunes against the assaults of the barbarians, or of defending their reason from the terrors of superstition.

The first events of the reign of Arcadius and Honorius are so intimately connected, that the rebellion of the Goths and the fall of Rufinus have already claimed a place in the history of the west. It has already been observed, that Eutropius,* one of the principal eunuchs of the palace of Constantinople, succeeded the haughty minister whose ruin he had accomplished, and whose vices he soon imitated. Every order of the state bowed to the new favourite; and their tame and obsequious submission encouraged him to insult the laws, and, what is still more difficult and dangerous, the manners of his country. Under the weakest of the predecessors of Arcadius, the reign of the eunuchs had been secret and almost invisible. They insinuated themselves into the confidence of the prince; but their ostensible functions were confined to the menial service of the wardrobe and imperial bedchamber. They might direct, in a whisper, the public counsels, and blast, by their malicious suggestions, the fame and fortunes of the most illustrious citizens; but they never presumed to stand forward in the front of empire,† or to profane the public honours of the state. Eutropius was the first of his artificial sex who dared to assume the character of a Roman

the fables of Cimmerian darkness and eternal winter, noticed in the preceding chapter, p. 410.—ED.] * Barthius, who adored his author with the blind superstition of a commentator, gives the preference to the two books which Claudian composed against Eutropius, above all his other productions. (Baillet, Jugemens des Savans, tom iv, p. 227.) They are indeed a very elegant and spirited satire; and would be more valuable in an historical light, if the invective were less vague and more temperate.

† After lamenting the progress of the eunuchs in the Roman palace, and defining their proper functions, Claudian adds,

——— a fronte recedant
Imperii. In Eutrop. l. 422.

Yet it does not appear that the eunuch had assumed any of the efficient offices of the empire, and he is styled only *præpositus sacri cubiculi*, in the edict of his banishment. See Cod. Theod. l. 9, tit. 40, leg. 17.

magistrate and general.* Sometimes, in the presence of the blushing senate, he ascended the tribunal, to pronounce judgment or to repeat elaborate harangues; and sometimes appeared on horseback, at the head of his troops, in the dress and armour of a hero. The disregard of custom and decency always betrays a weak and ill-regulated mind; nor does Eutropius seem to have compensated for the folly of the design by any superior merit or ability in the execution. His former habits of life had not introduced him to the study of the laws, or the exercises of the field; his awkward and unsuccessful attempts provoked the secret contempt of the spectators; the Goths expressed their wish, that *such* a general might always command the armies of Rome; and the name of the minister was branded with ridicule, more pernicious, perhaps, than hatred, to a public character. The subjects of Arcadius were exasperated by the recollection, that this deformed and decrepit eunuch,† who so perversely mimicked the actions of a man, was born in the most abject condition of servitude; that, before he entered the imperial palace, he had been successively sold and purchased by a hundred masters, who had exhausted his youthful strength in every mean and infamous office, and at length dismissed him, in his old age, to freedom and poverty.‡ While these disgraceful stories were circulated, and perhaps exaggerated, in private conversations, the

* *Jamque oblita fui, nec sobria divitiis ment
In misera leges hominumque negotia ludit,
Judicat eunuchus
Arma etiam violare parat . . .*

Claudian (l. 229-270), with that mixture of indignation and humour which always pleases in a satiric poet, describes the last folly of the eunuch, the disgrace of the empire, and the joy of the Goths.

— gaudet, cum vidit hostes,
Et sentit jam decesse viros.

† The poet's lively description of his deformity (l. 116-125), is confirmed by the authentic testimony of Chrysostom (tom. iv. p. 124, edit. Montfaucon); who observes, that when the poet was recalled away, the face of Eutropius appeared more ugly and wrinkled than that of an old woman. Claudian remarks (l. 426), and the remark must have been founded on experience, that there was scarcely any interval between the youth and the decrepit age of a eunuch.
‡ Eutropius appears to have been a native of Armenia or Assyria. His three services, which Claudian more particularly describes, were these:—1. He spent many years in the cabinet of Probus, a grocer

vanity of the favourite was flattered with the most extraordinary honours. In the senate, in the capital, in the provinces, the statues of Eutropius were erected in brass or marble, decorated with the symbols of his civil and military virtues, and inscribed with the pompous title of the third founder of Constantinople. He was promoted to the rank of *patrician*, which began to signify, in a popular, and even legal acceptance, the father of the emperor; and the last year of the fourth century was polluted by the *consulship* of a eunuch and a slave. This strange and inexpiable prodigy* awakened, however, the prejudices of the Romans. The effeminate consul was rejected by the west, as an indelible stain to the annals of the republic; and, without invoking the shades of Brutus and Camillus, the colleague of Eutropius, a learned and respectable magistrate,† sufficiently represented the different maxims of the two administrations.

The bold and vigorous mind of Rufinus seems to have been actuated by a more sanguinary and revengeful spirit; but the avarice of the eunuch was not less insatiate than that of the prefect.‡ As long as he despoiled the oppressors, who had enriched themselves with the plunder of the people, Eutropius might gratify his covetous disposition without much envy or injustice: but the progress of his rapine soon invaded the wealth which had been acquired by or soldier of the imperial stables. 2. Ptolemy gave him to the old general Arintheus, for whom he very skilfully exercised the profession of a pimp. 3. He was given, on her marriage, to the daughter of Arintheus: and the future consul was employed to comb her hair, to present the silver ewer, to wash and to fan his mistress in hot weather. See l. 1, 31—137. * Claudian (l. 1, in Eutrop. 1—22) after enumerating the various prodigies of monstrous births, speaking animals, showers of blood or stones, double suns, &c. adds, with some exaggeration,

Omnia cesserunt eunucho consule monstra.

The first book concludes with a noble speech of the goddess of Rome to her favourite Honorius, deprecating the *new* ignominy to which she was exposed.

† Fl. Mallius Theodorus, whose civil honours, and philosophical works, have been celebrated by Claudian in a very elegant panegyric.

‡ Μεθύων εἰ ἡ ἑταῖρα πλούτω, drunk with riches, is the forcible expression of Zosimus (l. 5, p. 301); and the avarice of Eutropius is equally execrated in the *Lexicon* of Suidas, and the *Chronicle* of Marcellinus. Chrysostom had often admonished the favourite, of the vanity and danger of immoderate wealth, tom. iii, p. 381.

A.D. 395-399] SALE OF THE PROVINCES.

lawful inheritance or laudable industry. The usual methods of extortion were practised and improved; and Claudian has sketched a lively and original picture of the public auction of the state. "The impotence of the emperor (says that agreeable satirist), has served only to stimulate his avarice; the same hand which, in his servile condition, was exercised in petty thefts, to unlock the coffers of his master, now grasps the riches of the world; and this infamous broker of the empire appreciates and divides the Roman provinces, from mount Hæmus to the Tigris. One man, at the expense of his villa, is made proconsul of Asia; a second purchases Syria with his wife's jewels; and a third laments, that he has exchanged his paternal estate for the government of Bithynia. In the antechamber of Eutropius, a large tablet is exposed to public view, which marks the respective prices of the provinces. The different value of Pontus, of Galatia, of Lydia, is accurately distinguished. Lycia may be obtained for so many thousand pieces of gold; but the opulence of Phrygia will require a more considerable sum. The emperor wishes to obliterate, by the general disgrace, his personal ignominy; and, as he has been sold himself, he is desirous of selling the rest of mankind. In the eager contention, the balance which contains the fate and fortunes of the province often trembles on the beam; and, till one of the scales is inclined by a superior weight, the mind of the impartial judge remains in anxious suspense.* Such (continues the malignant poet) are the fruits of Roman valour, of the defeat of Antiochus, and of the triumph of Pompey." This venal prostitution of public honours secured the impunity of future crimes; but the riches which Eutropius derived from confiscation were already stained with injustice; since it was decent to accuse and to condemn the proprietors of the wealth which he was impatient to confiscate. Some noble blood was shed by the hand of the executioner; and the most inhospitable extremities of the empire were filled with innocent and illustrious exiles. Among the generals and consuls of the

* ————— certantem raptè duorum
Diverſam suspentit clauſt. cum pendere jura

Verget, et in geminis munit provinciæ latus.

Claudian (l. 142-200) so curiously distinguished the circumstances of the sale, that they all seem to allude to particular instances.

east, Abundantius* had reason to dread the first effects of the resentment of Eutropius. He had been guilty of the unpardonable crime of introducing that abject slave to the palace of Constantinople: and some degree of praise must be allowed to a powerful and ungrateful favourite, who was satisfied with the disgrace of his benefactor. Abundantius was stripped of his ample fortunes by an imperial rescript, and banished to Pityus, on the Euxine, the last frontier of the Roman world, where he subsisted by the precarious mercy of the barbarians, till he could obtain, after the fall of Eutropius, a milder exile at Sidon in Phœnicia. The destruction of Timasius† required a more serious and regular mode of attack. That great officer, the master-general of the armies of Theodosius, had signalized his valour by a decisive victory which he obtained over the Goths of Thessaly; but he was too prone, after the example of his sovereign, to enjoy the luxury of peace, and to abandon his confidence to wicked and designing flatterers. Timasius had despised the public clamour, by promoting an infamous dependent to the command of a cohort; and he deserved to feel the ingratitude of Bargus, who was secretly instigated by the favourite to accuse his patron of a treasonable conspiracy. The general was arraigned before the tribunal of Arcadius himself; and the principal eunuch stood by the side of the throne to suggest the questions and answers of his sovereign. But as this form of trial might be deemed partial and arbitrary, the further inquiry into the crimes of Timasius was delegated to Saturninus and Procopius; the former of consular rank, the latter still respected as the father-in-law of the emperor Valens. The appearances of a fair and legal proceeding were maintained by the blunt

* Claudian (l. 154—170) mentions the *guilt* and exile of Abundantius; nor could he fail to quote the example of the artist, who made the first trial of the brazen bull, which he presented to Phalaris. See Zosimus, l. 5, p. 302. Jerome, tom. i, p. 26. The difference of place is easily reconciled; but the decisive authority of Asterius of Amasia (Orat. 4, p. 76, apud Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v, p. 435), must turn the scale in favour of Pityus.

† Suidas (most probably from the history of Eunapius) has given a very unfavourable picture of Timasius. The account of his accuser, the judges, trial, &c. is perfectly agreeable to the practice of ancient and modern courts. (See Zosimus, l. 5, p. 298—300.) I am almost tempted to quote the romance of a great master, (Fielding's Works, vol. iv, p. 49, &c. 8vo. edit.) which may be considered as the history of human nature.

honesty of Procopius; and he yielded with reluctance to the obsequious dexterity of his colleague, who pronounced a sentence of condemnation against the unfortunate Timasius. His immense riches were confiscated, in the name of the emperor and for the benefit of the favourite; and he was doomed to perpetual exile at Oasis, a solitary spot in the midst of the sandy deserts of Libya.* Secluded from all human converse, the master-general of the Roman armies was lost for ever to the world; but the circumstances of his fate have been related in a various and contradictory manner. It is insinuated, that Eutropius dispatched a private order for his secret execution.† It was reported that, in attempting to escape from Oasis, he perished in the desert of thirst and hunger; and that his dead body was found on the sands of Libya.‡ It has been asserted, with more confidence, that his son Syagrius, after successively eluding the pursuit of the agents and emissaries of the court, collected a band of African robbers; that he rescued Timasius from the place of his exile; and that both the father and the son disappeared from the knowledge of mankind.§ But the ungrateful Bargus, instead of being suffered to possess the reward of guilt, was soon afterwards circumvented and destroyed by the more powerful villany of the minister himself, who retained sense and spirit enough to abhor the instrument of his own crimes.

The public hatred and the despair of individuals, continually threatened, or seemed to threaten, the personal safety of Eutropius, as well as of the numerous adherents who were attached to his fortune, and had been promoted by his venal favour. For their mutual defence, he contrived the safeguard of a law, which violated every principle

* The great Oasis was one of the spots in the sands of Libya, watered with springs and capable of producing wheat, barley, and palm-trees. It was about three days' journey from north to south, about half a day in breadth, and at the distance of about five days' march to the west of Abydos, on the Nile. See D'Anville, *Description de l'Egypte*, p. 186—188. The barren desert which encompasses Oasis (Zosimus, l. 5, p. 300) has suggested the idea of comparative fertility, and even the epithet of the *happy island*. (Herodot. 3. 26).

† The line of Claudian, in Eutrop. l. i. 180.

Marmoricus claris violatur cadibus Hammon,
evidently alludes to his persuasion of the death of Timasius.

‡ Sozomen l. 8, c. 7. He speaks from report, ὡς τινος ἀπὸ θύμης.

§ Zosimus, l. 5, p. 300. Yet he seems to suspect that this rumour

of humanity and justice.* I. It is enacted, in the name and by the authority of Arcadius, that all those who shall conspire, either with subjects or with strangers, against the lives of any of the persons whom the emperor considers as the members of his own body, shall be punished with death and confiscation. This species of fictitious and metaphorical treason is extended to protect, not only the *illustrious* officers of the state and army, who are admitted into the sacred consistory, but likewise the principal domestics of the palace, the senators of Constantinople, the military commanders, and the civil magistrates of the provinces, a vague and indefinite list, which, under the successors of Constantine, included an obscure and numerous train of subordinate ministers. II. This extreme severity might, perhaps, be justified, had it been only directed to secure the representatives of the sovereign from any actual violence in the execution of their office. But the whole body of imperial dependents claimed a privilege, or rather impunity, which screened them, in the loosest moments of their lives, from the hasty, perhaps the justifiable, resentment of their fellow-citizens: and, by a strange perversion of the laws, the same degree of guilt and punishment was applied to a private quarrel, and to a deliberate conspiracy against the emperor and the empire. The edict of Arcadius most positively and most absurdly declares, that in such cases of treason, *thoughts* and *actions* ought to be punished with equal severity; that the knowledge of a mischievous intention, unless it be instantly revealed, becomes equally criminal with the intention itself;† and that those rash men,

was spread by the friends of Eutropius.

* See the Theodosian Code, l. 9, tit. 14, ad legem Corneliam de Sicariis, leg. 3, and the Code of Justinian, l. 9, tit. 8, ad legem Juliam de Majestate, leg. 5. The alteration of the *title* from murder to treason, was an improvement of the subtle Tribonian. Godefroy, in a formal dissertation, which he has inserted in his Commentary, illustrates this law of Arcadius and explains all the difficult passages which had been perverted by the jurisconsults of the darker ages. See tom. iii, p. 88—111.

† Bartolus understands a simple and naked consciousness, without any sign of approbation or concurrence. For this opinion, says Baldus, he is now roasting in hell. For my own part, continues the discreet Heineccius (Element. Jur. Civil. l. 4, p. 411), I must approve the theory of Bartolus; but in practice I should incline to the sentiments of Baldus. Yet Bartolus was gravely quoted by the lawyers of cardinal Richelieu; and Eutropius was indirectly guilty of the murder

who shall presume to solicit the pardon of traitors, shall themselves be branded with public and perpetual infamy. III. "With regard to the sons of the traitors (continues the emperor), although they ought to share the punishment, since they will probably imitate the guilt, of their parents, yet, by the special effect of our imperial lenity, we grant them their lives; but, at the same time, we declare them incapable of inheriting, either on the father's or on the mother's side, or of receiving any gift or legacy, from the testament either of kinsmen or of strangers. Stigmatized with hereditary infamy, excluded from the hopes of honours or fortune, let them endure the pangs of poverty and contempt, till they shall consider life as a calamity, and death as a comfort and relief." In such words, so well adapted to insult the feelings of mankind, did the emperor, or rather his favourite eunuch, applaud the moderation of a law which transferred the same unjust and inhuman penalties to the children of all those who had seconded, or who had not disclosed these fictitious conspiracies. Some of the noblest regulations of Roman jurisprudence have been suffered to expire; but this edict, a convenient and forcible engine of ministerial tyranny, was carefully inserted in the codes of Theodosius and Justinian; and the same maxims have been revived in modern ages to protect the electors of Germany and the cardinals of the church of Rome.*

Yet these sanguinary laws, which spread terror among a disarmed and dispirited people, were of too weak a texture to restrain the bold enterprise of Tribigild† the Ostrogoth. The colony of that warlike nation, which had been planted by Theodosius in one of the most fertile districts of Phrygia,‡

of the virtuous De Thou.

* Godefroy, tom. iii, p. 89. It is however, suspected, that this law, so repugnant to the maxims of Germanic freedom, has been surreptitiously added to the golden bull.

† A copious and circumstantial narrative (which he might have reserved for more important events) is bestowed by Zosimus (l. 5, p. 304—312) on the revolt of Tribigild and Gainas. See likewise Socrates, l. 6, c. 6, and Sozomen, l. 8, c. 4. The second book of Claudian against Eutropius, is a fine, though imperfect, piece of history.

‡ Claudian (in Eutrop. l. 2, 237—250) very accurately observes, that the ancient name and nation of the Phrygians extended very far on every side, till their limits were contracted by the colonies of the Bithynians of Thrace, of the Greeks, and at last of the Gauls. His description (2. 257—272) of the fertility of Phrygia, and of the four rivers that produced gold, is just and picturesque. [Bithynian

impatiently compared the slow returns of laborious husbandry with the successful rapine and liberal rewards of Alaric; and their leader resented, as a personal affront, his own ungracious reception in the palace of Constantinople. A soft and wealthy province, in the heart of the empire, was astonished by the sound of war; and the faithful vassal who had been disregarded or oppressed was again respected as soon as he resumed the hostile character of a barbarian. The vineyards and fruitful fields, between the rapid Marsyas and the winding Mæander,* were consumed with fire; the decayed walls of the city crumbled into dust at the first stroke of an enemy; the trembling inhabitants escaped from a bloody massacre to the shores of the Hellespont; and a considerable part of Asia Minor was desolated by the rebellion of Tribigild. His rapid progress was checked by the resistance of the peasants of Pamphylia; and the Ostrogoths, attacked in a narrow pass, between the city of Selgæ,† a deep morass, and the craggy cliffs of mount Taurus, were defeated with the loss of their bravest troops. But the spirit of their chief was not daunted by misfortune; and his army was continually recruited by swarms of barbarians and outlaws, who were desirous of exercising the profession of robbery under the more honourable names of war and conquest. The rumours of the success of Tribigild might for some time be suppressed by fear, or disguised by flattery; yet they gradually alarmed both the court and the capital. Every misfortune was exaggerated in dark and doubtful

Thracians was the name by which the Greeks first knew the descendants of the Celtic tribes, who, when driven from the banks of the Araxes, came under the appellation of Kimmerioi (Kymri), into Asia Minor, and were afterwards called Galatæ.—*Ed.*]

* Xenophon, *Anabasis*, l. 1, p. 11, 12, edit. Hutchinson. Strabo, l. 12, p. 865, edit. Amstel. Q. Curt. l. 3, c. 1. Claudian compares the junction of the Marsyas and Mæander to that of the Saone and the Rhone; with this difference, however, that the smaller of the Phrygian rivers is not accelerated, but retarded by the larger.

† Selgæ, a colony of the Lacedæmonians, had formerly numbered twenty thousand citizens; but in the age of Zosimus it was reduced to a *πολίχνη*, or small town. See Cellarius, *Geograph. Antiq.* tom. ii, p. 117. [Polybius (l. 5, c. 72—76) relates at some length the wars carried on by the people of Selgæ, which are proofs of their ancient importance. At a later period (l. 31, c. 9) they acted in concert with neighbouring states in sending ambassadors to Rome to prefer complaints against Eumenes and Attalus of Pergamus. Strabo (l. 12) describes the situation of the place, and in Pliny's time it was cele,

hints; and the future designs of the rebels became the subject of anxious conjecture. Whenever Tribigild advanced into the inland country the Romans were inclined to suppose that he meditated the passage of mount Taurus, and the invasion of Syria. If he descended towards the sea, they imputed; and perhaps suggested, to the Gothic chief, the more dangerous project of arming a fleet in the harbours of Ionia, and of extending his depredations along the maritime coast, from the mouth of the Nile to the port of Constantinople. The approach of danger and the obstinacy of Tribigild, who refused all terms of accommodation, compelled Eutropius to summon a council of war.* After claiming for himself the privilege of a veteran soldier, the eunuch intrusted the guard of Thrace and the Hellespont to Gainas the Goth; and the command of the Asiatic army to his favourite Leo; two generals who differently, but effectually, promoted the cause of the rebels. Leo,† who, from the bulk of his body, and the dulness of his mind, was surnamed the Ajax of the east, had deserted his original trade of a wooleomber to exercise, with much less skill and success, the military profession: and his uncertain operations were capriciously framed and executed, with an ignorance of real difficulties, and a timorous neglect of every favourable opportunity. The rashness of the Ostrogoths had drawn them into a disadvantageous position between the rivers Melas and Eurymedon, where they were almost besieged by the peasants of Pamphylia; but the arrival of an imperial army, instead of completing their destruction, afforded the means of safety and victory. Tribigild surprised the unguarded camp of the Romans in the darkness of the night; seduced the faith of the greater part of the barbarian auxiliaries, and dissipated, without much effort, the troops which had been corrupted by the

prated for its oil. "*Oleum Selgiticum nervis admodum utile.*" Hist. Nat. l. 15, c. 7.—Ed.]

* The council of Eutropius, in Claudian, may be compared to that of Domitian in the fourth satire of Juvenal. The principal members of the former were, juvenes, protervi, lascivique senes; one of them had been a cook, a second a wooleomber. The language of their original profession exposes their assumed dignity; and their trifling conversation about tragedies, dancers, &c. is made still more ridiculous by the importance of the debate.

† Claudian (l. 2. 376—461) has branded him with intamy; and Zosimus, in more temperate language, confirms his reproaches (l. 5,

relaxation of discipline and the luxury of the capital. The discontent of Gainas, who had so boldly contrived and executed the death of Rufinus, was irritated by the fortune of his unworthy successor; he accused his own dishonourable patience under the servile reign of a eunuch: and the ambitious Goth was convicted, at least in the public opinion, of secretly fomenting the revolt of Tribigild, with whom he was connected by a domestic as well as by a national alliance.* When Gainas passed the Hellespont, to unite under his standard the remains of the Asiatic troops, he skilfully adapted his motions to the wishes of the Ostrogoths; abandoning by his retreat the country which they desired to invade; or facilitating by his approach the desertion of the barbarian auxiliaries. To the imperial court he repeatedly magnified the valour, the genius, the inexhaustible resources of Tribigild; confessed his own inability to prosecute the war; and extorted the permission of negotiating with his invincible adversary. The conditions of peace were dictated by the haughty rebel; and the peremptory demand of the head of Eutropius revealed the author and the design of this hostile conspiracy.

The bold satirist, who has indulged his discontent by the partial and passionate censure of the Christian emperors, violates the dignity rather than the truth of history, by comparing the son of Theodosius to one of those harmless and simple animals who scarcely feel that they are the property of their shepherd. Two passions, however, fear and conjugal affection, awakened the languid soul of Arcadius; he was terrified by the threats of a victorious barbarian; and he yielded to the tender eloquence of his wife Eudoxia, who, with a flood of artificial tears, presenting her infant children to their father, implored his justice for some real or imaginary insult, which she imputed to the audacious eunuch.† The emperor's hand was directed to sign the condemnation of Eutropius; the magic spell, which during four years had bound the prince and the people, was

p. 305). * The *conspiracy* of Gainas and Tribigild, which is attested by the Greek historian, had not reached the ears of Claudian, who attributes the revolt of the Ostrogoth to his own *martial* spirit and the advice of his wife.

† This anecdote, which Philostorgius alone has preserved (l. 11, c. 6, and Gothofred. Dissertat. p. 451—456) is curious and important; since it connects the revolt of the Goths with the secret intrigues of the palace.

instantly dissolved; and the acclamations that so lately hailed the merit and fortune of the favourite, were converted into the clamours of the soldiers and people, who reproached his crimes and pressed his immediate execution. In this hour of distress and despair his only refuge was in the sanctuary of the church, whose privileges he had wisely or profanely attempted to circumscribe; and the most eloquent of the saints, John Chrysostom, enjoyed the triumph of protecting a prostrate minister, whose choice had raised him to the ecclesiastical throne of Constantinople. The archbishop, ascending the pulpit of the cathedral, that he might be distinctly seen and heard by an innumerable crowd of either sex and of every age, pronounced a seasonable and pathetic discourse on the forgiveness of injuries and the instability of human greatness. The agonies of the pale and affrighted wretch, who lay grovelling under the table of the altar, exhibited a solemn and instructive spectacle; and the orator, who was afterwards accused of insulting the misfortunes of Eutropius, laboured to excite the contempt, that he might assuage the fury, of the people.* The powers of humanity, of superstition, and of eloquence, prevailed. The empress Eudoxia was restrained, by her own prejudices, or by those of her subjects, from violating the sanctuary of the church; and Eutropius was tempted to capitulate, by the milder arts of persuasion, and by an oath that his life should be spared.† Careless of the dignity of their sovereign, the

* See the homily of Chrysostom, tom. iii, p. 351—356, of which the exordium is particularly beautiful. Socrates, l. 6, c. 5. Sozomen, l. 8, c. 7. Montfaucon (in his life of Chrysostom, tom. xiii, p. 135) too hastily supposes that Tribigild was *actually* in Constantinople; and that he commanded the soldiers who were ordered to seize Eutropius. Even Claudian, a pagan poet (Præfat. ad l. 2, in Eutrop. 27), has mentioned the flight of the eunuch to the sanctuary.

Suppliciterque pius humilis prostratus ad aras,
Mitigat iratas voce tremente nuras.

† Chrysostom, in another homily (tom. iii, p. 356), affects to declare, that Eutropius would not have been taken, had he not deserted the church. Zosimus (l. 5, p. 313), on the contrary, pretends that his enemies forced him (*ἀναπαύσας αὐτόν*) from the sanctuary. Yet the promise is an evidence of some treaty; and the strong assurance of Claudian (Præfat. ad l. 2. 46)

Sed tamen exemplo non feriere tuo,
may be considered as an evidence of some promise.

new ministers of the palace immediately published an edict, to declare that his late favourite had disgraced the names of consul and patrician, to abolish his statues, to confiscate his wealth, and to inflict a perpetual exile in the island of Cyprus.* A despicable and decrepit eunuch could no longer alarm the fears of his enemies; nor was he capable of enjoying what yet remained, the comforts of peace, of solitude, and of a happy climate. But their implacable revenge still envied him the last moments of a miserable life, and Eutropius had no sooner touched the shores of Cyprus, than he was hastily recalled. The vain hope of eluding, by a change of place, the obligation of an oath, engaged the empress to transfer the scene of his trial and execution from Constantinople to the adjacent suburb of Chalcedon. The consul Aurelian pronounced the sentence; and the motives of that sentence expose the jurisprudence of a despotic government. The crimes which Eutropius had committed against the people might have justified his death, but he was found guilty of harnessing to his chariot the *sacred* animals, which, from their breed or colour, were reserved for the use of the emperor alone.†

While this domestic revolution was transacted, Gainas ‡ openly revolted from his allegiance; united his forces, at Thyatira in Lydia, with those of Tribigild; and still maintained his superior ascendant over the rebellious leader of the Ostrogoths. The confederate armies advanced, without resistance, to the straits of the Hellespont and the Bosphorus; and Arcadius was instructed to prevent the loss of his Asiatic dominions, by resigning his authority and his person to the faith of the barbarians. The church of the holy martyr Euphemia, situate on a lofty eminence near Chalcedon,§ was chosen for the place of the interview.

* Cod. Theod. l. 9, tit. 11, leg. 14. The date of that law (Jan. 17, A.D. 399) is erroneous and corrupt; since the fall of Eutropius could not happen till the autumn of the same year. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v, p. 780. [Clinton suggests xvi. Kal. Aug. (July 17) as its proper date. F. R. i, 544.—ED.] † Zosimus, l. 5, p. 313. Philostorgius, l. 11, c. 6. ‡ Zosimus (l. 5, p. 313—323), Socrates (l. 6, c. 4), Sozomen (l. 8, c. 4), and Theodoret (l. 5, c. 32, 33), represent, though with some various circumstances, the conspiracy, defeat, and death of Gainas. § *Ὁσία Εὐφημίας μαρτύριον*, is the expression of Zosimus himself, (l. 5, p. 314) who inadvertently uses the fashionable language of the Christians. Evagrius describes (l. 2, c. 3) the situation, architecture, relics, and miracles, of that

Gainas bowed with reverence at the feet of the emperor, whilst he required the sacrifice of Aurelian and Saturninus, two ministers of consular rank; and their naked necks were exposed by the haughty rebel to the edge of the sword, till he condescended to grant them a precarious and disgraceful respite. The Goths, according to the terms of the agreement, were immediately transported from Asia into Europe; and their victorious chief, who accepted the title of master-general of the Roman armies, soon filled Constantinople with his troops, and distributed among his dependents the honours and rewards of the empire. In his early youth, Gainas had passed the Danube as a suppliant and a fugitive: his elevation had been the work of valour and fortune; and his indiscreet or perfidious conduct was the cause of his rapid downfall. Notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the archbishop, he importunately claimed for his Arian sectaries, the possession of a peculiar church; and the pride of the Catholics was offended by the public toleration of heresy.* Every quarter of Constantinople was filled with tumult and disorder; and the barbarians gazed with such ardour on the rich shops of the jewellers, and the tables of the bankers, which were covered with gold and silver, that it was judged prudent to remove those dangerous temptations from their sight. They resented the injurious precaution; and some alarming attempts were made, during the night, to attack and destroy with fire the imperial palace.† In this state of mutual and suspicious hostility, the guards and the people of Constantinople shut the gates and rose in arms to prevent or to punish the conspiracy of the Goths. During the absence of Gainas, his troops were surprised and oppressed; seven thousand barbarians perished in this bloody massacre. In the fury of the pursuit, the Catholics uncovered the roof,

celebrated church, in which the general council of Chalcedon was afterwards held.

* The pious remonstrances of Chrysostom, which do not appear in his own writings, are strongly urged by Theodoret; but his insinuation, that they were successful, is disproved by facts. Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v, 353) has discovered that the emperor, to satisfy the rapacious demands of Gainas, was obliged to melt the plate of the church of the apostles.

† The ecclesiastical historians, who sometimes guide, and sometimes follow, the public opinion, most confidently assert that the palace of Constantinople was guarded by legions of angels.

and continued to throw down flaming logs of wood, till they overwhelmed their adversaries, who had retreated to the church or conventicle of the Arians. Gainas was either innocent of the design, or too confident of his success: he was astonished by the intelligence, that the flower of his army had been ingloriously destroyed; that he himself was declared a public enemy; and that his countryman, Fravitta, a brave and loyal confederate, had assumed the management of the war by sea and land. The enterprises of the rebel, against the cities of Thrace, were encountered by a firm and well-ordered defence: his hungry soldiers were soon reduced to the grass that grew on the margin of the fortifications; and Gainas, who vainly regretted the wealth and luxury of Asia, embraced a desperate resolution of forcing the passage of the Hellespont. He was destitute of vessels; but the woods of the Chersonesus afforded materials for rafts, and his intrepid barbarians did not refuse to trust themselves to the waves. But Fravitta attentively watched the progress of their undertaking. As soon as they had gained the middle of the stream, the Roman galleys,* impelled by the full force of oars, of the current, and of a favourable wind, rushed forwards in compact order, and with irresistible weight; and the Hellespont was covered with the fragments of the Gothic shipwreck. After the destruction of his hopes, and the loss of many thousands of his bravest soldiers, Gainas, who could no longer aspire to govern or to subdue the Romans, determined to resume the independence of a savage life. A light and active body of barbarian horse, disengaged from their infantry and baggage, might perform, in eight or ten days, a march of three hundred miles from the Hellespont to the Danube:† the garrisons of that important frontier

* Zosimus (l. 5, p. 319) mentions these galleys by the name of *Liburnians*, and observes, that they were as swift (without explaining the difference between them) as the vessels with fifty oars; but that they were far inferior in speed to the *triremes*, which had been long disused. Yet he reasonably concludes, from the testimony of Polybius, that galleys of a still larger size had been constructed in the Punic wars. Since the establishment of the Roman empire over the Mediterranean, the useless art of building large ships of war had probably been neglected, and at length forgotten. [See in vol. ii, p. 480, an explanation of the "*Naves Liburnæ*."—ED.]

† Chishull (Travels, p. 61—63, 72—76) proceeded from Gallipoli, through Hadrianople to the Danube, in about fifteen days. He was

had been gradually annihilated; the river, in the month of December, would be deeply frozen; and the unbounded prospect of Scythia was opened to the ambition of Gainas. This design was secretly communicated to the national troops, who devoted themselves to the fortunes of their leader; and before the signal of departure was given, a great number of provincial auxiliaries, whom he suspected of an attachment to their native country, were perfidiously massacred. The Goths advanced, by rapid marches, through the plains of Thrace; and they were soon delivered from the fear of a pursuit by the vanity of Fravitta, who, instead of extinguishing the war, hastened to enjoy the popular applause, and to assume the peaceful honours of the consulship. But a formidable ally appeared in arms to vindicate the majesty of the empire, and to guard the peace and liberty of Scythia.* The superior forces of Uldin, king of the Huns, opposed the progress of Gainas; a hostile and ruined country prohibited his retreat; he disdained to capitulate; and after repeatedly attempting to cut his way through the ranks of the enemy, he was slain, with his desperate followers, in the field of battle. Eleven days after the naval victory of the Hellespont, the head of Gainas, the inestimable gift of the conqueror, was received at Constantinople, with the most liberal expressions of gratitude; and the public deliverance was celebrated by festivals and illuminations. The triumphs of Arcadius

in the train of an English ambassador, whose baggage consisted of seventy-ono wagons. That learned traveller has the merit of tracing a curious and unfrequented route. * The narrative of Zosimus, who actually leads Gainas beyond the Danube, must be corrected by the testimony of Socrates and Sozomen, that he was killed in Thrace; and by the precise and authentic dates of the Alexandrian or Paschal Chronicle, p. 307. The naval victory of the Hellespont is fixed to the month Apellæus, the tenth of the calends of January (December 23); the head of Gainas was brought to Constantinople the third of the nones of January (January 3), in the month Audynæus. [Philostorgius (xi. 8) says only that Gainas fled into Upper Thrace, and was killed by some Huns, *τοις τινι οὐρανῶν*. They were probably a predatory band, south of the Danube. The narrative of Socrates and Sozomen, that he was slain by the Romans in Thrace, is considered by Clinton to be a fiction, copied from Eusebius in his poem of Gainas at Constantinople, and January 11 for the arrival of the head of Gainas at Constantinople, which allows an interval of twenty-eight days. See the next note. Clinton also suggests December 14 as the date of Fravitta's victory, and January 11 for the arrival of the head of Gainas at Constantinople, which allows an interval of twenty-eight days. F. R. i, 518-551.—ED.]

became the subject of epic poems;* and the monarch, no longer oppressed by any hostile terrors, resigned himself to the mild and absolute dominion of his wife, the fair and artful Eudoxia, who has sullied her fame by the persecution of St. John Chrysostom.

After the death of the indolent Nectarius, the successor of Gregory Nazianzen, the church of Constantinople was distracted by the ambition of rival candidates, who were not ashamed to solicit, with gold or flattery, the suffrage of the people or of the favourite. On this occasion, Eutropius seems to have deviated from his ordinary maxims; and his uncorrupted judgment was determined only by the superior merit of a stranger. In a late journey into the east, he had admired the sermons of John, a native and presbyter of Antioch, whose name has been distinguished by the epithet of Chrysostom, or the Golden Mouth.† A private order was dispatched to the governor of Syria; and as the people might be unwilling to resign their favourite preacher, he was transported with speed and secrecy in a post-chariot from Antioch to Constantinople. The unanimous and unsolicited consent of the court, the clergy, and the people, ratified the choice of the minister; and, both as a saint and as an orator, the new archbishop surpassed the san-

* Eusebius Scholasticus acquired much fame by his poem on the Gothic war, in which he had served. Near forty years afterwards, Ammonius recited another poem on the same subject, in the presence of the emperor Theodosius. See Socrates, l. 6, c. 6.

† The sixth book of Socrates, the eighth of Sozomen, and the fifth of Theodoret, afford curious and authentic materials for the life of John Chrysostom. Besides those general historians, I have taken for my guides the four principal biographers of the saint. 1. The author of a partial and passionate Vindication of the archbishop of Constantinople, composed in the form of a dialogue, and under the name of his zealous partizan, Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis. (Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xi, p. 500—533.) It is inserted among the works of Chrysostom, tom. xiii, p. 1—90, edit. Montfaucon. 2. The moderate Erasmus (tom. iii, epist. 1150, p. 1331—1347, edit. Lugd. Bat.). His vivacity and good sense were his own; his errors, in the uncultivated state of ecclesiastical antiquity, were almost inevitable. 3. The learned Tillemont, (*Mém. Ecclésiastiques*, tom. xi, p. 1—405. 547—626, &c. &c.) who compiles the lives of the saints with incredible patience and religious accuracy. He has minutely searched the voluminous works of Chrysostom himself. 4. Father Montfaucon, who has perused those works with the curious diligence of an editor, discovered several new homilies, and again reviewed and composed the life of Chrysostom. (*Opera Chrysostomi* tom. xiii, p. 91—177).

guine expectations of the public. Born of a noble and opulent family in the capital of Syria, Chrysostom had been educated by the care of a tender mother, under the tuition of the most skilful masters.* He studied the art of rhetoric in the school of Libanius; and that celebrated sophist, who soon discovered the talents of his disciple, ingenuously confessed, that John would have deserved to succeed him, had he not been stolen away by the Christians. His piety soon disposed him to receive the sacrament of baptism; to renounce the lucrative and honourable profession of the law, and to bury himself in the adjacent desert, where he subdued the lusts of the flesh by an austere penance of six years. His infirmities compelled him to return to the society of mankind, and the authority of Meletius devoted his talents to the service of the church; but in the midst of his family and afterwards on the archiepiscopal throne, Chrysostom still persevered in the practice of the monastic virtues. The ample revenues which his predecessors had consumed in pomp and luxury, he diligently applied to the establishment of hospitals; and the multitudes who were supported by his charity, preferred the eloquent and edifying discourses of their archbishop to the amusements of the theatre or the circus.† The monuments of that

* Neander (Hist. of Chris. vol. iii, p. 321) remarks, that Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Augustin, were all indebted to early maternal care for much of their future eminence. The mother of the second, Anthusa of Antioch, "retired," he says, "from the bustle of the great world, to which she belonged by her condition, into the quiet retreat of domestic life. Having lost her husband at the age of twenty, she chose, from regard to his memory, and a desire to devote herself to the education of her son, to remain a widow; and it was owing partly to this early, pious, and careful training, that the boy became afterwards so well known as the great church teacher." The result of this seclusion from the world, may be seen in the same work (vol. iv, p. 417). It moulded his character, gave him "a mild, predominantly practical, and feebly systematizing spirit," and formed a "free, gentle and amiable temper, in which charity was the prevailing element." This was a very unfitting preparation for the post to which talent raised him, but whence the crime of integrity caused him to be expelled.—Ed.

† Yet among these works there are no traces of any institution founded by Chrysostom, benevolent as he was, for the education of the laity. Neglect of this first duty of public instructors was so uniformly the habit of his order, that in his anxiety to stem the general torrent of profligacy, even his zeal looked for no other aid than the discipline of the church and the exhortations of the pulpit.—Ed.

eloquence which was admired near twenty years at Antioch and Constantinople, have been carefully preserved; and the possession of near one thousand sermons or homilies has authorized the critics* of succeeding times to appreciate the genuine merit of Chrysostom. They unanimously attribute to the Christian orator, the free command of an elegant and copious language; the judgment to conceal the advantages which he derived from the knowledge of rhetoric and philosophy; an inexhaustible fund of metaphors and similitudes, of ideas and images, to vary and illustrate the most familiar topics; the happy art of engaging the passions in the service of virtue; and of exposing the folly, as well as the turpitude of vice, almost with the truth and spirit of a dramatic representation.

The pastoral labours of the archbishop of Constantinople provoked and gradually united against him two sorts of enemies; the aspiring clergy who envied his success, and the obstinate sinners who were offended by his reproofs. When Chrysostom thundered from the pulpit of St. Sophia against the degeneracy of the Christians, his shafts were spent among the crowd, without wounding, or even marking the character of any individual. When he declaimed against the peculiar vices of the rich, poverty might obtain a transient consolation from his invectives: but the guilty were still sheltered by their numbers; and the reproach itself was dignified by some ideas of superiority and enjoyment. But as the pyramid rose towards the summit, it insensibly diminished to a point; and the magistrates, the ministers, the favourite eunuchs, the ladies of the court,† the empress Eudoxia herself, had a much larger share of guilt, to divide

* As I am *almost* a stranger to the voluminous sermons of Chrysostom, I have given my confidence to the most judicious and moderate of the ecclesiastical critics, Erasmus (tom. iii, p. 1344) and Dupin (Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. iii, p. 38): yet the good taste of the former is sometimes vitiated by an excessive love of antiquity; and the good sense of the latter is always restrained by prudential considerations.

† The females of Constantinople distinguished themselves by their enmity or their attachment to Chrysostom. Three noble and opulent widows, Marsa, Castricia, and Eugraphia, were the leaders of the persecution. (Pallad. Dialog. tom. xiii, p. 14.) It was impossible that they should forgive a preacher, who reproached their affectation to conceal, by the ornaments of dress, their age and ugliness. (Pallad. p. 27.) Olympias, by equal zeal, displayed in a more pious cause, has obtained the title of saint. See Tillemont, *Mém.*

among a smaller proportion of criminals. The personal applications of the audience were anticipated or confirmed by the testimony of their own conscience; and the intrepid preacher assumed the dangerous right of exposing both the offence and the offender, to the public abhorrence. The secret resentment of the court encouraged the discontent of the clergy and monks of Constantinople, who were too hastily reformed by the fervent zeal of their archbishop. He had condemned from the pulpit the domestic females of the clergy of Constantinople, who, under the name of servants, or sisters, afforded a perpetual occasion either of sin or of scandal. The silent and solitary ascetics who had secluded themselves from the world were entitled to the warmest approbation of Chrysostom; but he despised and stigmatized, as the disgrace of their holy profession, the crowd of degenerate monks, who, from some unworthy motives of pleasure or profit, so frequently infested the streets of the capital. To the voice of persuasion, the archbishop was obliged to add the terrors of authority; and his ardour, in the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, was not always exempt from passion; nor was it always guided by prudence. Chrysostom was naturally of a choleric disposition.* Although he struggled, according to the precepts of the gospel, to love his private enemies, he indulged himself in the privilege of hating the enemies of God and of the church; and his sentiments were sometimes delivered with too much energy of countenance and expression. He still maintained, from some considerations of health or abstinence, his former habits of taking his repasts alone; and this inhospitable custom,† which his enemies imputed to pride, contributed at least, to nourish the infirmity of a morose and unsocial humour. Separated from that familiar

* Sozomen, and more especially Socrates, have defined the real character of Chrysostom with a temperate and impartial freedom, very offensive to his blind admirers. Those historians lived in the next generation, when party violence was abated, and had conversed with many persons intimately acquainted with the virtues and imperfections of the saint.

† Palladius (tom. xiii, p. 40, &c.) very seriously defends the archbishop. 1. He never tasted wine. 2. The weakness of his stomach required a peculiar diet. 3. Business, or study, or devotion, often kept him fasting till sunset. 4. He detested the noise and levity of great dinners. 5. He saved the expense for the use of the poor. 6. He was apprehensive, in a capital like Constantinople, of the envy

intercourse which facilitates the knowledge and the dispatch of business, he reposed an unsuspecting confidence in his deacon Scrapion; and seldom applied his speculative knowledge of human nature to the particular characters, either of his dependents or of his equals. Conscious of the purity of his intentions, and perhaps of the superiority of his genius, the archbishop of Constantinople extended the jurisdiction of the imperial city, that he might enlarge the sphere of his pastoral labours; and the conduct which the profane imputed to an ambitious motive, appeared to Chrysostom himself in the light of a sacred and indispensable duty. In his visitation through the Asiatic provinces, he deposed thirteen bishops of Lydia and Phrygia; and indiscreetly declared, that a deep corruption of simony and licentiousness had infected the whole episcopal order.* If those bishops were innocent, such a rash and unjust condemnation must excite a well-grounded discontent. If they were guilty, the numerous associates of their guilt would soon discover that their own safety depended on the ruin of the archbishop; whom they studied to represent as the tyrant of the eastern church.

This ecclesiastical conspiracy was managed by Theophilus,† archbishop of Alexandria, an active and ambitious prelate, who displayed the fruits of rapine in monuments of ostentation. His national dislike to the rising greatness of a city, which degraded him from the second to the third rank in the Christian world, was exasperated by some personal disputes with Chrysostom himself.‡ By the private invita-

and reproach of partial invitations.

* Chrysostom declares his free opinion, (tom. ix, hom. 3, in Act. Apostol. p. 29,) that the number of bishops who might be saved, bore a very small proportion to those who would be damned.

† See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xi, p. 441—500.

‡ I have purposely omitted the controversy which arose among the monks of Egypt, concerning Origenism and Anthropomorphism; the dissimulation and violence of Theophilus; his artful management of the simplicity of Epiphanius; the persecution and flight of the *long*, or tall, brothers; the ambiguous support which they received at Constantinople from Chrysostom, &c. [Neander (*Hist. of Chris.* vol. iv, p. 469—474) has more fully exposed the intrigues of Theophilus. The flight of the Egyptian monks to Constantinople ought not to have been “purposely omitted” by Gibbon, since their formal complaint to the emperor caused the bishop of Alexandria to be summoned before the synod, which he artfully converted into an engine for the overthrow of Chrysostom.—Ed.]

tion of the empress, Theophilus landed at Constantinople, with a stout body of Egyptian mariners, to encounter the populace; and a train of dependent bishops, to secure, by their voices, the majority of a synod. The synod* was convened in the suburb of Chalcedon, surnamed the *Oak*, where Rufinus had erected a stately church and monastery; and their proceedings were continued during fourteen days or sessions. A bishop and a deacon accused the archbishop of Constantinople; but the frivolous or improbable nature of the forty-seven articles which they presented against him, may justly be considered as a fair and unexceptionable panegyric. Four successive summons were signified to Chrysostom; but he still refused to trust either his person or his reputation in the hands of his implacable enemies, who, prudently declining the examination of any particular charges, condemned his contumacious disobedience, and hastily pronounced a sentence of deposition. The synod of the *Oak* immediately addressed the emperor to ratify and execute their judgment, and charitably insinuated, that the penalties of treason might be inflicted on the audacious preacher, who had reviled, under the name of Jezebel, the empress Eudoxia herself. The archbishop was rudely arrested, and conducted through the city, by one of the imperial messengers, who landed him, after a short navigation, near the entrance of the Euxine; from whence, before the expiration of two days, he was gloriously recalled.

The first astonishment of his faithful people had been mute and passive: they suddenly rose with unanimous and irresistible fury. Theophilus escaped; but the promiscuous crowd of monks and Egyptian mariners was slaughtered without pity in the streets of Constantinople.† A reasonable earthquake justified the interposition of Heaven; the

* Photius (p. 53—60) has preserved the original acts of the synod of the Oak; which destroy the false assertion, that Chrysostom was condemned by no more than thirty-six bishops, of whom twenty-nine were Egyptians. Forty-five bishops subscribed his sentence. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclési.* tom. xi, p. 595.

† Palladius owns, (p. 30,) that if the people of Constantinople had found Theophilus, they would certainly have thrown him into the sea. Socrates mentions (l. 6, c. 17) a battle between the mob and the sailors of Alexandria, in which many wounds were given, and some lives were lost. The massacre of the monks is observed only by the Pagan Zosimus, l. 5, p. 324, who acknowledges that Chrysostom had a singular talent to

torrent of sedition rolled forwards to the gates of the palace; and the empress, agitated by fear or remorse, threw herself at the feet of Arcadius and confessed that the public safety could be purchased only by the restoration of Chrysostom. The Bosphorus was covered with innumerable vessels; the shores of Europe and Asia were profusely illuminated; and the acclamations of a victorious people accompanied, from the port to the cathedral, the triumph of the archbishop; who, too easily, consented to resume the exercise of his functions, before his sentence had been legally reversed by the authority of an ecclesiastical synod. Ignorant, or careless, of the impending danger, Chrysostom indulged his zeal, or perhaps his resentment; declaimed with peculiar asperity against *female* vices; and condemned the profane honours which were addressed, almost in the precincts of St. Sophia, to the statue of the empress. His imprudence tempted his enemies to inflame the haughty spirit of Eudoxia, by reporting, or perhaps inventing, the famous exordium of a sermon, "Herodias is again furious; Herodias again dances; she once more requires the head of John;" an insolent allusion, which, as a woman and a sovereign, it was impossible for her to forgive.* The short interval of a perfidious truce was employed to concert more effectual measures for the disgrace and ruin of the archbishop. A numerous council of the eastern prelates, who were guided from a distance by the advice of Theophilus, confirmed the validity, without examining the justice, of the former sentence; and a detachment of barbarian troops was introduced into the city, to suppress the emotions of the people. On the vigil of Easter, the solemn administration of baptism was rudely interrupted by the soldiers, who alarmed the modesty of the naked catechumens, and violated, by their presence, the awful mysteries of the Christian worship. Arsacius occupied the church of St. Sophia and the archiepiscopal throne. The Catholics retreated to the baths of Constantine, and afterwards to the fields; where they were still pursued and insulted by the guards, the bishops, and

lead the illiterate multitude, *ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἀλογον ὄχλον ἱπαγαγίσθαι ζείνορ.*

* See Socrates, l. 6, c. 18. Sozomen, l. 8, c. 20. Zosimus (l. 5, p. 324. 327) mentions, in general terms, his invectives against Eudoxia. The homily, which begins with those famous words, is rejected as spurious. Montfaucon, tom. xiii, p. 151.

the magistrates. The fatal day of the second and final exile of Chrysostom was marked by the conflagration of the cathedral, of the senate-house, and of the adjacent buildings; and this calamity was imputed, without proof, but not without probability, to the despair of a persecuted faction.*

Cicero might claim some merit, if his voluntary banishment preserved the peace of the republic;† but the submission of Chrysostom was the indispensable duty of a Christian and a subject. Instead of listening to his humble prayer, that he might be permitted to reside at Cyzicus or Nicomedia, the inflexible empress assigned for his exile the remote and desolate town of Cucusus, among the ridges of Mount Taurus, in the Lesser Armenia. A secret hope was entertained, that the archbishop might perish in a difficult and dangerous march of seventy days, in the heat of summer, through the provinces of Asia Minor, where he was continually threatened by the hostile attacks of the Isaurians, and the more implacable fury of the monks. Yet Chrysostom arrived in safety at the place of his confinement; and the three years which he spent at Cucusus, and the neighbouring town of Arabissus, were the last and most glorious of his life. His character was consecrated by absence and persecution; the faults of his administration were no longer remembered; but every tongue repeated the praises of his genius and virtue: and the respectful attention of the Christian world was fixed on a desert spot among the mountains of Taurus. From that solitude, the archbishop, whose active mind was invigorated by misfortunes, maintained a strict and frequent correspondence‡ with the most distant provinces; exhorted the separate congregation of his faithful adherents to persevere in their allegiance; urged the destruction of the temples of Phœnicia, and the extirpation of heresy in the isle of Cyprus; extended his

Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xi, p. 603.

* We might naturally expect such a charge from Zosimus (l. 5, p. 327); but it is remarkable enough, that it should be confirmed by Socrates, l. 6, c. 16, and the Paschal Chronicle, p. 307.

† He displays those specious motives (Post Reditum, c. 13, 14) in the language of an orator and a politician. ‡ Two hundred and forty-two of the epistles of Chrysostom are still extant (Opera, tom. iii, p. 525—726). They are addressed to a great variety of persons, and shew a firmness of mind much superior to that of Cicero in his exile. The fourteenth epistle contains a curious narrative of the dangers of his journey.

pastoral care to the missions of Persia and Scythia; negotiated, by his ambassadors, with the Roman pontiff and the emperor Honorius; and boldly appealed, from a partial synod, to the supreme tribunal of a free and general council. The mind of the illustrious exile was still independent; but his captive body was exposed to the revengo of the oppressors, who continued to abuse the name and authority of Arcadius.* An order was dispatched for the instant removal of Chrysostom to the extreme desert of Pityus: and his guards so faithfully obeyed their cruel instructions, that, before he reached the sea-coast of the Euxine, he expired at Comana, in Pontus, in the sixtieth year of his age. The succeeding generation acknowledged his innocence and merit. The archbishops of the east, who might blush that their predecessors had been the enemies of Chrysostom, were gradually disposed, by the firmness of the Roman pontiff, to restore the honours of that venerable name.† At the pious solicitation of the clergy and people of Constantinople, his relics, thirty years after his death, were transported from their obscure sepulchre to the royal city.‡ The emperor Theodosius advanced to receive them as far as Chalcedon; and falling prostrate on the coffin, implored, in the name of his guilty parents, Arcadius and Eudoxia, the forgiveness of the injured saint.§

* After the exile of Chrysostom, Theophilus published an enormous and horrible volume against him, in which he perpetually repeats the polite expressions of *hostem humanitatis, sacrilegorum principem, immundum dæmonem*; he affirms, that John Chrysostom had delivered his soul to be adulterated by the devil; and wishes that some farther punishment, adequate (if possible) to the magnitude of his crimes, may be inflicted on him. St. Jerome, at the request of his friend Theophilus, translated this edifying performance from Greek into Latin. See Facundus Hermian. Defens. pro 3. Capitul. l. 6, c. 5, published by Sirmond. Opera, tom. ii, p. 595—597.

† His name was inserted by his successor Atticus in the Dyptichs of the church of Constantinople, A.D. 418. Ten years afterwards he was revered as a saint. Cyril, who inherited the place and the passions of his uncle Theophilus, yielded with much reluctance. See Facund. Hermian. l. 4, c. 1. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. 14, p. 277—283.

‡ Socrates, l. 7, c. 45. Theodoret, l. 5, c. 36. This event reconciled the Joannites, who had hitherto refused to acknowledge his successors. During his lifetime, the Joannites were respected by the Catholics, as the true and orthodox communion of Constantinople. Their obstinacy gradually drove them to the brink of schism.

§ According to some accounts (Baronius, Annal. Eccles. A.D. 438,

Yet a reasonable doubt may be entertained, whether any stain of hereditary guilt could be derived from Arcadius to his successor. Eudoxia was a young and beautiful woman, who indulged her passions and despised her husband: count John enjoyed, at least, the familiar confidence of the empress; and the public named him as the real father of Theodosius the younger.* The birth of a son was accepted, however, by the pious husband, as an event the most fortunate and honourable to himself, to his family, and to the eastern world: and the royal infant, by an unprecedented favour, was invested with the titles of Cæsar and Augustus. In less than four years afterwards, Eudoxia, in the bloom of youth, was destroyed by the consequences of a miscarriage; and this untimely death confounded the prophecy of a holy bishop,† who, amidst the universal joy, had ventured to foretel that she should behold the long and auspicious reign of her glorious son. The Catholics applauded the justice of Heaven, which avenged the persecution of St. Chrysostom; and perhaps the emperor was the only person who sincerely bewailed the loss of tho haughty and rapacious Eudoxia. Such a domestic misfortune afflicted *him* more deeply than the public calamities of the east;‡ the licentious excursions from Pontus to Palestine, of the Isaurian robbers, whose impunity accused the weakness of the government; and the earthquakes, the conflagrations, the famine and the flights of locusts,§ which the popular discontent was equally dis-

No. 9, 10,) the emperor was forced to send a letter of invitation and excuses before the body of the ceremonious saint could be moved from Comana.

* Zosimus, l. 5, p. 315. The chastity of an empress should not be impeached without producing a witness; but it is astonishing that the witness should write and live under a prince, whose legitimacy he dared to attack. We must suppose that his history was a party libel, privately read and circulated by the Pagans. Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. 5, p. 782) is not averse to brand the reputation of Eudoxia.

† Porphyry of Gaza. His zeal was transported by the order which he had obtained for the destruction of eight Pagan temples of that city. See the curious details of his life, (Baronius, A.D. 401, No. 17—51,) originally written in Greek, or perhaps in Syriac, by a monk, one of his favourite disciples.

‡ Philostorg. l. 11, c. 8, and Godefroy, *Dissertation*, p. 457.

§ Jerome (tom. vi, p. 73—76,) describes in lively colours, the regular and destructive march of the locusts, which spread a dark cloud between heaven and earth, over the land of Palestine. Seasonable winds scattered them, partly into the Dead Sea, and partly into the Mediterranean.

posed to attribute to the incapacity of the monarch. At length, in the thirty-first year of his age, after a reign (if we may abuse that word) of thirteen years, three months, and fifteen days, Arcadius expired in the palace of Constantinople. It is impossible to delineate his character, since, in a period very copiously furnished with historical materials, it has not been possible to remark one action that properly belongs to the son of the great Theodosius.*

The historian Procopius† has indeed illuminated the mind of the dying emperor with a ray of human prudence, or celestial wisdom. Arcadius considered, with anxious foresight, the helpless condition of his son Theodosius, who was no more than seven years of age, the dangerous factions of a minority, and the aspiring spirit of Jezdegerd, the Persian monarch. Instead of tempting the allegiance of an ambitious subject, by the participation of supreme power, he boldly appealed to the magnanimity of a king; and placed, by a solemn testament, the sceptre of the east in the hands of Jezdegerd himself. The royal guardian accepted and discharged this honourable trust with unexampled fidelity; and the infancy of Theodosius was protected by the arms and councils of Persia. Such is the singular narrative of Procopius; and his veracity is not disputed by Agathias,‡ while he presumes to dissent from his judgment, and to arraign the wisdom of a Christian emperor, who so rashly, though so fortunately, committed his son and his dominions to the unknown faith of a stranger, a rival, and a heathen. At the distance of one hundred and fifty years, this political question might be debated in the court of Justinian; but a prudent historian will refuse to examine the *propriety*, till he has ascertained the *truth*, of the testament of Arcadius. As it stands without a parallel in the history of the world, we may justly require, that it should be attested by the positive and unanimous evidence of contemporaries. The

* It is worthy of remark, that the best of the Roman emperors were the fathers of the very worst, or left no sons. Vespasian indeed was the sire of Titus, but so he was too of Domitian.—ED.

† Procopius, de Bell. Persic. l. 1, c. 2, p. 8, edit. Louvre.

‡ Agathias, l. 4, p. 136, 137. Although he confesses the prevalence of the tradition, he asserts that Procopius was the first who had committed it to writing. Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vi, p. 597) argues very sensibly on the merits of this fable. His criticism was not warped by any ecclesiastical authority—both Procopius and Aga-

strange novelty of the event, which excites our distrust, must have attracted their notice; and their universal silence annihilates the vain tradition of the succeeding age.

The maxims of Roman jurisprudence, if they could fairly be transferred from private property to public dominion, would have adjudged to the emperor Honorius the guardianship of his nephew, till he had attained, at least, the fourteenth year of his age. But the weakness of Honorius, and the calamities of his reign, disqualified him from prosecuting this natural claim: and such was the absolute separation of the two monarchies, both in interest and affection, that Constantinople would have obeyed, with less reluctance, the orders of the Persian, than those of the Italian court. Under a prince whose weakness is disguised by the external signs of manhood and discretion, the most worthless favourites may secretly dispute the empire of the palace; and whom they direct and despise. But the ministers of a child, who is incapable of arming them with the sanction of the royal name, must acquire and exercise an independent authority. The great officers of the state and army, who had been appointed before the death of Arcadius, formed an aristocracy, which might have inspired them with the idea of a free republic: and the government of the eastern empire was fortunately assumed by the prefect Anthemius,* who obtained, by his superior abilities, a lasting ascendant over the minds of his equals. The safety of the young emperor proved the merit and integrity of Anthemius; and his prudent firmness sustained the force and reputation of an infant reign. Uldin, with a formidable host of barbarians, was encamped in the heart of Thrace: he proudly rejected all terms of accommodation; and, pointing to the rising sun, declared to the Roman ambassadors, that the course of that planet should alone terminate the conquest of the Huns. But the desertion of his confederates, who were privately convinced of the justice and liberality of the

* Socrates, l. 7, c. 1. Anthemius was the grandson of Philip, one of the ministers of Constantius, and the grandfather of the emperor Anthemius. After his return from the Persian embassy, he was appointed consul and praetorian prefect of the east, in the year 405; and held the prefecture about ten years. See his honours and praises in Godfrey, Cod. Theod. tom. vi, p. 359.

imperial ministers, obliged Uldin to repass the Danube: the tribe of the Scyrrî, which composed his rear-guard, was almost extirpated; and many thousand captives were dispersed to cultivate, with servile labour, the fields of Asia.* In the midst of the public triumph, Constantinople was protected by a strong enclosure of new and more extensive walls; the same vigilant care was applied to restore the fortifications of the Illyrian cities; and a plan was judiciously conceived, which, in the space of seven years, would have secured the command of the Danube, by establishing on that river a perpetual fleet of two hundred and fifty armed vessels.†

But the Romans had so long been accustomed to the authority of a monarch, that the first, even among the females, of the imperial family, who displayed any courage or capacity, was permitted to ascend the vacant throne of Theodosius. His sister Pulcheria,‡ who was only two years older than himself, received, at the age of sixteen, the title of *Augusta*; and though her favour might be sometimes clouded by caprice or intrigue, she continued to govern the eastern empire near forty years; during the long minority of her brother, and, after his death, in her own name, and in the name of Marcian, her nominal husband. From a motive, either of prudence, or religion, she embraced a life of celibacy; and, notwithstanding some aspersions on the chastity of Pulcheria,§ this resolution, which she communicated to her sisters Arcadia and Marina, was celebrated by the Christian world, as the sublime effort of heroic piety. In the presence of the clergy and people, the three daughters of Arcadius¶ dedicated their virginity to God; and the

Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* tom. vi, p. 1, &c.

* Sozomen, l. 9,

c. 5. He saw some Scyrrî at work near Mount Olympus, in Bithynia, and cherished the vain hope that those captives were the last of the nation.

† Cod. Theod. l. 7, tit. 17; l. 15. tit. 1, leg. 49.

‡ Sozomen has filled three chapters with a magnificent panegyric of Pulcheria (l. 9, c. 1—3); and Tillemont (*Mémoires Ecclés.* tom. xv, p. 171—184) has dedicated a separate article to the honour of St. Pulcheria, virgin and empress.

§ Suidas (*Excerpta*, p. 68, in *Script. Byzant.*) pretends, on the credit of the Nestorians, that Pulcheria was exasperated against their founder, because he censured her connexion with the beautiful Paulinus, and her incest with her brother Theodosius.

¶ See Ducange, *Famil. Byzantin.* p. 70. Flaccilla, the eldest daughter, either died before Arcadius, or if she lived

obligation of their solemn vow was inscribed on a tablet of gold and gems; which they publicly offered in the great church of Constantinople. Their palace was converted into a monastery; and all males, except the guides of their conscience, the saints who had forgotten the distinction of sexes, were scrupulously excluded from the holy threshold. Pulcheria, her two sisters, and a chosen train of favourite damsels, formed a religious community: they renounced the vanity of dress; interrupted, by frequent fasts, their simple and frugal diet; allotted a portion of their time to works of embroidery; and devoted several hours of the day and night to the exercises of prayer and psalmody. The piety of a Christian virgin was adorned by the zeal and liberality of an empress. Ecclesiastical history describes the splendour of all the provinces of the east; her charitable foundations for the benefit of strangers and the poor; the ample donations which she assigned for the perpetual maintenance of monastic societies; and the active severity with which she laboured to suppress the opposite heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches. Such virtues were supposed to deserve the peculiar favour of the Deity: and the relics of martyrs, as well as the knowledge of future events, were communicated in visions and revelations to the imperial saint.* Yet the devotion of Pulcheria never diverted her indefatigable attention from temporal affairs; and she alone, among all the descendants of the great Theodosius, appears to have inherited any share of his manly spirit and abilities. The elegant and familiar use which she had acquired, both of the Greek and Latin languages, was readily applied to the various occasions of speaking, or writing, on public business; her deliberations were maturely weighed; her actions

till the year 431, (Marcellin. Chron.) some defect of mind or body must have excluded her from the honours of her rank.

* She was admonished, by repeated dreams, of the place where the relics of the forty martyrs had been buried. The ground had successively belonged to the house and garden of a woman of Constantinople, to a monastery of Macedonian monks, and to a church of St. Thyrsus, erected by Cæsarius, who was consul A.D. 397; and the memory of the relics was almost obliterated. Notwithstanding the charitable wishes of Dr. Jortin (Remarks, tom. iv, p. 231,) it is not easy to acquit Pulcheria of some share in the pious fraud; which must have been transacted when she was more than five-and-thirty years of age.

were prompt and decisive; and, while she moved without noise or ostentation the wheel of government, she discreetly attributed to the genius of the emperor the long tranquillity of his reign. In the last years of his peaceful life, Europe was indeed afflicted by the arms of Attila; but the more extensive provinces of Asia still continued to enjoy a profound and permanent repose. Theodosius the younger was never reduced to the disgraceful necessity of encountering and punishing a rebellious subject: and since we cannot applaud the vigour, some praise may be due to the mildness and prosperity, of the administration of Pulcheria.*

The Roman world was deeply interested in the education of its master. A regular course of study and exercise was judiciously instituted; of the military exercises of riding, and shooting with the bow; of the liberal studies of grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy; the most skilful masters of the east ambitiously solicited the attention of their royal pupil; and several noble youths were introduced into the palace, to animate his diligence by the emulation of friendship. Pulcheria alone discharged the important task of instructing her brother in the arts of government; but her precepts may countenance some suspicion of the extent of her capacity, or of the purity of her intentions. She taught him to maintain a grave and majestic deportment; to walk, to hold his robes, to seat himself on his throne, in a manner worthy of a great prince; to abstain from laughter; to listen with condescension; to return suitable answers; to assume, by turns, a serious or a placid countenance; in a word, to represent with grace and dignity, the external figure of a Roman emperor. But Theodosius† was never excited to

* Niebuhr (Lect. 3. 335) says, that "the East was very badly governed" by Pulcheria. Her reign was tranquil, because the barbarian forces were all drawn off into the west, the Persian monarch was inactive, and the spirit of the people broken. But the turbulence of the church during that period, occupies nearly four hundred pages, in the fourth volume of Neander's History. In this Pulcheria acted a prominent part and was the tool of Cyril, who had succeeded his uncle Theophilus as bishop of Alexandria, and was one of the most ambitious and unscrupulous of prelates.—Ed.

† There is a remarkable difference between the two ecclesiastical historians, who in general bear so close a resemblance. Sozomen (l. 9, c. 1.) ascribes to Pulcheria the government of the empire, and the education of her brother; whom he scarcely condescends to praise. Socrates, though he affectedly disclaims all hopes of favour or fame, composes an elaborate panegyric on

support the weight and glory of an illustrious name; and instead of aspiring to imitate his ancestors, he degenerated (if we may presume to measure the degrees of incapacity) below the weakness of his father and his uncle. Arcadius and Honorius had been assisted by the guardian care of a parent, whose lessons were enforced by his authority and example. But the unfortunate prince, who is born in the purple, must remain a stranger to the voice of truth; and the son of Arcadius was condemned to pass his perpetual infancy, encompassed only by a servile train of women and eunuchs. The ample leisure, which he acquired by neglecting the essential duties of his high office, was filled by idle amusements and unprofitable studies. Hunting was the only active pursuit that could tempt him beyond the limits of the palace; but he most assiduously laboured, sometimes by the light of a midnight lamp, in the mechanic occupations of painting and carving; and the elegance with which he transcribed religious books, entitled the Roman emperor to the singular epithet of *Calligraphes*, or a fair writer. Separated from the world by an impenetrable veil, Theodosius trusted the persons whom he loved; he loved those who were accustomed to amuse and flatter his indolence; and as he never perused the papers that were presented for the royal signature, acts of injustice the most repugnant to his character, were frequently perpetrated in his name. The emperor himself was chaste, temperate, liberal, and merciful; but these qualities, which can only deserve the name of virtues when they are supported by courage and regulated by discretion, were seldom beneficial, and they sometimes proved mischievous to mankind. His mind, enervated by a royal education, was oppressed and degraded by abject superstition: he fasted, he sang psalms, he blindly accepted the miracles and doctrines, with which his faith was continually nourished. Theodosius devoutly worshipped the dead and living saints of the Catholic church; and he once refused to eat, till an insolent monk, who had cast an

the emperor, and cautiously suppresses the merits of his sister. (l. 7, c. 22, 42.) Philostorgius (l. 12, c. 7,) expresses the influence of Palcheria in gentle and courtly language, τὰς βασιλικὰς ἐφημέριους ἐπετροπὴν καὶ ἐπιθέρουσα. Suidas (Excerpt. p. 53,) gives a true character of Theodosius; and I have followed the example of Tillamont (tom. vi, p. 25,) in borrowing some strokes from the modern Greeks.

excommunication on his sovereign, condescended to heal the spiritual wound which he had inflicted.*

The story of a fair and virtuous maiden, exalted from a private condition to the imperial throne, might be deemed an incredible romance, if such a romance had not been verified in the marriage of Theodosius. The celebrated Athenais† was educated by her father Leontius in the religion and sciences of the Greeks; and so advantageous was the opinion which the Athenian philosopher entertained of his contemporaries, that he divided his patrimony between his two sons, bequeathing to his daughter a small legacy of one hundred pieces of gold, in the lively confidence that her beauty and merit would be a sufficient portion. The jealousy and avarice of her brothers soon compelled Athenais to seek a refuge at Constantinople; and, with some hopes, either of justice or favour, to throw herself at the feet of Pulcheria. That sagacious princess listened to her eloquent complaint; and secretly destined the daughter of the philosopher Leontius for the future wife of the emperor of the east, who had now attained the twentieth year of his age. She easily excited the curiosity of her brother by an interesting picture of the charms of Athenais, large eyes, a well-proportioned nose, a fair complexion; golden locks, a slender person, a graceful demeanour, an understanding improved by study, and a virtue tried by distress. Theodosius, concealed behind a curtain in the apartment of his sister, was permitted to behold the Athenian virgin; the modest youth immediately declared his

* Theodoret. lib. 5, c. 37. The bishop of Cyrrhus, one of the first men of his age for his learning and piety, applauds the obedience of Theodosius to the divine laws. [The tutored imbecility of Theodosius venerated all that was prescribed by any kind of ecclesiastical authority. "*I cannot command the bishops*," was his reply to a remonstrance addressed to him against some arbitrary episcopal proceedings. (Neander, iv, 171.).—Ed.] † Socrates. (lib. 7, c. 21) mentions her name (Athenais, the daughter of Leontius, an Athenian sophist), her baptism, marriage, and poetical genius. The most ancient account of her history is in John Malala, (part 2, p. 20, 21, edit. Venet. 1733), and in the Paschal Chronicle (p. 311, 312). Those authors had probably seen original pictures of the empress Eudocia. The modern Greeks, Zonaras, Cedrenus, &c. have displayed the love rather than the talent of fiction. From Nicephorus, indeed, I have ventured to assume her age. The writer of a romance would not have *imagined* that Athenais was near twenty-eight years old when she inflamed the heart

pure and honourable love; and the royal nuptials were celebrated amidst the acclamations of the capital and the provinces. Athenais, who was easily persuaded to renounce the errors of Paganism, received at her baptism the Christian name of Eudocia; but the cautious Puleheria withheld the title of Augusta till the wife of Theodosius had approved her fruitfulness by the birth of a daughter, who espoused, fifteen years afterwards, the emperor of the west. The brothers of Eudocia obeyed, with some anxiety, her imperial summons; but as she could easily forgive their fortunate unkindness, she indulged the tenderness, or perhaps the vanity, of a sister, by promoting them to the rank of consuls and prefects. In the luxury of the palace she still cultivated those ingenious arts which had contributed to her greatness; and wisely dedicated her talents to the honour of religion and of her husband. Eudocia composed a poetical paraphrase of the first eight books of the Old Testament, and of the prophecies of Daniel and Zachariah; a cento of the verses of Homer, applied to the life and miracles of Christ, the legend of St. Cyprian, and a panegyric on the Persian victories of Theodosius; and her writings, which were applauded by a servile and superstitious age, have not been disdained by the candour of impartial criticism.* The fondness of the emperor was not abated by time and possession; and Eudocia, after the marriage of her daughter, was permitted to discharge her grateful vows by a solemn pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Her ostentatious progress through the east may seem inconsistent with the spirit of Christian humility: she pronounced from a throne of gold and gems an eloquent oration to the senate of Antioch, declared her royal intention of enlarging the walls of the city, bestowed a donative of two hundred pounds of gold to restore the public baths, and accepted the statues which were decreed by the gratitude of Antioch. In the Holy Land, her alms and

* Socrates, lib. 7, c. 21. Photina p. 413-423. The Homeric cento is still extant, and has been repeatedly printed; but the claim of Eudocia to that insipid performance is disputed by the critics. See Fabricius, Biblioth. Græc. tom. i. p. 337. The *Ionia*, a miscellaneous dictionary of history and fable, was compiled by another empress of the name of Eudocia, who lived in the eleventh century; and the work is still extant in manuscript.

pious foundations exceeded the munificence of the great Helena; and though the public treasure might be impoverished by this excessive liberality, she enjoyed the conscious satisfaction of returning to Constantinople with the chains of St. Peter, the right arm of St. Stephen, and an undoubted picture of the Virgin, painted by St. Luke.* But this pilgrimage was the fatal term of the glories of Eudocia. Satiated with empty pomp, and unmindful, perhaps, of her obligations to Pulcheria, she ambitiously aspired to the government of the eastern empire: the palace was distracted by female discord; but the victory was at last decided by the superior ascendant of the sister of Theodosius. The execution of Paulinus, master of the offices, and the disgrace of Cyrus, prætorian prefect of the east, convinced the public that the favour of Eudocia was insufficient to protect her most faithful friends; and the uncommon beauty of Paulinus encouraged the secret rumour that his guilt was that of a successful lover.† As soon as the empress perceived that the affection of Theodosius was irretrievably lost, she requested the permission of retiring to the distant solitude of Jerusalem. She obtained her request; but the jealousy of Theodosius, or the vindictive spirit of Pulcheria, pursued her in her last retreat; and Saturninus, count of the domestics, was directed to punish with death two ecclesiastics, her most favoured servants. Eudocia instantly revenged them by the assassination of the count; the furious passions which she indulged on this suspicious occasion seemed to justify the severity of Theodosius; and the empress, ignominiously stripped of the honours of her rank,‡ was disgraced, perhaps unjustly, in the eyes of the world. The remainder of the life of Eudocia, about sixteen years, was spent in exile and

* Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 438, 439) is copious and florid; but he is accused of placing the lies of different ages on the same level of authenticity.

† In this short view of the disgrace of Eudocia, I have imitated the caution of Evagrius (lib. 1, c. 21) and count Marcellinus (in Chron. A.D. 440 and 444). The two authentic dates assigned by the latter, overturn a great part of the Greek fictions; and the celebrated story of the *apple*, &c. is fit only for the Arabian Nights, where something not very unlike it may be found.

‡ Priscus (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 69), a contemporary and a courtier, drily mentions her Pagan and Christian names, without adding any

devotion; and the approach of age, the death of Theodosius, the misfortunes of her only daughter, who was led a captive from Rome to Carthage, and the society of the holy monks of Palestine, insensibly confirmed the religious temper of her mind. After a full experience of the vicissitudes of human life, the daughter of the philosopher Leontius expired at Jerusalem, in the sixty-seventh year of her age; protesting with her dying breath that she had never transgressed the bounds of innocence and friendship.*

The gentle mind of Theodosius was never inflamed by the ambition of conquest or military renown, and the slight alarm of a Persian war scarcely interrupted the tranquillity of the east. The motives of this war were just and honourable. In the last year of the reign of Jezdegerd, the supposed guardian of Theodosius, a bishop, who aspired to the crown of martyrdom, destroyed one of the fire-temples of Susa.† His zeal and obstinacy were revenged on his brethren: the Magi excited a cruel persecution; and the intolerant zeal of Jezdegerd was imitated by his son Varanes, or Bahram, who soon afterwards ascended the throne. Some Christian fugitives, who escaped to the Roman frontier, were sternly demanded and generously refused; and the refusal, aggravated by commercial disputes, soon kindled a war between the rival monarchies. The mountains of Armenia and the plains of Mesopotamia.

title of honour or respect.

* For the two pilgrimages of Eudocia, and her long residence at Jerusalem, her devotion, alms, &c. see Socrates (lib. 7, c. 47) and Evagrius (lib. 1, c. 20—22). The Paschal Chronicle may sometimes deserve regard; and in the domestic history of Antioch, John Malala becomes a writer of good authority. The abbé Guendé, in a memoir on the fertility of Palestine, of which I have only seen an extract, calculates the gifts of Eudocia at twenty thousand four hundred and eighty-eight pounds of gold, above 2500,000 sterling. [Many of her coins still exist. Eckhel, vol. viii, p. 184, has already stated at p. 315, considered *Eudocia* to be the name which she had assumed. The best authorities for the time of her death are Cyrillus Monachus, in vita Euthymii (ap. Pagium, tom. ii, p. 364) and Nicephorus XIV. 50 (p. 559 n.), who place it at Oct. 29, A.D. 460. This makes her twenty-seven years of age when she married, and fifty-one when she retired to Jerusalem. (Clim. F. R. ii. p. 136.)—Ed.]

† Theodoret, lib. 5, c. 32. Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclési.* tom. xii, p. 256—364. Assemani, *Biblioth. Oriental.* tom. iii, p. 390; tom. iv, p. 61. Theodoret blames the rashness of Abdas, but extols the constancy of his martyrdom. Yet I do not clearly understand the casuistry which prohibits our repairing the damage which we have unlawfully com-

were filled with hostile armies; but the operations of two successive campaigns were not productive of any decisive or memorable events. Some engagements were fought, some towns were besieged, with various and doubtful success; and if the Romans failed in their attempt to recover the long-lost possession of Nisibis, the Persians were repulsed from the walls of a Mesopotamian city by the valour of a martial bishop, who pointed his thundering engine in the name of St. Thomas the apostle. Yet the splendid victories which the incredible speed of the messenger Palladius repeatedly announced to the palace of Constantinople were celebrated with festivals and panegyrics. From these panegyrics the historians * of the age might borrow their extraordinary and perhaps fabulous tales; of the proud challenge of a Persian hero, who was entangled by the net and dispatched by the sword of Areobindus the Goth; of the ten thousand *Immortals*, who were slain in the attack of the Roman camp; and of the hundred thousand Arabs, or Saracens, who were impelled by a panic terror to throw themselves headlong into the Euphrates. Such events may be disbelieved or disregarded; but the charity of a bishop, Acacius of Amida, whose name might have dignified the saintly calendar, shall not be lost in oblivion. Boldly declaring that vases of gold and silver are useless to a god who neither eats nor drinks, the generous prelate sold the plate of the church of Amida; employed the price in the redemption of seven thousand Persian captives; supplied their wants with affectionate liberality; and dismissed them to their native country, to inform their king of the true spirit of the religion which he persecuted. The practice of benevolence in the midst of war must always tend to assuage the animosity of contending nations; and I wish to persuade myself that Acacius contributed to the restoration of peace. In the conference which was held on the limits of the two empires, the Roman ambassadors degraded the personal character of their sovereign by a vain attempt to magnify the extent of his power; when they seriously advised the Persians to prevent, by a timely accommodation, the wrath of a monarch, who was yet ignorant of this distant war.

mitted.

* Socrates (lib. 7, c. 18—21) is the best author for the Persian war. We may likewise consult the three Chronicles, the Paschal, and those of Marcellinus and Malala.

A truce of one hundred years was solemnly ratified; and, although the revolutions of Armenia might threaten the public tranquillity, the essential conditions of this treaty were respected near fourscore years by the successors of Constantine and Artaxerxes.

Since the Roman and Parthian standards first encountered on the banks of the Euphrates, the kingdom of Armenia* was alternately oppressed by its formidable protectors; and in the course of this history, several events which inclined the balance of peace and war, have been already related. A disgraceful treaty had resigned Armenia to the ambition of Sapor; and the scale of Persia appeared to preponderate. But the royal race of Arsaces impatiently submitted to the house of Sassan; the turbulent nobles asserted, or betrayed their hereditary independence; and the nation was still attached to the *Christian* princes of Constantinople. In the beginning of the fifth century, Armenia was divided by the progress of war and faction,† and the unnatural division precipitated the downfall of that ancient monarchy. Chosroes, the Persian vassal, reigned over the eastern and most extensive portion of the country; while the western province acknowledged the jurisdiction of Arsaces, and the supremacy of the emperor Arcadius. After the death of Arsaces, the Romans suppressed the regal government, and imposed on their allies the condition of subjects. The military command was delegated to the count of the Armenian frontier; the city of Theodosiopolis‡ was built

* This account of the ruin and division of the kingdom of Armenia is taken from the third book of the Armenian history of Moses of Chorene. Deficient as he is in every qualification of a good historian, his local information, his passions, and his prejudices, are strongly expressive of a native and contemporary. Procopius (*de Edificiis*, lib. 3, c. 1, 5) relates the same facts in a very different manner; but I have extracted the circumstances the most probable in themselves, and the least inconsistent with Moses of Chorene.

† The western Armenians use the Greek language and characters in their religious offices; but the use of that hostile tongue was prohibited by the Persians in the eastern provinces, which were obliged to use the Syriac, till the invention of the Armenian letters by Mesrob, in the beginning of the fifth century; an event which relaxed the connection of the church and nation with Constantinople.

‡ Moses Chorene. lib. 3, c. 53, p. 309, and p. 352. Procopius, *de Edificiis*, lib. 3, c. 5. Theodosiopolis stands, or rather stood, about thirty-five miles to the east of Erzeroum, the modern capital of

and fortified in a strong situation on a fertile and lofty ground, near the sources of the Euphrates; and the dependent territories were ruled by five satraps, whose dignity was marked by a peculiar habit of gold and purple. The less fortunate nobles, who lamented the loss of their king, and envied the honours of their equals, were provoked to negotiate their peace and pardon at the Persian court; and returning with their followers to the palace of Artaxata, acknowledged Chosroes for their lawful sovereign. About thirty years afterwards, Artasires, the nephew and successor of Chosroes, fell under the displeasure of the haughty and capricious nobles of Armenia; and they unanimously desired a Persian governor in the room of an unworthy king. The answer of the archbishop Isaac, whose sanction they earnestly solicited, is expressive of the character of a superstitious people. He deplored the manifest and inexcusable vices of Artasires; and declared that he should not hesitate to accuse him before the tribunal of a Christian emperor, who would punish, without destroying the sinner. "Our king (continued Isaac) is too much addicted to licentious pleasures, but he has been purified in the holy waters of baptism. He is a lover of women, but he does not adore the fire or the elements. He may deserve the reproach of lewdness, but he is an undoubted Catholic; and his faith is pure, though his manners are flagitious. I will never consent to abandon my sheep to the rage of devouring wolves; and you would soon repent your rash exchange of the infirmities of a believer, for the specious virtues of a heathen."* Exasperated by the firmness of Isaac, the factious nobles accused both the king and the archbishop as the secret adherents of the emperor; and absurdly rejoiced in the sentence of condemnation, which after a partial hearing, was solemnly pronounced by Bahram himself. The descendants of Arsaces were degraded from the royal dignity,† which they had possessed above five hundred and

Turkish Armenia. See D'Anville, *Géographie Ancienne*, tom. ii, p. 99, 100.

* Moses Choren. lib. 3, c. 63, p. 316. According to the institution of St. Gregory the apostle of Armenia, the archbishop was always of the royal family; a circumstance which in some degree corrected the influence of the sacerdotal character, and united the mitre with the crown.

† A branch of the royal house of Arsaces still subsisted, with the rank and possessions (as it should seem) of Armenian satraps. See Moses Choren. lib. 3, c. 65, p. 321.

sixty years,* and the dominions of the unfortunate Artasires, under the new and significant appellation of Persarmenia, were reduced into the form of a province. This usurpation excited the jealousy of the Roman government; but the rising disputes were soon terminated by an amicable, though unequal, partition of the ancient kingdom of Armenia; and a territorial acquisition, which Augustus might have despised, reflected some lustre on the declining empire of the younger Theodosius.

CHAPTER XXXIII.—DEATH OF HONORIUS.—VALENTINIAN III. EMPEROR OF THE WEST.—ADMINISTRATION OF HIS MOTHER PLACIDIA.—ETIUS AND BONIFACE.—CONQUEST OF AFRICA BY THE VANDALS.

DURING a long and disgraceful reign of twenty-eight years, Honorius, emperor of the west, was separated from the friendship of his brother, and afterwards of his nephew, who reigned over the east; and Constantinople beheld, with apparent indifference and secret joy, the calamities of Rome. The strange adventures of Placidia,† gradually renewed and cemented the alliance of the two empires. The daughter of the great Theodosius had been the captive and the queen of the Goths; she lost an afflictionate husband, she was dragged in chains by his insulting assassin, she tasted the pleasure of revenge, and was exchanged in the treaty of peace, for six hundred thousand measures of wheat. After her return from Spain to Italy, Placidia experienced a new persecution in the bosom of her family. She was averse to a marriage which had been stipulated without her consent; and the brave Constantius, as a noble reward for the tyrants whom he had vanquished, received from the hand of Honorius himself, the struggling

* Valarsaces was appointed king of Armenia by his brother the Parthian monarch, immediately after the defeat of Antiochus Sidetes (Moses Choren. lib. ii, c. 2, p. 25), one hundred and thirty years before Christ. Without depending on the various and contradictory periods of the reigns of the last kings, we may be assured that the ruin of the Armenian kingdom happened after the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 431 (lib. 3, c. 61, p. 312), and under Varamus, or Bahram, king of Persia (lib. 3, c. 64, p. 317) who reigned from A.D. 420 to 440. See Assmann, Biblioth. Oriental. tom. iii, p. 396.

† See this volume, p. 454.

and reluctant hand of the widow of Adolphus. But her resistance ended with the ceremony of the nuptials; nor did Placidia refuse to become the mother of Honoria and Valentinian III. or to assume and exercise an absolute dominion over the mind of her grateful husband. The generous soldier, whose time had hitherto been divided between social pleasure and military service, was taught new lessons of avarice and ambition: he extorted the title of Augustus; and the servant of Honorius was associated to the empire of the west. The death of Constantius, in the seventh month of his reign, instead of diminishing, seemed to increase the power of Placidia; and the indecent familiarity* of her brother, which might be no more than the symptoms of a childish affection, were universally attributed to incestuous love. On a sudden, by some base intrigues of a steward and a nurse, this excessive fondness was converted into an irreconcilable quarrel: the debates of the emperor and his sister were not long confined within the walls of the palace; and as the Gothic soldiers adhered to their queen, the city of Ravenna was agitated with bloody and dangerous tumults, which could only be appeased by the forced or voluntary retreat of Placidia and her children. The royal exiles landed at Constantinople, soon after the marriage of Theodosius; during the festival of the Persian victories. They were treated with kindness and magnificence; but as the statues of the emperor Constantius had been rejected by the eastern court, the title of Augusta could not decently be allowed to his widow. Within a few months after the arrival of Placidia, a swift messenger announced the death of Honorius, the consequence of a dropsy; but the important secret was not divulged, till the necessary orders had been dispatched for the march of a large body of troops to the sea-coast of Dalmatia. The shops and the gates of Constantinople remained shut during seven days; and the loss of a foreign

* *Tà συνεχῇ κατὰ στόμα φιλήματα*, is the expression of Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 197); who means, perhaps, to describe the same caresses which Mahomet bestowed on his daughter Phatimah. "Quando," says the prophet himself, "quando subit mihi desiderium Paradisi, osculor eam, et ingero linguam meam in os ejus." But this sensual indulgence was justified by miracle and mystery; and the anecdote has been communicated to the public by the reverend father Maracci, in his version and confutation of the Koran, tom. i, p. 32.

prince, who could neither be esteemed nor regretted, was celebrated with loud and affected demonstrations of the public grief.

While the ministers of Constantinople deliberated, the vacant throne of Honorius was usurped by the ambition of a stranger. The name of the rebel was John: he filled the confidential office of *primicerius*, or principal secretary; and history has attributed to his character more virtues than can easily be reconciled with the violation of the most sacred duty. Elated by the submission of Italy, and the hope of an alliance with the Huns, John presumed to insult, by an embassy, the majesty of the eastern emperor; but when he understood that his agents had been banished, imprisoned, and at length chased away with deserved ignominy, John prepared to assert by arms the injustice of his claims. In such a cause, the grandson of the great Theodosius should have marched in person: but the young emperor was easily diverted, by his physicians, from so rash and hazardous a design; and the conduct of the Italian expedition was prudently intrusted to Ardaburius, and his son Aspar, who had already signalled their valour against the Persians. It was resolved, that Ardaburius should embark with the infantry, whilst Aspar, at the head of the cavalry, conducted Placidia and her son Valentinian, along the sea-coast of the Adriatic. The march of the cavalry was performed with such active diligence, that they surprised, without resistance, the important city of Aquileia; when the hopes of Aspar were unexpectedly confounded by the intelligence that a storm had dispersed the imperial fleet; and that his father, with only two galleys, was taken and carried a prisoner into the port of Ravenna. Yet this incident, unfortunate as it might seem, facilitated the conquest of Italy. Ardaburius employed, or abused, the courteous freedom which he was permitted to enjoy, to revive among the troops a sense of loyalty and gratitude; and, as soon as the conspiracy was ripe for execution, he invited, by private messages, and pressed the approach of, Aspar. A shepherd, whom the popular credulity transformed into an angel, guided the eastern cavalry, by a secret and, it was thought, an impassable road, through the morasses of the Po; the gates of Ravenna, after a short struggle, were thrown open; and the defence-

less tyrant was delivered to the mercy, or rather to the cruelty, of the conquerors. His right hand was first cut off; and, after he had been exposed, mounted on an ass, to the public derision, John was beheaded in the circus of Aquileia. The emperor Theodosius, when he received the news of the victory, interrupted the horse-races; and singing, as he marched through the streets, a suitable psalm, conducted his people from the Hippodrome to the church, where he spent the remainder of the day in grateful devotion.*

In a monarchy, which, according to various precedents, might be considered as elective, or hereditary, or patrimonial, it was impossible that the intricate claims of female and collateral succession should be clearly defined;† and Theodosius, by the right of consanguinity or conquest, might have reigned the sole legitimate emperor of the Romans. For a moment, perhaps, his eyes were dazzled by the prospect of unbounded sway; but his indolent temper gradually acquiesced in the dictates of sound policy. He contented himself with the possession of the east; and wisely relinquished the laborious task of waging a distant and doubtful war against the barbarians beyond the Alps; or of securing the obedience of the Italians and Africans, whose minds were alienated by the irreconcilable difference of language and interest. Instead of listening to the voice of ambition, Theodosius resolved to imitate the moderation of his grandfather, and to seat his cousin Valentinian on the throne of the west. The royal infant was distinguished at Constantinople by the title of *Nobilissimus*: he was promoted, before his departure from Thessalonica, to the rank and dignity of *Cæsar*; and, after the conquest of Italy, the patrician Helion, by the authority of Theodosius, and in the presence of the senate, saluted Valentinian III. by the name of Augustus, and

* For these revolutions of the western empire, consult Olympiodor. apud Phot. p. 192, 193, 196, 197, 200; Sozomen, lib. 9, c. 16; Socrates, lib. 7, 23, 24; Philostorgius, lib. xii, c. 10, 11; and Godefroy, Dissertat. p. 486; Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. lib. 1, c. 3, p. 182, 183; Theophanes, in Chronograph. p. 72, 73; and the Chronicles. [During his short tenure of power, John, too, issued his coins, on which he boasted of victories never achieved, and trampled on captives never taken. (Eckhel, vol. viii, p. 186.)—Ed.]

† See Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis, lib. 2, c. 7. He has laboriously, but vainly, attempted to form a reasonable system of jurisprudence, from the various and discordant modes

solemnly invested him with the diadem and the imperia purple.* By the agreement of the three females who governed the Roman world, the son of Placidia was betrothed to Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius and Athanasius; and, as soon as the lover and his bride had attained the age of puberty, this honourable alliance was faithfully accomplished. At the same time, as a compensation, perhaps, for the expenses of the war, the western Illyricum was detached from the Italian dominions, and yielded to the throne of Constantinople.† The emperor of the east acquired the useful dominion of the rich and maritime province of Dalmatia, and the dangerous sovereignty of Pannonia and Noricum, which had been filled and ravaged above twenty years, by a promiscuous crowd of Huns, Ostrogoths, Vandals, and *Barbarians*. Theodosius and Valentinian continued to respect the obligations of their public and domestic alliance; but the unity of the Roman government was finally dissolved. By a positive declaration, the validity of all future laws was limited to the dominions of their peculiar author; unless he should think proper to communicate them, subscribed with his own hand, for the approbation of his independent colleague.‡

Valentinian, when he received the title of Augustus, was no more than six years of age: and his long minority was intrusted to the guardian care of a mother, who might assert a female claim to the succession of the western empire. Placidia envied, but she could not equal, the reputation and virtues of the wife and sister of Theodosius; the elegant

of royal succession, which have been introduced by fraud or force, by time or accident.

* The original writers are not agreed (see Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. iv, p. 133) whether Valentinian received the imperial diadem at Rome or Ravenna. In this uncertainty, I am willing to believe that some respect was shown to the senate.

† The Count de Bunt (*Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vii, p. 242-306) has established the reality, explained the motives, and traced the consequences, of this remarkable cession.

‡ See the first *Novel* of Theodosius, by which he ratified and confirmed the unity of legislation had been proved by an exception. The *Novels* (A.D. 438) the Theodosian Code. About forty years before that time, the unity of legislation had been proved by an exception. The Jews, who were numerous in the cities of Apulia and Calabria, produced a law of the east to justify their exemption from municipal offices (Cod. Theod. lib. 16, tit. 8, leg. 13); and the western emperor was obliged to invalidate by a special edict, the law, *quoniam consuetudo in partibus esse damnosam*. Cod. Theod. lib. 11, tit. 1, leg. 155.

genius of Eudocia, the wise and successful policy of Pulcheria. The mother of Valentinian was jealous of the power which she was incapable of exercising;* she reigned twenty-five years, in the name of her son; and the character of that unworthy emperor gradually countenanced the suspicion, that Placidia had enervated his youth by a dissolute education, and studiously diverted his attention from every manly and honourable pursuit. Amidst the decay of military spirit, her armies were commanded by two generals, Ætius† and Boniface,‡ who may be deservedly named as the last of the Romans. Their union might have supported a sinking empire; their discord was the fatal and immediate cause of the loss of Africa. The invasion and defeat of Attila have immortalized the fame of Ætius; and though time has thrown a shade over the exploits of his rival, the defence of Marseilles, and the deliverance of Africa, attest the military talents of count Boniface. In the field of battle, in partial encounters, in single combats, he was still the terror of the barbarians: the clergy, and particularly his friend Augustin, were edified by the Christian piety which had once tempted him to retire from the world; the people applauded his spotless integrity; the army dreaded his equal and inexorable justice, which may be displayed in a very singular example. A peasant, who complained of the criminal intimacy between his wife and a Gothic soldier, was directed to attend his tribunal the following day: in the evening the count, who had diligently informed himself of the time and place of the assignation, mounted his horse, rode ten miles

* Cassiodorus (*Variar. lib. 11, epist. 1, p. 238*) has compared the regencies of Placidia and Amalasuntha. He arraigns the weakness of the mother of Valentinian, and praises the virtues of his royal mistress. On this occasion, flattery seems to have spoken the language of truth.

† Philostorgius, *lib. 12, c. 12*, and Godefroy's *Dissertat. p. 493, &c.* and Renatus Frigeridus, *apud Gregor. Turon. lib. 2, c. 8, in tom. ii, p. 163*. The father of Ætius was Gaudentius, an illustrious citizen of the province of Scythia, and master-general of the cavalry; his mother was a rich and noble Italian. From his earliest youth, Ætius, as a soldier and a hostage, had conversed with the barbarians.

‡ For the character of Boniface, see Olympiodorus, *apud Phot. p. 196*, and St. Augustin, *apud Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclésiastiques. tom. xiii, p. 712—715, 886*. The bishop of Hippo at length deplored the fall of his friend, who, after a solemn vow of chastity, had married a second wife of the Arian sect, and who was suspected of keeping several concubines in his house.

into the country, surprised the guilty couple, punished the soldier with instant death, and silenced the complaints of the husband, by presenting him, the next morning, with the head of the adulterer. The abilities of Ætius and Boniface might have been usefully employed against the public enemies, in separate and important commands; but the experience of their past conduct should have decided the real favour and confidence of the empress Placidia. In the melancholy season of her exile and distress, Boniface alone had maintained her cause with unshaken fidelity; and the troops and treasures of Africa had essentially contributed to extinguish the rebellion. The same rebellion had been supported by the zeal and activity of Ætius, who brought an army of sixty thousand Huns from the Danube to the confines of Italy, for the service of the usurper. The untimely death of John compelled him to accept an advantageous treaty; but he still continued, the subject and the soldier of Valentinian, to entertain a secret, perhaps a treasonable correspondence with his barbarian allies, whose retreat had been purchased by liberal gifts, and more liberal promises. But Ætius possessed an advantage of singular moment in a female reign: he was present: he besieged, with artful and assiduous flattery, the palace of Ravenna; disguised his dark designs with the mask of loyalty and friendship; and at length deceived both his mistress and his absent rival, by a subtle conspiracy, which a weak woman, and a brave man, could not easily suspect. He secretly persuaded* Placidia to recall Boniface to disobey the imperial summons: to the one, he represented the order as a sentence of death; to the other, he stated the refusal as a signal of revolt; and when the credulous and unsuspecting count had armed the province in his defence, Ætius applauded his sagacity in foreseeing the rebellion, which his own perfidy had excited. A temperate inquiry into the real motives of Boniface, would have restored a faithful servant to his duty and to the republic; but the arts of

* Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. lib. 1, c. 3, 4, p. 182—189) relates the fraud of Ætius, the revolt of Boniface, and the loss of Africa. This anecdote, which is supported by some collateral testimony (see Rulhiart, Hist. Persecut. Vandal. p. 420, 421), seems agreeable to the practice of ancient and modern courts, and would be naturally revealed by the

Ætius still continued to betray and to inflame, and the count was urged, by persecution, to embrace the most desperate counsels. The success with which he eluded or repelled the first attacks, could not inspire a vain confidence, that, at the head of some loose, disorderly Africans, he should be able to withstand the regular forces of the west, commanded by a rival, whose military character it was impossible for him to despise. After some hesitation, the last struggles of prudence and loyalty, Boniface dispatched a trusty friend to the court, or rather to the camp, of Gonderic king of the Vandals, with the proposal of a strict alliance, and the offer of an advantageous and perpetual settlement.

After the retreat of the Goths, the authority of Honorius had obtained a precarious establishment in Spain; except only in the province of Galicia, where the Suevi and the Vandals had fortified their camps, in mutual discord and hostile independence. The Vandals prevailed; and their adversaries were besieged in the Nervasian hills, between Leon and Oviedo, till the approach of count Asterius compelled, or rather provoked, the victorious barbarians to remove the scene of the war to the plains of Bætica. The rapid progress of the Vandals soon required a more effectual opposition; and the master-general Castinus marched against them with a numerous army of Romans and Goths. Vanquished in battle by an inferior enemy, Castinus fled with dishonour to Tarragona; and this memorable defeat, which has been represented as the punishment, was most probably the effect, of his rash presumption.* Seville and Carthagena became the reward, or rather the prey, of the ferocious conquerors; and the vessels which they found in the harbour of Carthagena might easily transport them to the isles of Majorca and Minorca, where the Spanish fugitives, as in a secure recess, had vainly concealed their families and their fortunes. The experience of navigation, and perhaps the prospect of Africa, encouraged the Vandals to accept the invitation which they received from count Boniface; and the death of Gonderic served only to forward

repentance of Boniface.

* See the Chronicles of Prosper and Idatius. Salvian (*de Gubernat. Dei*, lib. 7, p. 246, Paris, 1608) ascribes the victory of the Vandals to their superior piety. They fasted, they prayed, they carried a Bible in the front of the host, with the design, perhaps, of reproaching the perfidy and sacrilege of their

and animate the bold enterprise. In the room of a prince not conspicuous for any superior powers of the mind or body, they acquired his bastard brother, the terrible Genseric,* a name, which, in the destruction of the Roman empire, has deserved an equal rank with the names of Alaric and Attila. The king of the Vandals is described to have been of a middle stature, with a lameness in one leg, which he had contracted by an accidental fall from his horse. His slow and cautious speech seldom declared the deep purposes of his soul; he disdained to imitate the luxury of the vanquished; but he indulged the sterner passions of anger and revenge. Tho' ambition of Genseric was without bounds, and without scruples; and the warrior could dexterously employ the dark engines of policy to solicit allies who might be useful to his success, or to scatter among his enemies the seeds of hatred and contention. Almost in the moment of his departure, he was informed that Hermanric, king of the Suevi, had presumed to ravage the Spanish territories, which he was resolved to abandon. Impatient of the insult, Genseric pursued the hasty retreat of the Suevi as far as Merida; precipitated the king and his army into the river Anas, and calmly returned to the sea-shore, to embark his victorious troops. The vessels which transported the Vandals over the modern straits of Gibraltar, a channel only twelve miles in breadth, were furnished by the Spaniards, who anxiously wished their departure; and by the African general, who had implored their formidable assistance.†

Our fancy, so long accustomed to exaggerate and multiply the martial swarms of barbarians that seemed to issue from the north, will perhaps be surprised by the account of

* Gizericus (his name is variously expressed) statum mediocrem et equi casu claudicans, animo profundus, externa rursu luxurie contemptor, ira turbidus, Libandi cupidus, ad sollicitudines gentes providentissimus, femina contentissimum jaccere, colla munita paratus. Jornandes, de Rebus Geticis, c. 33. p. 657. This portrait which is drawn with some skill, and a strong likeness, must have been copied from the Gothic history of Cassiodorus.

† See the Chronicle of Isidore. That bishop, a Spaniard and a contemporary, places the passage of the Vandals in the month of May, of the year of Abraham (which commences in October 1111). This date, which coincides with A.D. 429, is confirmed by Isidore, another Spanish bishop, and is justly preferred to the opinion of those writers who have marked for that event one of the two preceding years.

the army which Genseric mustered on the coast of Mauritania. The Vandals, who in twenty years had penetrated from the Elbe to mount Atlas, were united under the command of their warlike king; and he reigned with equal authority over the Alani, who had passed, within the term of human life, from the cold of Scythia to the excessive heat of an African climate. The hopes of the bold enterprise had excited many brave adventurers of the Gothic nation; and many desperate provincials were tempted to repair their fortunes by the same means which had occasioned their ruin. Yet this various multitude amounted only to fifty thousand effective men; and though Genseric artfully magnified his apparent strength, by appointing eighty *chiliarchs*, or commanders of thousands, the fallacious increase of old men, of children, and of slaves, would scarcely have swelled his army to fourscore thousand persons.* But his own dexterity, and the discontents of Africa, soon fortified the Vandal powers, by the accession of numerous and active allies. The parts of Mauritania which border on the great desert and the Atlantic ocean; were filled with a fierce and untractable race of men, whose savage temper had been exasperated, rather than reclaimed, by their dread of the Roman arms. The wandering Moors,† as they gradually ventured to approach the sea-shore and the camp of the Vandals, must have viewed with terror and astonishment the dress, the armour, the martial pride and discipline of the unknown strangers, who had landed on their coast; and the fair complexions of the blue-eyed warriors of Germany formed a very singular contrast with the swarthy or olive hue, which is derived from the neighbourhood of the torrid zone. After the first difficulties had in some measure been removed,

Pagi Critica, tom. ii, p. 205, &c.

* Compare Procopius (de Bell.

Vandal. l. 1, c. 5, p. 190,) and Victor Vitensis (de Persecutione Vandal.

l. 1, c. 1, p. 3, edit. Ruinart.) We are assured by Idatius, that Gen-

seric evacuated Spain, cum Vandalis omnibus eorumque familiis; and Possidius (in Vit. Augustin. c. 28, apud Ruinart, p. 427,) describes his army, as manus ingens immanium gentium Vandalorum et Alanorum, commixtam secum habens Gothorum gentem, aliarumque diversarum personas.

† For the manners of the Moors, see Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. 2, c. 6, p. 249), for their figure and complexion, M. de Buffon (Histoire Naturelle, tom. iii, p. 430.) Procopius says in general, that the Moors had joined the Vandals before the death of Valentinian (de Bell. Vandal. l. 1, c. 5, p. 190), and it is probable, that the independent tribes did not embrace any uniform system of policy.

which arose from the mutual ignorance of their respective language, the Moors, regardless of any future consequence, embraced the alliance of the enemies of Rome; and a crowd of naked savages rushed from the woods and valleys of mount Atlas, to satiate their revenge on the polished tyrants, who had injuriously expelled them from their native sovereignty of the land.*

The persecution of the Donatists† was an event not less favourable to the designs of Genseric. Seventeen years before he landed in Africa, a public conference was held at Carthage, by the order of the magistrate. The Catholics were satisfied, that, after the invincible reasons which they had alleged, the obstinacy of the schismatics must be inexcusable and voluntary; and the emperor Honorius was persuaded to inflict the most rigorous penalties on a faction, which had so long abused his patience and clemency. Three hundred bishops,‡ with many thousands of the inferior clergy, were torn from their churches, stripped of their ecclesiastical possessions, banished to the islands, and proscribed by the laws, if they presumed to conceal themselves in the provinces of Africa. Their numerous congregations, both in the cities and in the country, were deprived of the rights of citizens, and of the exercise of religious worship. A regular scale of fines, from ten to two hundred pounds of silver, was curiously ascertained, according to the distinctions of rank and fortune, to punish the crime of assisting

* Procopius is not to be trusted, nor must we judge the ancient Mauri by the Moors of the present day. Northern Africa, in the Roman times, presented an aspect very unlike that which it now wears. According to Niebuhr (*Lectures*, vol. iii, p. 310,) "we wrongly deem that to be a barbarian people, who had a written language, and from the Upper Egypt to the Canary Isles." Most improbable, may even impossible then is it, that the Vandals, on their landing in this country, after it had been five hundred years under Roman dominion, should have been joined by such "a crowd of naked savages," as Gibbon has described. Some uncouth rustics and fierce Donatist Circumcellions may have been among these auxiliaries, but can have constituted only a small section.—Ed.

† See Tillmann, *persecution, in the original monument*, published by Dupin at the end of Optatus, p. 324—315.

‡ The Donatist bishops, at the conference of Carthage, amounted to two hundred and seventy-nine; and they asserted that their whole number was not less than four hundred. The Catholics had two hundred and eighty-six present, one hundred and twenty absent, besides sixty-four vacant bishoprics.

at a schismatic conventicle; and if the fine had been levied five times, without subduing the obstinacy of the offender, his future punishment was referred to the discretion of the imperial court.* By these severities, which obtained the warmest approbation of St. Augustin,† great numbers of Donatists were reconciled to the Catholic church; but the fanatics, who still persevered in their opposition, were provoked to madness and despair: the distracted country was filled with tumult and bloodshed: the armed troops of Circumcellions alternately pointed their rage against themselves, or against their adversaries; and the calendar of martyrs received on both sides a considerable augmentation.‡ Under these circumstances, Genseric, a Christian, but an enemy of the orthodox communion, shewed himself to the Donatists as a powerful deliverer, from whom they might reasonably expect the repeal of the odious and oppressive edicts of the Roman emperors.§ The conquest of Africa was facilitated by the active zeal, or the secret favour of a domestic faction; the wanton outrages against the churches and the clergy, of which the Vandals are accused, may be fairly imputed to the fanaticism of their allies; and the intolerant spirit which disgraced the triumph of Christianity, contributed to the loss of the most important province of the west.¶

* The fifth title of the sixteenth book of the Theodosian Code exhibits a series of the imperial laws against the Donatists, from the year 400 to the year 428. Of these, the fifty-fourth law, promulgated by Honorius, A.D. 414, is the most severe and effectual.

† St. Augustin altered his opinion with regard to the proper treatment of heretics. His pathetic declaration of pity and indulgence for the Manichæans, has been inserted by Mr. Locke, (vol. iii, p. 469,) among the choice specimens of his common-place book. Another philosopher, the celebrated Bayle, (tom. ii, p. 445—496,) has refuted, with superfluous diligence and ingenuity, the arguments by which the bishop of Hippo justified, in his old age, the persecution of the Donatists.

‡ See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xiii, p. 586—592. 806. The Donatists boasted of *thousands* of these voluntary martyrs. Augustin asserts, and probably with truth, that these numbers were much exaggerated; but he sternly maintains, that it was better that *some* should burn themselves in this world, than that *all* should burn in hell-flames.

§ According to St. Augustin and Theodoret, the Donatists were inclined to the principles, or at least to the party, of the Arians, which Genseric supported. Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vi, p. 68.

¶ See Baronius, *Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 428, No. 7; A.D. 439, No. 35. The cardinal, though more

The court and the people were astonished by the strange intelligence, that a virtuous hero, after so many favours and so many services, had renounced his allegiance, and invited the barbarians to destroy the province intrusted to his command. The friends of Boniface, who still believed that his criminal behaviour might be excused by some honourable motive, solicited, during the absence of Ætius, a free conference with the count of Africa; and Darius, an officer of high distinction, was named for the important embassy.* In their first interview at Carthage, the imaginary provocations were mutually explained; the opposite letters of Ætius were produced and compared; and the fraud was easily detected. Placidia and Boniface lamented their fatal error; and the count had sufficient magnanimity to confide in the forgiveness of his sovereign, or to expose his head to her future resentment. His repentance was fervent and sincere; but he soon discovered that it was no longer in his power to restore the edifice which he had shaken to its foundations. Carthage and the Roman garrisons returned with their general to the allegiance of Valentinian, but the rest of Africa was still distracted with war and faction; and the inexorable king of the Vandals, disdaining all terms of accommodation, sternly refused to relinquish the possession of his prey. The band

inclined to seek the cause of great events in heaven than on the earth, has observed the apparent connection of the Vandals and the Donatists. Under the reign of the barbarians, the schismatics of Africa enjoyed an obscure peace of one hundred years; at the end of which, we may again trace them by the light of the imperial persecutions. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vi, p. 192, &c. [We have seen (vol. ii, p. 390) the origin of the Donatists. Ignorance prolonged fanatical enthusiasm, and persecution provoked resentful obstinacy, so that after more than a hundred years, these schismatics were neither diminished in numbers nor deterred from perverseness. The great hierarchical corruption of the age created the divisions which tore from the empire this valuable appendage.—ED.]

* In a confidential letter to count Boniface, St. Augustine, without examining the grounds of the quarrel, piously exhorts him to discharge the duties of a Christian and a subject: to extricate himself without delay from his dangerous and guilty situation; and even, if he could obtain the consent of his wife, to embrace a life of celibacy and penance. (Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xiii, p. 500.) The bishop was intimately connected with Darius, the minister of peace. (*Id.* tom. xiii, p. 525.)

of veterans who marched under the standard of Boniface and his hasty levies of provincial troops, were defeated with considerable loss; the victorious barbarians insulted the open country; and Carthage, Cirta, and Hippo Regius, were the only cities that appeared to rise above the general inundation.

The long and narrow tract of the African coast was filled with frequent monuments of Roman art and magnificence; and the respective degrees of improvement might be accurately measured by the distance from Carthage and the Mediterranean. A simple reflection will impress every thinking mind with the clearest idea of fertility and cultivation: the country was extremely populous; the inhabitants reserved a liberal subsistence for their own use; and the annual exportation, particularly of wheat, was so regular and plentiful that Africa deserved the name of the common granary of Rome and of mankind. On a sudden the seven fruitful provinces, from Tangier to Tripoli, were overwhelmed by the invasion of the Vandals; whose destructive rage has perhaps been exaggerated by popular animosity, religious zeal, and extravagant declamation. War, in its fairest form, implies a perpetual violation of humanity and justice; and the hostilities of barbarians are inflamed by the fierce and lawless spirit which incessantly disturbs their peaceful and domestic society. The Vandals, where they found resistance, seldom gave quarter; and the deaths of their valiant countrymen were expiated by the ruin of the cities under whose walls they had fallen. Careless of the distinctions of age, or sex, or rank, they employed every species of indignity and torture, to force from the captives a discovery of their hidden wealth. The stern policy of Genseric justified his frequent examples of military execution: he was not always the master of his own passions, or of those of his followers: and the calamities of war were aggravated by the licentiousness of the Moors and the fanaticism of the Donatists. Yet I shall not easily be persuaded, that it was the common practice of the Vandals to extirpate the olives and other fruit-trees of a country where they intended to settle; nor can I believe that it was a usual stratagem to slaughter great numbers of their prisoners before the walls of a besieged city, for the sole purpose of infecting the air,

and producing a pestilence of which they themselves must have been the first victims.*

The generous mind of count Boniface was tortured by the exquisite distress of beholding the ruin which he had occasioned, and whose rapid progress he was unable to check. After the loss of a battle he retired into Hippo Regius; where he was immediately besieged by an enemy, who considered him as the real bulwark of Africa. The maritime colony of Hippo,† about two hundred miles westward of Carthage, had formerly acquired the distinguishing epithet of *Regius*, from the residence of Numidian kings; and some remains of trade and populousness still adhered to the modern city, which is known in Europe by the corrupted name of Bona. The military labours and anxious reflections of count Boniface, were alleviated by the edifying conversation of his friend St. Augustin,‡ till that bishop, the light and pillar of the Catholic church, was gently released, in the third month of the siege, and in the seventy-sixth year of his age, from the actual and the impending calamities of his country. The youth of Augustin had been stained by the vices and errors which he so ingenuously confesses; but from the moment of his conversion to that of his death, the manners of the bishop of Hippo were pure and austere: and the most con-

* The original complaints of the desolation of Africa are contained in a letter from Capreolus, bishop of Carthage, to excuse his absence from the council of Ephesus (ap. Ruinart, p. 429.) 2. In the life of St. Augustin, by his friend and colleague Possidius (ap. Ruinart, p. 427.) 3. In the history of the Vandalic persecution, by Victor Vita-

sis (l. 1, c. 1—3, ed. Ruinart.) The last picture, which was drawn sixty years after the event, is more expressive of the author's passion than of the truth of facts. [Gibbon himself felt how fallacious and untrustworthy the authorities were, from which he drew his picture of the desolation of Africa. That was a more gradual work and wrought by other agencies.—ED.]

† See Cellarius, *Geograph. Antiqu.* L'Afrique de Marmol, tom. ii, p. 431, 437. Shaw's *Travels*, p. 49, 57. The old Hippo Regius was finally destroyed by the Arabs in the seventh century; but a new town, at the distance of two miles, was built with the materials; and it contained, in the sixteenth century, about three hundred families of industrious but turbulent manufacturers. The adjacent territory is renowned for a pure air, a fertile soil, and plenty of exquisite fruits. ‡ The life of St. Augustin, by Tillmont, folio a quarto volume (Mém. Beck's, tom. xiii.) is more than one thousand pages; and the diligence of that learned Jesuit was excited, on this occasion, by factious and devout zeal for the

spicuous of his virtues was an ardent zeal against heretics of every denomination; the Manichæans, the Donatists, and the Pelagians, against whom he waged a perpetual controversy. When the city, some months after his death, was burnt by the Vandals, the library was fortunately saved which contained his voluminous writings; two hundred and thirty-two separate books or treatises on theological subjects, besides a complete exposition of the psalter and the gospel, and a copious magazine of epistles and homilies.* According to the judgment of the most impartial critics, the superficial learning of Augustin was confined to the Latin language;† and his style, though sometimes animated by the eloquence of passion, is usually clouded by false and affected rhetoric. But he possessed a strong, capacious, and argumentative mind; he boldly sounded the dark abyss of grace, predestination, free-will, and original sin; and the rigid system of Christianity which he framed or restored,‡ has been entertained with public applause and secret reluc-

founder of his sect.

* Such at least is the account of Victor Vitensis (de Persecut. Vandal. l. 1, c. 3), though Gennadius seems to doubt whether any person had read, or even collected, *all* the works of St. Augustin. (See Hieronym. Opera, tom. i, p. 319, in Catalog. Scriptor. Eccles.) They have been repeatedly printed; and Dupin (Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. iii, p. 158—257) has given a large and satisfactory abstract of them, as they stand in the last edition of the Benedictines. My personal acquaintance with the bishop of Hippo does not extend beyond the *Confessions*, and the *City of God*.

† In his early youth (Confess. l. 1, c. 14) St. Augustin disliked and neglected the study of Greek; and he frankly owns that he read the Platonists in a Latin version. (Confes. 7. 9.) Some modern critics have thought, that his ignorance of Greek disqualified him from expounding the Scriptures; and Cicero or Quintilian would have required the knowledge of that language in a professor of rhetoric. [Augustin was one of the few, who, in his age, preserved in some degree the early connection between Christianity and Greek philosophy. Neander says (Hist. of Christ. vol. iii, p. 144.) "The Neo-Platonic religious idealism formed one stage in particular, by which some were brought nearer to *Christian ideas*, as is seen in the examples of Synesius and Augustin." He resumes the subject at p. 146 and again at p. 501. All that has been said, in earlier notes, of the assistance given by philosophy to primitive Christianity, is here fully corroborated, and of this Augustin is perhaps the last instance.—ED.]

‡ These questions were seldom agitated, from the time of St. Paul to that of St. Augustin. I am informed that the Greek fathers maintain the natural sentiments of the Semi-Pelagians; and that the orthodoxy of St. Augustin was derived from the Manichæan school.

tance by the Latin church.* By the skill of Boniface, and perhaps by the ignorance of the Vandals, the siege of Hippo was protracted above fourteen months: the sea was continually open; and when the adjacent country had been exhausted by irregular rapine, the besiegers themselves were compelled by famine to relinquish their enterprise. The importance and danger of Africa were deeply felt by the regent of the west. Placidia implored the assistance of her eastern ally; and the Italian fleet and army were reinforced by Aspar, who sailed from Constantinople with a powerful armament. As soon as the force of the two empires was united under the command of Boniface, he boldly marched against the Vandals; and the loss of a second battle irretrievably decided the fate of Africa. He embarked with the precipitation of despair; and the people of Hippo were permitted, with their families and effects, to occupy the vacant place of the soldiers, the greatest part of whom were either slain or made prisoners by the Vandals. The count, whose fatal credulity had wounded the vitals of the republic, might enter the palace of Ravenna with some anxiety, which was soon removed by the smiles of Placidia. Boniface accepted with gratitude the rank of patrician, and the dignity of master-general of the Roman armies; but he must have blushed at the sight of those medals, in which he was represented with the name and attributes of Victory.†

* The church of Rome has canonized Augustin and repudiated Calvin. Yet as the *real* difference between them is invisible even to a theological microscope, the Molinists are oppressed by the authority of the saint, and the Jansenists are disgraced by their resemblance to the heretic. In the meanwhile, the Protestant Arminians stand aloof, and deride the mutual perplexity of the disputants. (See a curious Review of the controversy, by Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Universelle*, tom. xiv, p. 144—398.) Perhaps a reasoner still more independent, may smile in his turn, when he peruses an Arminian commentary on the epistle to the Romans. [There was one marked difference between the two great ecclesiasties, which made the one a *real* and the other a *repro-bate*. Augustin advocated, in its fullest extent, the infallibility of the church. See his book *De Utilitate Creden-ti*, c. 35, and *Necessarius* (Hist. of Christ. vol. iii, p. 228.) For this *good work* he was canonized. Calvin denied the power of the hierarchy, and therefore if they could have caught him, they would have burned him as he did Socrates.—Ed.]

† Ducange, *Fam. Byzant.* p. 67. On one side, the head of Valentinian; on the reverse, Boniface, with a scourge in one hand, and a palm in the other, standing in a triumphal car, which is drawn by

The discovery of his fraud, the displeasure of the empress, and the distinguished favour of his rival, exasperated the haughty and perfidious soul of Ætius. He hastily returned from Gaul to Italy with a retinue, or rather with an army, of barbarian followers; and such was the weakness of the government, that the two generals decided their private quarrel in a bloody battle. Boniface was successful; but he received in the conflict a mortal wound from the spear of his adversary, of which he expired within a few days, in such Christian and charitable sentiments, that he exhorted his wife, a rich heiress of Spain, to accept Ætius for her second husband. But Ætius could not derive any immediate advantage from the generosity of his dying enemy; he was proclaimed a rebel by the justice of Placidia; and though he attempted to defend some strong fortresses erected on his patrimonial estate, the imperial power soon compelled him to retire into Pannonia, to the tents of his faithful Huns. The republic was deprived by their mutual discord, of the service of her two most illustrious champions.*

It might naturally be expected, after the retreat of Boniface, that the Vandals would achieve, without resistance or

four horses, or, in another medal, by four stags; an unlucky emblem! I should doubt whether another example can be found of the head of a subject on the reverse of an imperial medal. See *Science des Médailles*, by the père Jobert, tom. i, p. 132—150, edit. of 1739, by the baron de la Bastie. [Eckhel, however, (vol. viii, p. 293,) places these among his "Pseudomoneta" or medals never current as money, but merely *tokens*, commemorating events, unconnected with public affairs. Many such are enumerated, bearing the names of private individuals on various occasions; and he considers this, in the time of Valentinian III., to have been struck, not in honour of the *Comes Bonifacius*, but of a triumph achieved in the circus, by an *auriga* or charioteer called Bonifatius. The supposed horns of stags he believes to be palm-branches, affixed, as emblems of victory, on the heads of the successful horses. At p. 209 he quotes Cedrenus, who affirms, that coins of Justinian had on their reverse the figure of his victorious general, surrounded by the inscription, *BELISARIUS GLORIA ROMANORUM*. None such have been found, except one, mentioned by Ducange (*Dissert. de Num. inf. Ævi. LXII.*) but which is suspected not to be genuine.—ED.]

* Procopius (*de Bell. Vandal. l. 1, c. 3, p. 185*) continues the history of Boniface no farther than his return to Italy. His death is mentioned by Prosper and Marcellinus; the expression of the latter, that Ætius, the day before, had provided himself with a *longer* spear, implies something like a regular duel.

delay, the conquest of Africa. Eight years, however, elapsed from the evacuation of Hippo to the reduction of Carthage. In the midst of that interval, the ambitious Genseric, in the full tide of apparent prosperity, negotiated a treaty of peace, by which he gave his son Hunneric for a hostage; and consented to leave the western emperor in the undisturbed possession of the three Mauritanias.* This moderation, which cannot be imputed to the justice, must be ascribed to the policy of the conqueror. His throne was encompassed with domestic enemies, who accused the baseness of his birth, and asserted the legitimate claims of his nephews, the sons of Gonderic. Those nephews, indeed, he sacrificed to his safety; and their mother, the widow of the deceased king, was precipitated, by his order, into the river Ampsaga. But the public discontent burst forth in dangerous and frequent conspiracies; and the warlike tyrant is supposed to have shed more Vandal blood by the hand of the executioner, than in the field of battle.† The convulsions of Africa, which had favoured his attack, opposed the firm establishment of his power; and the various seditions of the Moors and Germans, the Donatists and Catholics, continually disturbed or threatened the unsettled reign of the conqueror. As he advanced towards Carthage, he was forced to withdraw his troops from the western provinces; the sea-coast was exposed to the naval enterprises of the Romans of Spain and Italy; and in the heart of Numidia, the strong inland city of Cirta still persisted in obstinate independence.‡ These difficulties were gradually subdued by the spirit, the perseverance, and the cruelty of Genseric, who alternately applied the arts of peace and war to the establishment of his African kingdom. He subscribed a solemn treaty, with the hope of deriving some advantage from the term of its continuance, and the moment of its violation. The vigilance of his enemies was relaxed

* See Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. 1, c. 4, p. 166. Valentinian published several humane laws, to relieve the distress of his Numidian and Mauritanian subjects: he discharged them, in a great measure, from the payment of their debts, reduced their tribute to one-eighth, and gave them a right of appeal from the provincial magistrates to the prefect of Rome. Cod. Theod. torn. vi, Novell. p. 11, 12.

† Victor Vitensis, de Persecut. Vandal. l. 2, c. 5, p. 25. The cruelties of Genseric towards his subjects, are strongly expressed in Prosper's Chronicle, A.D. 442.

§ Possidius in Vit. Augustin. c. 25,

by the protestations of friendship, which concealed his hostile approach; and Carthage was at length surprised by the Vandals, five hundred and eighty-five years after the destruction of the city and republic by the younger Scipio.*

A new city had arisen from its ruins, with the title of a colony; and though Carthage might yield to the royal prerogatives of Constantinople, and perhaps to the trade of Alexandria, or the splendour of Antioch, she still maintained the second rank in the west; as the *Rome* (if we may use the style of contemporaries) of the African world. That wealthy and opulent metropolis† displayed, in a dependent condition, the image of a flourishing republic. Carthage contained the manufactures, the arms, and the treasures of the six provinces. A regular subordination of civil honours gradually ascended from the procurators of the streets and quarters of the city to the tribunal of the supreme magistrate, who, with the title of proconsul, represented the state and dignity of a consul of ancient Rome. Schools and *gymnasia* were instituted for the education of the African youth; and the liberal arts and manners, grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, were publicly taught in the Greek and Latin languages.‡ The buildings of Carthage were uniform and magnificent; a shady grove was planted in the midst of the capital; the *new* port, a secure and capacious harbour, was subservient to the commercial industry of citizens and strangers; and the splendid games of the circus and theatre were exhibited almost in the presence of the barbarians. The reputation of the Carthaginians was not equal to that of their country, and the reproach of Punic faith still adhered to their subtle and

apud Ruinart, p. 428.

* See the Chronicles of Idatius, Isidore, Prosper, and Marcellinus. They mark the same year, but different days, for the surprisal of Carthage.

† The picture of Carthage, as it flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries, is taken from the *Expositio totius Mundi*, p. 17, 18, in the third volume of Hudson's *Minor Geographers*; from Ausonius de *Claris Urbibus*, p. 228, 229, and principally from Salvian, de *Gubernatione Dei*, l. 7, 257, 258. I am surprised that the *Notitia* should not place either a mint, or an arsenal, at Carthage: but only a gynæceum, or female manufacture.

‡ These institutions for Carthaginian education, were the disused or misused monuments of a bygone and a better age. Their inefficiency is shown by the depravity of the inhabitants of the city. These passages in Gibbon are illustrated by Niebuhr's remarks on the

faithless character.* The habits of trade and the abuse of luxury, had corrupted their manners; but their impious contempt of monks, and the shameless practice of unnatural lusts, are the two abominations which excite the pious vehemence of Salvian, the preacher of the age.† The king of the Vandals severely reformed the vices of a voluptuous people; and the ancient, noble, ingenuous freedom of Carthage (these expressions of Victor are not without energy) was reduced by Genseric into a state of ignominious servitude. After he had permitted his licentious troops to satiate their rage and avarice, he instituted a more regular system of rapine and oppression. An edict was promulgated, which enjoined all persons, without fraud or delay, to deliver their gold, silver, jewels, and valuable furniture or apparel to the royal officers; and the attempt to secrete any part of their patrimony was inexorably punished with death and torture, as an act of treason against the state. The lands of the proconsular province, which formed the immediate district of Carthage, were accurately measured and divided among the barbarians: and the conqueror reserved, for his peculiar domain, the fertile territory of Byzacium, and the adjacent parts of Numidia and Getulia.‡

It was natural enough that Genseric should hate those whom he had injured: the nobility and senators of Carthage were exposed to his jealousy and resentment; and all those who refused the ignominious terms, which their honour and

writings and character of Salvian, on the state of Carthage, and on the conduct of the hierarchy, which he says, "grew worse and worse." Lectures, vol. iii, p. 326. 338.—Ed. The anonymous author of the *Expositio totius Mundi*, compares, in his barbarous Latin, the country and the inhabitants; and, after stigmatizing their want of faith, he coolly concludes: *Difficile autem inter eos invenitur bonus, tamen in multis pauci boni esse possunt.* (p. 12.)

† He declares, that the peculiar vices of each country were collected in the sink of Carthage. (l. 7, p. 257.) In the indulgence of vice, the Africans applauded their manly virtue. *It illi se magis virilis fortitudinis esse crederent, qui maximo vires faminei uetus probositate fregissent.* (p. 268.) The streets of Carthage were polluted by effeminate wretches, who publicly assumed the countenance, the dress, and the character of women. (p. 264.) If a monk appeared in the city, the holy man was pursued with impious scorn and ridicule. *detestantibus ridendam cachinnis.* (p. 229.)

‡ Compare Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. 1, c. 5, p. 159, 199, and Victor Vitensis, de

religion forbade them to accept, were compelled by the Arian tyrant to embrace the condition of perpetual banishment. Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the east, were filled with a crowd of exiles, of fugitives, and of ingenuous captives, who solicited the public compassion: and the benevolent epistles of Theodoret still preserve the names and misfortunes of Cælestian and Maria.* The Syrian bishop deplores the misfortunes of Cælestian, who from the state of a noble and opulent senator of Carthage, was reduced, with his wife and family, and servants, to beg his bread in a foreign country; but he applauds the resignation of the Christian exile, and the philosophic temper, which under the pressure of such calamities, could enjoy more real happiness than was the ordinary lot of wealth and prosperity. The story of Maria, the daughter of the magnificent Eudæmon, is singular and interesting. In the sack of Carthage, she was purchased from the Vandals by some merchants of Syria, who afterwards sold her as a slave in *their native country*. A female attendant, transported in the same ship, and sold in the same family, still continued to respect a mistress whom fortune had reduced to the common level of servitude; and the daughter of Eudæmon received from her grateful affection, the domestic services which she had once required from her obedience. This remarkable behaviour divulged the real condition of Maria, who in the absence of the bishop of Cyrrhus, was redeemed from slavery by the generosity of some soldiers of the garrison. The liberality of Theodoret provided for her decent maintenance; and she passed ten months among the deaconesses of the church, till she was unexpectedly informed that her father, who had escaped from the ruin of Carthage, exercised an honourable office in one of the western provinces. Her filial impatience was seconded by the pious bishop: Theodoret, in a letter still extant, recommends Maria to the bishop of Ægæ, a maritime city of Cilicia, which was frequented, during the annual fair, by the vessels of the west; most earnestly requesting, that his colleague would use the maiden with a tenderness suitable to her birth; and that he would intrust her to the care of such faithful merchants as would esteem it a

Persecut. Vandal. l. 1, c. 4.

* Ruinart (p. 444—457,) has collected from Theodoret, and other authors, the misfortunes, real and

sufficient gain, if they restored a daughter, lost beyond all human hope, to the arms of her afflicted parent.

Among the insipid legends of ecclesiastical history, I am tempted to distinguish the memorable fable of the SEVEN SLEEPERS;* whose imaginary date corresponds with the reign of the younger Theodosius, and the conquest of Africa by the Vandals.† When the emperor Decius persecuted the Christians, seven noble youths of Ephesus concealed themselves in a spacious cavern in the side of an adjacent mountain; where they were doomed to perish by the tyrant, who gave orders that the entrance should be firmly secured with a pile of huge stones. They immediately fell into a deep slumber, which was miraculously prolonged, without injuring the powers of life, during a period of one hundred and eighty-seven years. At the end of that time, the slaves of Adolius, to whom the inheritance of the mountain had descended, removed the stones to supply materials for some rustic edifice; the light of the sun darted into the cavern, and the Seven Sleepers were permitted to awake. After a slumber, as they thought, of a few hours, they were pressed by the calls of hunger; and resolved that Jamblichus, one of their number, should secretly return to the city, to purchase bread for the use of his companions. The youth (if we may still employ that appellation) could no longer recognise the once familiar aspect of his native country; and his surprise was increased by the appearance of a large cross, triumphantly erected over the principal gate of Ephesus. His singular dress and obsolete language, con-

fabulous, of the inhabitants of Carthage.
 * The choice of fabulous circumstances is of small importance; yet I have confined myself to the narrative which was translated from the Syriac by the care of Gregory of Tours (*de Gloria Martyrum*, l. 1, c. 95, in *Bibliotheca Patrum*, tom. xi, p. 856), to the Greek acts of their martyrdom (apud Photium, p. 1400, 1401), and to the *Annals of the Patriarch Eutychius* (tom. i, p. 391, 531, 532, 535, vers. Pocock.)
 † Two Syriac writers, as they are quoted by Aecmanni (*Bibliotheca Oriental.* tom. i, p. 236, 355,) place the resurrection of the Seven Sleepers in the years 730 (A.D. 425), or 748 (A.D. 437), of the era of the Seleucides. Their Greek acts, which Photius had read, assign the date of the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Theodosius, which may coincide with A.D. 439, or 440. The period which had elapsed since the persecution of Decius is easily ascertained; and nothing less than the ignorance of Mahomet, or the legends, could suppose an interval of three or four hundred years.

founded the baker, to whom he offered an ancient medal of Decius, as the current coin of the empire; and Jamblichus, on the suspicion of a secret treasure, was dragged before the judge. Their mutual inquiries produced the amazing discovery, that two centuries were almost elapsed since Jamblichus and his friends had escaped from the rage of a Pagan tyrant. The bishop of Ephesus, the clergy, the magistrates, the people, and as it is said, the emperor Theodosius himself, hastened to visit the cavern of the Seven Sleepers; who bestowed their benediction, related their story, and at the same instant peaceably expired. The origin of this marvellous fable cannot be ascribed to the pious fraud and credulity of the *modern* Greeks, since the authentic tradition may be traced within half a century of the supposed miracle. James of Sarug, a Syrian bishop, who was born only two years after the death of the younger Theodosius, has devoted one of his two hundred and thirty homilies, to the praise of the young men of Ephesus.* Their legend, before the end of the sixth century, was translated from the Syriac into the Latin language, by the care of Gregory of Tours. The hostile communions of the east preserve their memory with equal reverence; and their names are honourably inscribed in the Roman, the Abyssinian, and the Russian calendar.† Nor has their reputation been confined to the Christian world. This popular tale, which Mahomet might learn when he drove his camels to the fairs of Syria, is introduced as a divine revelation into the Koran.‡ The story of the Seven

* James, one of the orthodox fathers of the Syrian church, was born A.D. 452: he began to compose his sermons, A.D. 474: he was made bishop of Batnæ, in the district of Sarug and province of Mesopotamia, A.D. 519, and died A.D. 521. (Assemani, tom. i, p. 288, 289.) For the homily *de Pueris Ephesinis*, see p. 335—339, though I could wish that Assemani had translated the text of James of Sarug, instead of answering the objections of Baronius.

† See the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists (Mensis Julii, tom. vi, p. 375—397.) This immense calendar of saints, in one hundred and twenty-six years, (1644—1770) and in fifty volumes in folio, has advanced no farther than the 7th day of October. The suppression of the Jesuits has most probably checked an undertaking which, through the medium of fable and superstition, communicates much historical and philosophical instruction.

‡ See Maracci Alcoran. Sura 18, tom. ii, p. 420—427, and tom. i, part 4, p. 103. With such an ample privilege, Mahomet has not shown much taste or ingenuity. He has invented the dog

Sleepers, has been adopted and adorned by the nations, from Bengal to Africa, who profess the Mahometan religion; and some vestiges of a similar tradition have been discovered in the remote extremities of Scandinavia.† This easy and universal belief, so expressive of the sense of mankind, may be ascribed to the genuine merit of the fable itself. We imperceptibly advance from youth to age without observing the gradual but incessant change of human affairs; and even in our larger experience of history, the imagination is accustomed, by a perpetual series of causes and effects, to unite the most distant revolutions. But if the interval between two memorable eras could be instantly annihilated: if it were possible, after a momentary slumber of two hundred years, to display the *new* world to the eyes of a spectator who still retained a lively and recent impression of the *old*, his surprise and his reflections would furnish the pleasing subject of a philosophical romance. The scene could not be more advantageously placed, than in the two centuries which elapsed between the reigns of Decius and Theodosius the Younger. During this period, the seat of government had been transported from Rome, to a new city on the banks of the Thracian Bosphorus; and the abuse of military spirit had been suppressed by an artificial system of tame and ceremonious servitude. The throne of the persecuting Decius was filled by a succession of Christian and orthodox princes, who had extirpated the fabulous gods of antiquity: and the public devotion of the age was impatient to exalt the saints and martyrs of the Catholic church on the altars of Diana and Hercules. The union of the Roman empire was dissolved: its genius was humbled in the dust; and armies of unknown bar-

(A) Rakim) of the Seven Sleepers; the respect of the sun, who altered his course twice a day, that he might not shine into the cavern; and the care of God himself, who preserved their bodies from putrefaction, by turning them to the right and left. See D'Hérissac, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 139, and Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin. p. 39, 40. † Paul, the deacon of Aquileia (De Gestis Longobardorum, l. 1, c. 4, p. 745, 746. edit. Grot.), who lived towards the end of the eighth century, has placed in a cavern under a rock, on the shore of the ocean, the Seven Sleepers of the north, whose long repose was respected by the barbarians. Their dress declared them to be Romans; and the deacon conjectures, that they were referred by Providence as the future apostles of those unbelieving countries.

barians, issuing from the frozen regions of the north, had established their victorious reign over the fairest provinces of Europe and Africa.

CHAPTER XXXIV.—THE CHARACTER, CONQUESTS, AND COURT OF
ATTILA, KING OF THE HUNS.—DEATH OF THEODOSIUS THE YOUNGER.
—ELEVATION OF MARCIAN TO THE EMPIRE OF THE EAST.

THE western world was oppressed by the Goths and Vandals, who fled before the Huns; but the achievements of the Huns themselves were not adequate to their power and prosperity. Their victorious hordes had spread from the Volga to the Danube; but the public force was exhausted by the discord of independent chieftains; their valour was idly consumed in obscure and predatory excursions; and they often degraded their national dignity by condescending, for the hopes of spoil, to enlist under the banners of their fugitive enemies. In the reign of ATTILA,* the Huns again became the terror of the world; and I shall now describe the character and actions of that formidable barbarian, who alternately insulted and invaded the east and the west, and urged the rapid downfall of the Roman empire.

In the tide of emigration which impetuously rolled from the confines of China to those of Germany, the most powerful and populous tribes may commonly be found on the verge of the Roman provinces. The accumulated weight was sustained for awhile by artificial barriers; and the easy condescension of the emperors invited, without satisfying, the insolent demands of the barbarians, who had

* The authentic materials for the history of Attila may be found in Jornandes (*De Rebus Geticis*, c. 34—50, p. 660—688, edit. Grot.) and Priseus. (*Excerpta de Legationibus*, p. 33—76, Paris, 1648.) I have not seen the lives of Attila, composed by Juvencus Cælius Calanus Dalmatinus, in the twelfth century, or by Nicholas Olahus, archbishop of Gran, in the sixteenth. See Mascon's *History of the Germans*, 9. 23, and Maffei, *Osservazioni Letterarie*, tom. i, p. 88, 89. Whatever the modern Hungarians have added must be fabulous; and they do not seem to have excelled in the art of fiction. They suppose, that when Attila invaded Gaul and Italy, married innumerable wives, &c. he was one hundred and twenty years of age. Thewrocz, *Chron.* p. 1,

acquired an eager appetite for the luxuries of civilized life. The Hungarians, who ambitiously insert the name of Attila among their native kings, may affirm with truth, that the hordes which were subject to his uncle Reas or Rugilas, had formed their encampments within the limits of modern Hungary,* in a fertile country which liberally supplied the wants of a nation of hunters and shepherds. In this advantageous situation, Rugilas and his valiant brothers, who continually added to their power and reputation, commanded the alternative of peace or war with the two empires. His alliance with the Romans of the west was cemented by his personal friendship for the great Ætius, who was always secure of finding, in the barbarian camp, a hospitable reception and a powerful support. At his solicitation, and in the name of John the usurper, sixty thousand Huns advanced to the confines of Italy; their march and their retreat were alike expensive to the state; and the grateful policy of Ætius abandoned the possession of Pannonia to his faithful confederates. The Romans of the east were not less apprehensive of the arms of Rugilas, which threatened the provinces, or even the capital. Some lightning and pestilence;† but Theodosius was reduced to the more humble expedient of stipulating an annual payment of three hundred and fifty pounds of gold, and of disguising this dishonourable tribute by the title of general, which the king of the Huns condescended to accept. The public tranquillity was frequently interrupted by the fierce impatience of the barbarians, and the perfidious intrigues of the Byzantine court. Four dependent nations, among whom we may distinguish the Bavarians, disclaimed the

c. 22, in Script. Hungar. tom. i, p. 76.

* Hungary has been successively occupied by three Scythian colonies. 1. The Huns of Attila, 2. The Abares, in the sixth century; and, 3. The Turks or Magyars, A.D. 889; the immediate and genuine ancestors of the modern Hungarians, whose connection with the two former is extremely distant and remote. The *Proceres* and *Nobles* of Matthew B. live, appear to contain a rich fund of information concerning ancient and modern Hungary. I have seen the extracts in *Bibliothèque Antique et Moderne*, tom. xxii, p. 1-51, and *Bibliothèque Moderne*, tom. xvi, p. 127-175.

† Socrates, l. 7, c. 38. Theodoret, l. 4, c. 38. Tillemont, who always depends on the faith of his ecclesiastical authors, strenuously contends (Hist. des Emp. tom. vi, p. 180. 697) that the wars and personages were not the same.

sovereignty of the Huns; and their revolt was encouraged and protected by a Roman alliance; till the just claims and formidable power of Rugilas were effectually urged by the voice of Eslaw his ambassador. Peace was the unanimous wish of the senate: their decree was ratified by the emperor; and two ambassadors were named, Plinthas, a general of Scythian extraction, but of consular rank, and the quæstor Epigenes, a wise and experienced statesman, who was recommended to that office by his ambitious colleague.

The death of Rugilas suspended the progress of the treaty. His two nephews, Attila and Bleda, who succeeded to the throne of their uncle, consented to a personal interview with the ambassadors of Constantinople; but as they proudly refused to dismount, the business was transacted on horseback, in a spacious plain near the city of Margus, in the Upper Mœsia. The kings of the Huns assumed the solid benefits as well as the vain honours of the negotiation. They dictated the conditions of peace, and each condition was an insult on the majesty of the empire. Besides the freedom of a safe and plentiful market on the banks of the Danube, they required that the annual contribution should be augmented from three hundred and fifty to seven hundred pounds of gold; that a fine or ransom of eight pieces of gold should be paid for every Roman captive who had escaped from his barbarian master; that the emperor should renounce all treaties and engagements with the enemies of the Huns; and that all the fugitives who had taken refuge in the court or provinces of Theodosius, should be delivered to the justice of their offended sovereign. This justice was rigorously inflicted on some unfortunate youths of a royal race. They were crucified on the territories of the empire, by the command of Attila: and, as soon as the king of the Huns had impressed the Romans with the terror of his name, he indulged them in a short and arbitrary respite, whilst he subdued the rebellious, or independent nations of Scythia and Germany.*

Attila, the son of Mundzuk, deduced his noble, perhaps his regal, descent† from the ancient Huns, who had for-

* See Priscus, p. 47, 48, and *Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vii, c. 12—15.

† Priscus, p. 39. The modern Hungarians have

merly contended with the monarchs of China. His features, according to the observation of a Gothic historian, bore the stamp of his national origin; and the portrait of Attila exhibits the genuine deformity of a modern Calmuck;* a large head, a swarthy complexion, small deep-set eyes, a flat nose, a few hairs in the place of a beard, broad shoulders, and a short square body, of nervous strength, though of a disproportioned form. The haughty step and demeanour of the king of the Huns expressed the consciousness of his superiority above the rest of mankind; and he had a custom of fiercely rolling his eyes, as if he wished to enjoy the terror which he inspired. Yet this savage hero was not inaccessible to pity: his suppliant enemies might confide in the assurance of peace or pardon; and Attila was considered by his subjects as a just and indulgent master. He delighted in war; but, after he had ascended the throne in a mature age, his head, rather than his hand, achieved the conquest of the north; and the fame of an adventurous soldier was usefully exchanged for that of a prudent and successful general. The effects of personal valour are so inconsiderable, except in poetry or romance, that victory, even among barbarians, must depend on the degree of skill with which the passions of the multitude are combined and guided for the service of a single man. The Seythian conquerors,† Attila and Zingis, surpassed their rude countrymen in art rather than in courage; and it may be observed, that the monarchies, both of the Huns and of the Moguls, were erected by their founders on the basis of popular superstition. The miraculous conception, which fraud and credulity ascribed to the virgin mother of Zingis, raised him above the level of human deduced his genealogy, which ascends in the thirty-fifth degree, to Ham, the son of Noah; yet they are ignorant of his father's real name. (De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii, p. 227.)

* Compare Jornandes (c. 25, p. 661) with Buffon, *Hist. Naturelle*, tom. iii, p. 350. The former had a right to observe, original figures described from Cassiodorus. [Cassiodorus had, without doubt, copied from Priscus, who accompanied the ambassador, sent from Constantinople to treat with Attila. His opportunities for personal observation give value to his history, of which it is greatly to be regretted that so much is lost. See, on this subject Schmidt, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, vol. i. p. 171.—Ed.]

† The improper use of the term, Seythian, has already been pointed out (p. 169).—Ed.

nature; and the naked prophet, who, in the name of the Deity, invested him with the empire of the earth, pointed the valour of the Moguls with irresistible enthusiasm.* The religious arts of Attila were not less skilfully adapted to the character of his age and country. It was natural enough that the Scythians should adore, with peculiar devotion, the god of war: but as they were incapable of forming either an abstract idea or a corporeal representation, they worshipped their tutelar deity under the symbol of an iron scimitar.† One of the shepherds of the Huns perceived that a heifer, who was grazing, had wounded herself in the foot, and curiously followed the track of the blood till he discovered, among the long grass, the point of an ancient sword, which he dug out of the ground and presented to Attila. That magnanimous, or rather that artful prince accepted with pious gratitude this celestial favour; and, as the rightful possessor of the *sword of Mars*, asserted his divine and indefeasible claim to the dominion of the earth.‡ If the rites of Scythia were practised on this solemn occasion, a lofty altar, or rather pile of fagots, three hundred yards in length and in breadth, was raised in a spacious plain; and the sword of Mars was placed erect on the summit of this rustic altar, which was annually consecrated by the blood of sheep, horses, and of the hundredth captive.§ Whether human sacrifices formed any part of

* Abulpharag. Dynast. vers. Pocock; p. 281. Genealogical History of the Tartars, by Abulghazi Bahadur Khan, part 3, c. 15; part 4, c. 3. Vie de Gengisean, par Petit de la Croix, l. 1, c. 1. 6. The relations of the missionaries, who visited Tartary in the thirteenth century (see the seventh volume of the *Histoire des Voyages*) express the popular language and opinions; Zingis is styled the Son of God, &c. &c.

† Nec templum apud eos visitur, aut delubrum, ne tugurium quidem culmo tectum cerni usquam potest; sed *gladius* barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Martem regionum quas circumcircant presulem verecundius colunt. Ammian. Marcellin. 31. 2, and the learned notes of Lindenbrogius and Valesius.

‡ Priscus relates this remarkable story, both in his own text (p. 65) and in the quotation made by Jornandes (c. 35, p. 662.) He might have explained the tradition or fable which characterized this famous sword, and the name as well as attributes of the Scythian deity whom he has translated into the Mars of the Greeks and Romans.

§ Herodot. l. 4, c. 62. For the sake of economy, I have calculated by the smallest stadium. In the human sacrifices, they cut off the shoulder and arm of the victim, which they threw up into the air, and drew omens and presages from the manner of their falling on the pile.

the worship of Attila, or whether he propitiated the god of war with the victims which he continually offered in the field of battle, the favourite of Mars soon acquired a sacred character, which rendered his conquests more easy and more permanent; and the barbarian princes confessed, in the language of devotion or flattery, that they could not presume to gaze, with a steady eye, on the divine majesty of the king of the Huns.* His brother Bleda, who reigned over a considerable part of the nation, was compelled to resign his sceptre and his life. Yet even this cruel act was attributed to a supernatural impulse; and the vigour with which Attila wielded the sword of Mars, convinced the world that it had been reserved alone for his invincible arm.† But the extent of his empire affords the only remaining evidence of the number and importance of his victories; and the Scythian monarch, however ignorant of the value of science and philosophy, might perhaps lament that his illiterate subjects were destitute of the art which could perpetuate the memory of his exploits.

If a line of separation were drawn between the civilized and the savage climates of the globe; between the inhabitants of cities who cultivated the earth and the hunters and shepherds who dwelt in tents, Attila might aspire to the title of supreme and sole monarch of the barbarians.‡ He alone, among the conquerors of ancient and modern times, united the two mighty kingdoms of Germany and

* Priscus, p. 55. A more civilized hero, Augustus himself, was pleased, if the person on whom he fixed his eyes seemed unable to support their divine lustre. Sueton. in August. c. 79.

† The count de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vii, p. 428, 429) attempts to clear Attila from the murder of his brother, and is almost inclined to reject the concurrent testimony of Jornandes, and the contemporary Chronicles.

‡ *Forti-imarium gentium regna possedit. Jornandes. c. 42, p. 631. Priscus, p. 64, 65. M. de Guignes, by his knowledge of the Chinese, has acquired (tom. ii, p. 295-301) an adequate idea of the empire of Attila. [This "description of the might of Attila," is according to Niebuhr (Lectures, vol. iii, p. 339), "one of Gibbon's weak points." The rude dialect, no doubt ruled wherever he went; but of permanent dominion we can discover no traces beyond the lands from which the Goths had been expelled by the Huns sixty years before. Reports of the plunder obtained in the Roman provinces, reached them there, and excited a desire to share the spoil. To raise an overwhelming host for this*

Scythia; and those vague appellations, when they are applied to his reign, may be understood with an ample latitude. Thuringia, which stretched beyond its actual limits as far as the Danube, was in the number of his provinces; he interposed, with the weight of a powerful neighbour, in the domestic affairs of the Franks; and one of his lieutenants chastised, and almost exterminated, the Burgundians of the Rhine.* He subdued the islands of the ocean, the kingdoms of Scandinavia, encompassed and divided by the waters of the Baltic; and the Huns might derive a tribute of furs from that northern region which has been protected from all other conquerors by the severity of the climate and the courage of the natives. Towards the east, it is difficult to circumscribe the dominion of Attila over the Scythian deserts; yet we may be assured that he reigned on the banks of the Volga; that the king of the Huns was dreaded, not only as a warrior but as a magician;† that he insulted and vanquished the Khan of the formidable Geougen; and that he sent ambassadors to negotiate an equal alliance with the empire of China. In the proud review of the nations who acknowledged the sovereignty of Attila, and who never entertained, during his lifetime, the thought of a revolt, the Gepidæ and the Ostrogoths were distinguished by their numbers, their

purpose, was Attila's object; he induced the German and Sarmatian tribes to range themselves in imposing numbers under his command, and was, therefore, said to have subdued and to be the sovereign of all the nations that thus leagued with him. Gibbon was misled by the now exploded conjectures of M. de Guignes. Schmidt (vol. i. p. 173) though somewhat swayed by the same authority, confessed that there was much of fable in the history of this extraordinary man.—Ed.]

* Who were the Burgundians of the Rhine? The main body of the Burgundians were long ago (p. 474) located permanently in Gaul, and possessed territories more than sufficient for their numbers. In the next chapter we shall find them taking part in the great battle between Ætius and Attila. Many cities and towns along the Rhine were roughly treated by Attila's lieutenants, and it is very possible that some of their inhabitants, designated as *Burgers* or *Burg-wohners* (citizens or burghers), may have been mistaken in the confusion of tongues for a people so called.—Ed.

† See Hist. des Huns, tom. ii, p. 296. The Geougen believed, that the Huns could excite, at pleasure, storms of wind and rain. This phenomenon was produced by the stone *gezi*; to whose magic power the loss of a battle was ascribed by the Mahometan Tartars of the fourteenth-century. See Cherefeddin Ali, Hist. de Timur Bec, tom. i, p. 82, 83.

bravery, and the personal merit of their chiefs. The renowned Ardaric, king of the Gepidæ, was the faithful and sagacious counsellor of the monarch, who esteemed his intrepid genius, whilst he loved the mild and discreet virtues of the noble Walamir, king of the Ostrogoths. The crowd of vulgar kings, the leaders of so many martial tribes who served under the standard of Attila, were ranged in the submissive order of guards and domestics, round the person of their master. They watched his nod; they trembled at his frown; and at the first signal of his will they executed, without murmur or hesitation, his stern and absolute commands. In time of peace the dependent princes, with their national troops, attended the royal camp in regular succession; but when Attila collected his military force, he was able to bring into the field an army of five, or, according to another account, of seven hundred thousand barbarians.*

The ambassadors of the Huns might awaken the attention of Theodosius, by reminding him that they were his neighbours, both in Europe and Asia; since they touched the Danube on one hand, and reached with the other as far as the Tanais. In the reign of his father Arcadius, a band of adventurous Huns had ravaged the provinces of the east; from whence they brought away rich spoils and innumerable captives.† They advanced, by a

* Jornandes, c. 35, p. 661; c. 37, p. 667. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. vi, p. 129, 133. Cornille has represented the pride of Attila to his subject kings; and his tragedy opens with these two ridiculous lines:

*Ils ne sont pas venus, nos deux rois ! qu'on leur dise
Qu'ils se font trop attendre, et qu'Attila s'ennuie.*

The two kings of the Gepidæ and the Ostrogoths are profound politicians and sentimental lovers; and the whole piece exhibits the defects, without the genius, of the poet. [Adapting the costume to the language, they of course declaimed their sentimentalities in powdered full-bottomed wigs and court-dresses.—Ed.]

† *alii per Caspia claustra
Armeniasque nives, inopino tramite ducti
Invadunt Orientis opes : jam pascua fumant
Cappadocum, volucrumque parens Argæus equorum.
Jam rubet altus Halys, nec se defendit iniquo
Monte Cilix ; Syriæ tractus vastantur amani;
Assuetumque choris et latâ plebe canorum
Proterit imbellem equipes hostilis Orientem.*

Claudian, in *Rufin.* l. 2. 25-34.

secret path, along the shores of the Caspian sea; traversed the snowy mountains of Armenia; passed the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Halys; recruited their weary cavalry with the generous breed of Cappadocian horses: occupied the hilly country of Cilicia, and disturbed the festal songs and dances of the citizens of Antioch. Egypt trembled at their approach; and the monks and pilgrims of the Holy Land prepared to escape their fury by a speedy embarkation. The memory of this invasion was still recent in the minds of the orientals. The subjects of Attila might execute, with superior forces, the design which these adventurers had so boldly attempted; and it soon became the subject of anxious conjecture whether the tempest would fall on the dominions of Rome or of Persia. Some of the great vassals of the king of the Huns, who were themselves in the rank of powerful princes, had been sent to ratify an alliance and society of arms with the emperor, or rather with the general, of the west. They related, during their residence at Rome, the circumstances of an expedition which they had lately made into the east. After passing a desert and a morass, supposed by the Romans to be the lake Mæotis, they penetrated through the mountains, and arrived, at the end of fifteen days' march, on the confines of Media; where they advanced as far as the unknown cities of Basic and Cursic.* They encountered the Persian army in the plains of Media; and the air, according to their own expression, was darkened by a cloud of arrows.

See likewise in Eutrop. l. 1, 243—251, and the strong description of Jerome, who wrote from his feelings, tom. i, p. 26, ad Heliodor., p. 220, ad Ocean. Philostorgius (l. 9, c. 8) mentions this irruption.

* Dean Milman accuses Gibbon here of having mistaken two commanders of the Huns for two "unknown cities." The passage in Priscus is equivocal, and may mean either that "the leaders of the Huns entered Media as far as Basic and Cursic," or that "Basic and Cursic, the leaders of the Huns, entered far into Media." The whole narrative, however, bears a stamp which renders it unworthy of a place in genuine history. Related to Priscus by some one who had brought it from Rome, it was probably no more than a piece of rhodomontade, uttered there in an ill-understood dialect, by some braggart Hun who wanted to impress his hearers with a great idea of his nation's power, and to this end magnified some petty feat of brigandage. Claudian's lies, too, are a poetical embellishment of some marauding expedition which transiently and locally afflicted the east, not a record of systematic and extensive

But the Huns were obliged to retire before the numbers of the enemy. Their laborious retreat was effected by a different road; they lost the greatest part of their booty; and at length returned to the royal camp, with some knowledge of the country, and an impatient desire of revenge. In the free conversation of the imperial ambassadors who discussed at the court of Attila the character and designs of their formidable enemy, the ministers of Constantinople expressed their hope that his strength might be diverted and employed in a long and doubtful contest with the princes of the house of Sassan. The more sagacious Italians admonished their eastern brethren of the folly and danger of such a hope, and convinced them *that* the Medes and Persians were incapable of resisting the arms of the Huns; and *that* the easy and important acquisition would exalt the pride as well as power of the conqueror. Instead of contenting himself with a moderate contribution, and a military title, which equalled him only to the generals of Theodosius, Attila would proceed to impose a disgraceful and intolerable yoke on the necks of the prostrate and captive Romans, who would then be encompassed on all sides by the empire of the Huns.*

While the powers of Europe and Asia were solicitous to avert the impending danger, the alliance of Attila maintained the Vandals in the possession of Africa. An enterprise had been concerted between the courts of Ravenna and Constantinople, for the recovery of that valuable province; and the ports of Sicily were already filled with the military and naval forces of Theodosius. But the subtle Genseric, who spread his negotiations round the world, prevented their designs, by exciting the king of the Huns to invade the eastern empire; and a trifling incident soon became the motive, or pretence, of a destructive war.† Under

warfare.—Ed.

p. 64, 65.

* See the original conversation in Priscus, p. 331. His history contained a copious and elegant account of the war (Evagrius, l. 1, c. 17), but the extracts which relate to the embassies are the only parts that have reached our times.

† The original work was accessible, however, to the writers, from whom we borrow our imperfect knowledge, Jornandes, Theophrastus, count Marcellinus, Prosper-Tyro, and the author of the Alexandrian or Paschal Chronicle. M. de Buat (Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vii, c. 15) has examined the cause, the circumstances, and the duration, of this war; and will not allow it to extend beyond the year 444.

the faith of the treaty of Margus, a free market was held on the northern side of the Danube, which was protected by a Roman fortress, surnamed Constantia. A troop of barbarians violated the commercial security; killed or dispersed the unsuspecting traders; and levelled the fortress with the ground. The Huns justified this outrage as an act of reprisal; alleged that the bishop of Margus had entered their territories, to discover and steal a secret treasure of their kings; and sternly demanded the guilty prelate, the sacrilegious spoil, and the fugitive subjects, who had escaped from the justice of Attila. The refusal of the Byzantine court was the signal of war; and the Mœsians at first applauded the generous firmness of their sovereign. But they were soon intimidated by the destruction of Viminia-cum and the adjacent towns; and the people was persuaded to adopt the convenient maxim, that a private citizen, however innocent or respectable, may be justly sacrificed to the safety of his country. The bishop of Margus, who did not possess the spirit of a martyr, resolved to prevent the designs which he suspected. He boldly treated with the princes of the Huns; secured, by solemn oaths, his pardon and reward; posted a numerous detachment of barbarians in silent ambush, on the banks of the Danube; and, at the appointed hour, opened, with his own hand, the gates of his episcopal city. This advantage, which had been obtained by treachery, served as a prelude to more honourable and decisive victories. The Illyrian frontier was covered by a line of castles and fortresses; and though the greatest part of them consisted only of a single tower, with a small garrison, they were commonly sufficient to repel, or to intercept, the inroads of an enemy, who was ignorant of the art, and impatient of the delay, of a regular siege. But these slight obstacles were instantly swept away by the inundation of the Huns.* They destroyed, with fire and sword, the populous cities of Sirmium and Singidunum, of Ratiaria and Marcianopolis, of Naissus and Sardica; where every circumstance, of the discipline of the people and the construction of the buildings, had been gradually adapted to the sole purpose of defence. The

* Procopius, de Edificiis, l. 4, c. 5. These fortresses were afterwards restored, strengthened, and enlarged by the emperor Justinian; but they were soon destroyed by the Abares, who succeeded to the power and possessions of the Huns. (The Huns surpassed all other

whole breadth of Europe, as it extends above five hundred miles from the Euxine to the Hadriatic, was at once invaded, and occupied, and desolated, by the myriads of barbarians whom Attila led into the field. The public danger and distress could not, however, provoke Theodosius to interrupt his amusements and devotion, or to appear in person at the head of the Roman legions. But the troops which had been sent against Genseric, were hastily recalled from Sicily; the garrisons on the side of Persia, were exhausted; and a military force was collected in Europe, formidable by their arms and numbers, if the generals had understood the science of command, and their soldiers the duty of obedience. The armies of the eastern empire were vanquished in three successive engagements; and the progress of Attila may be traced by the fields of battle. The two former on the banks of the Utus, and under the walls of Marcianopolis, were fought in the extensive plains between the Danube and mount Hæmus. As the Romans were pressed by a victorious enemy, they gradually, and unskilfully, retired towards the Chersonesus of Thrace; and that narrow peninsula, the last extremity of the land, was marked by their third and irreparable defeat. By the destruction of this army, Attila acquired the indisputable possession of the field. From the Hellespont to Thermopylae, and the suburbs of Constantinople, he ravaged, without resistance and without mercy, the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia. Heracles and Hadrianople might perhaps escape this dreadful irruption of the Huns; but the words the most expressive of total extirpation and erasure, are applied to the calamities which they inflicted on seventy cities of the eastern empire. * Theodosius, his court, and the unwarlike people, were protected by the walls of Constantinople; but those walls had barbarians in the art of conquering fortified places. See Schmidt vol. i. c. 11, p. 171).—Ed.]

civitates (says Prosper-Tyro) *degradatione vastate*. The language of count Marcellinus is still more forcible. *Pene totam Europam, invasis crebrisque civitatibus atque castellis, exarsit*. ["The Huns carried on their warfare with a frightful and blood-shedding havoc, quite different from the Goths; they were in the true sense of the word, destroyers." (Niebuhr, vol. iii, p. 839.) This affords another proof, that plunder and not empire was their motive. Adeling, in his *Mithridate* (vol. i. p. 449) classes them with the Mongols or Kalmucks, of whom he remarks, that it was their characteristic, to conquer and by waste, not to fix themselves in the territories which they acquired, or else

been shaken by a recent earthquake, and the fall of fifty-eight towers had opened a large and tremendous breach. The damage indeed was speedily repaired; but this accident was aggravated by a superstitious fear, that Heaven itself had delivered the imperial city to the shepherds of Scythia, who were strangers to the laws, the language, and the religion, of the Romans.*

In all their invasions of the civilized empires of the south, the Scythian shepherds have been uniformly actuated by a savage and destructive spirit. The laws of war, that restrain the exercise of national rapine and murder, are founded on two principles of substantial interest—the knowledge of the permanent benefits which may be obtained by a moderate use of conquest; and a just apprehension, lest the desolation which we inflict on the enemy's country, may be retaliated on our own. But these considerations of hope and fear are almost unknown in the pastoral state of nations. The Huns of Attila may, without injustice, be compared to the Moguls and Tartars, before their primitive manners were changed by religion and luxury; and the evidence of oriental history may reflect some light on the short and imperfect annals of Rome. After the Moguls had subdued the northern provinces of China, it was seriously proposed, not in the hour of victory and passion, but in calm deliberate council, to exterminate all the inhabitants of that populous country, that the vacant land might be converted to the pasture of cattle. The firmness of a Chinese mandarin,† who insinuated some principles of rational policy into the mind of Zingis, diverted him from the execution of this horrid design. But in the cities of Asia, which yielded to the Moguls, the inhu-

blish any regular dominion.—ED.]

* Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. vi, p. 106, 107,) has paid great attention to this memorable earthquake; which was felt as far from Constantinople as Antioch and Alexandria, and is celebrated by all the ecclesiastical writers. In the hands of a popular preacher, an earthquake is an engine of admirable effect.

† He represented to the emperor of the Moguls, that the four provinces (Petcheli, Chantong, Chansi, and Leaotong) which he already possessed, might annually produce, under a mild administration, five hundred thousand ounces of silver, four hundred thousand measures of rice, and eight hundred thousand pieces of silk. Gaubil, *Hist. de la Dynastie des Mongous*, p. 58, 59. Velutchousay (such was the name of the mandarin) was a wise and virtuous minister, who saved his country, and civilized the conquerors.

man abuse of the rights of war was exercised with a regular form of discipline, which may, with equal reason, though not with equal authority, be imputed to the victorious Huns. The inhabitants, who had submitted to their discretion, were ordered to evacuate their houses, and to assemble in some plain adjacent to the city; where a division was made of the vanquished into three parts. The first class consisted of the soldiers of the garrison, and of the young men capable of bearing arms; and their fate was instantly decided: they were either enlisted among the Moguls, or they were massacred on the spot by the troops, who, with pointed spears and bended bows, had formed a circle round the captive multitude. The second class, composed of young and beautiful women, of the artificers of every rank and profession, and of the more wealthy or honourable citizens, from whom a private ransom might be expected, was distributed in equal or proportionable lots. The remainder, whose life or death was alike useless to the conquerors, were permitted to return to the city; which in the meanwhile, had been stripped of its valuable furniture; and a tax was imposed on those wretched inhabitants for the indulgence of breathing their native air. Such was the behaviour of the Moguls, when they were not conscious of any extraordinary rigour. But the most casual provocation, the slightest motive of caprice or convenience, often provoked them to involve a whole people in an indiscriminate massacre: and the ruin of some flourishing cities was executed with such unrelenting perseverance, that, according to their own expression, bones might run without stumbling over the ground where they had once stood. The three great capitals of Khorasan, Maru, Neisabour, and Herat, were destroyed by the arms of Zingis; and the exact account, which was taken of the slain, amounted to four millions three hundred and forty-seven thousand persons.† Timur, or Tamerlane, was ed-
 • Particular instances would be endless; but the curious reader may consult the life of Gengiscan, by Petit de La Croix, the *Histoire des Mongous*, and the fifteenth book of the History of the Huns.

† At Maru, one million three hundred thousand; at Herat, one million six hundred thousand; at Neisabour, one million seven hundred and forty-seven thousand. D'Hertefort, *Biblioth. p. orientale*, p. 380, 381. I use the orthography of D'Anville's maps. It may, however, be allowed that the Persians were disposed to exaggerate their losses, and the Moguls to magnify their captivities.

cated in a less barbarous age, and in the profession of the Mahometan religion: yet, if Attila equalled the hostile ravages of Tamerlane,* either the Tartar or the Hun might deserve the epithet of the SCOURGE OF GOD.†

It may be affirmed with bolder assurance, that the Huns depopulated the provinces of the empire, by the number of Roman subjects whom they led away into captivity. In the hands of a wise legislator, such an industrious colony might have contributed to diffuse, through the deserts of Scythia, the rudiments of the useful and ornamental arts: but these captives, who had been taken in war, were accidentally dispersed among the hordes that obeyed the empire of Attila. The estimate of their respective value was formed by the simple judgment of unenlightened and unprejudiced barbarians. Perhaps they might not understand the merit of a theologian, profoundly skilled in the controversies of the Trinity and the Incarnation; yet they respected the ministers of every religion; and the active zeal of the Christian missionaries, without approaching the person, or the palace, of the monarch, successfully laboured in the propagation of the gospel.‡ The pastoral tribes, who were ignorant of the distinction of landed property, must have disregarded the use, as well as the abuse, of civil jurisprudence; and the skill of an eloquent lawyer could excite only their contempt, or their abhorrence.§ The perpetual intercourse of the Huns

* Cherefeddin Ali, his servile panegyrist, would afford us many horrid examples. In his camp before Delhi, Timur massacred one hundred thousand Indian prisoners, who had *smiled* when the army of their countrymen appeared in sight. (Hist. de Timur Bee, tom. iii, p. 90.) The people of Ispahan supplied seventy thousand human skulls for the structure of several lofty towers. (Id. tom. i, p. 434.) A similar tax was levied on the revolt of Bagdad (tom. iii, p. 370); and the exact account, which Cherefeddin was not able to procure from the proper officers, is stated by another historian (Ahmed Arabsiada, tom. ii, p. 175, vers. Manger) at ninety thousand heads.

† The ancients, Jornandes, Priscus, &c. are ignorant of this epithet. The modern Hungarians have imagined, that it was applied, by a hermit of Gaul, to Attila, who was pleased to insert it among the titles of his royal dignity. Mascou, 9. 23, and Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vi, p. 143.

‡ The missionaries of St. Chrysostom had converted great numbers of the Scythians, who dwelt beyond the Danube, in tents and wagons. Theodoret, l. 5, c. 31. Photius, p. 1517. The Mahometans, the Nestorians, and the Latin Christians, thought themselves secure of gaining the sons and grandsons of Zingis, who treated the rival missionaries with impartial favour.

§ The Germans, who exterminated Varus and his legions, had been

and the Goths had communicated the familiar knowledge of the two national dialects; and the barbarians were ambitious of conversing in Latin, the military idiom, even of the eastern empire.* But they disdained the language and the sciences of the Greeks; and the vain sophist, or grave philosopher, who had enjoyed the flattering applause of the schools, was mortified to find that his robust servant was a captive of more value and importance than himself. The mechanic arts were encouraged and esteemed, as they tended to satisfy the wants of the Huns. An architect, in the service of Onegesius, one of the favourites of Attila, was employed to construct a bath; but this work was a rare example of private luxury; and the trades of the smith, the carpenter, the armourer, were much more adapted to supply the wandering people with the useful instruments of peace and war. But the merit of the physician was received with universal favour and respect; the barbarians, who despised death, might be apprehensive of disease: and the haughty conqueror trembled in the presence of a captive, to whom he ascribed, perhaps, an imaginary power, of prolonging or preserving his life.† The Huns might be provoked to insult the misery of their slaves, over whom they exercised a des-

particularly offended with the Roman laws and lawyers. One of the barbarians, after the effectual precautions of cutting out the tongue of an advocate, and sewing up his mouth, observed, with much satisfaction, that the viper could no longer hiss. *Florus*, 4. 12.

* *Priscus*, p. 59. It should seem that the Huns preferred the Gothic and Latin languages to their own; which was probably a harsh and barren idiom. [*Adelung* (*Mithridates*, vol. i. p. 449) makes the original language of the Huns to be a Mongol or Kalmuck dialect. From the time of their arrival in Europe, but more decidedly after the death of Attila, his people underwent changes and modifications, which in some measure assimilated them to the Goths with whom they were in frequent intercourse. Almost without laws of their own, they borrowed those of their neighbours, and to these their customs, tribes conformed, as they successively arrived and joined them, till in the tenth century they founded the Kingdom of Hungary. *Mr. Hallam* (Europe during the Middle Ages, ii. 147) remarks, that "their system of government was in a great measure analogous to the Gothic," and *Mr. Blackwell*, in *Bohn's edition of Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, indicates many points of resemblance. See p. 41. 278. 286, &c.—*Ed.*]

† *Philip de Comines*, in his admirable picture of the last moments of Louis XI. (*Mémoires*, l. 6, c. 12.) represents the insolence of his physician, who, in five months, extorted fifty-four thousand crowns, and a rich bishopric, from the stern avaricious tyrant.

potic command;* but their manners were not susceptible of a refined system of oppression; and the efforts of courage and diligence were often recompensed by the gift of freedom. The historian Priscus, whose embassy is a source of curious instruction, was accosted, in the camp of Attila, by a stranger, who saluted him in the Greek language, but whose dress and figure displayed the appearance of a wealthy Scythian. In the siege of Viminacum, he had lost, according to his own account, his fortune and liberty: he became the slave of Onegesius; but his faithful services, against the Romans and the Acatzires, had gradually raised him to the rank of the native Huns; to whom he was attached by the domestic pledges of a new wife and several children. The spoils of war had restored and improved his private property; he was admitted to the table of his former lord; and the apostate Greek blessed the hour of his captivity, since it had been the introduction to a happy and independent state; which he held by the honourable tenure of military service. This reflection naturally produced a dispute on the advantages and defects of the Roman government, which was severely arraigned by the apostate, and defended by Priscus in a prolix and feeble declamation. The freedman of Onegesius exposed, in true and lively colours, the vices of a declining empire, of which he had so long been the victim; the cruel absurdity of the Roman princes, unable to protect their subjects against the public enemy, unwilling to trust them with arms for their own defence; the intolerable weight of taxes rendered still more oppressive by the intricate or arbitrary modes of collection; the obscurity of numerous and contradictory laws; the tedious and expensive forms of judicial proceedings; the partial administration of justice; and the universal corruption, which increased the influence of the rich, and aggravated the misfortunes of the poor. A sentiment of patriotic sympathy was at length revived in the breast of the fortunate exile; and he lamented, with a flood of tears,

* Priscus (p. 61) extols the equity of the Roman laws, which protected the life of a slave. *Occidere solent* (says Tacitus of the Germans) *non disciplinâ et severitate, sed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, nisi quòd impune. De Moribus Germ. c. 25.* The Heruli, who were the subjects of Attila, claimed, and exercised, the power of life and death over their slaves. See a remarkable instance in the second book of Agathias.

the guilt or weakness of those magistrates, who had perverted the wisest and most salutary institutions.*

The timid or selfish policy of the western Romans had abandoned the eastern empire to the Huns.† The loss of armies, and the want of discipline or virtue were not supplied by the personal character of the monarch. Theodosius might still affect the style, as well as the title, of *Invincible Augustus*; but he was reduced to solicit the clemency of Attila, who imperiously dictated these harsh and humiliating conditions of peace. I. The emperor of the east resigned, by an express or tacit convention, an extensive and important territory, which stretched along the southern banks of the Danube, from Singidnum or Belgrade, as far as Novæ, in the diocese of Thrace. The breadth was defined by the vague computation of fifteen days' journey; but from the proposal of Attila, to remove the situation of the national market, it soon appeared, that he comprehended the ruined city of Naissus within the limits of his dominions. II. The king of the Huns required, and obtained, that his tribute or subsidy should be augmented from seven hundred pounds of gold to the annual sum of two thousand one hundred; and he stipulated the immediate payment of six thousand pounds of gold to defray the expenses, or to expiate the guilt, of the war. One might imagine, that such a demand, which scarcely equalled the measure of private wealth, would have been readily discharged by the opulent empire of the east; and the public distress affords a remarkable proof of the impoverished, or at least of the disorderly, state of the finances. A large proportion of the taxes, extorted from the people, was detained and intercepted in their passage, through the foulest channels, to the treasury of Constantinople. The revenue was dissipated by Theodosius and his favourites, in wasteful and profuse luxury; which was disguised by the names of imperial magnificence, or Christian charity. The immediate supplies had been exhausted by the unforeseen necessity of military preparations. A personal contribution, rigorously, but capriciously, imposed on the members of the senatorian order, was the only expedient

* See the whole conversation in Priapus, p. 59—62.

† Nova iterum Orienti surgit ruina . . . quæ nulla ab Occidentibus ferrentur auxilia. Prosper-Tyro composed his Chronicle in the west; and his observation implies a censure.

that could disarm, without loss of time, the impatient avarice of Attila: and the poverty of the nobles compelled them to adopt the scandalous resource of exposing to public auction the jewels of their wives, and the hereditary ornaments of their palaces.* III. The king of the Huns appears to have established, as a principle of national jurisprudence, that he could never lose the property which he had once acquired, in the persons who had yielded either a voluntary or reluctant submission to his authority. From this principle he concluded, and the conclusions of Attila were irrevocable laws, that the Huns who had been taken prisoners in war, should be released without delay, and without ransom; that every Roman captive, who had presumed to escape, should purchase his right to freedom at the price of twelve pieces of gold: and that all the barbarians, who had deserted the standard of Attila, should be restored, without any promise or stipulation of pardon. In the execution of this cruel and ignominious treaty, the imperial officers were forced to massacre several loyal and noble deserters, who refused to devote themselves to certain death; and the Romans forfeited all reasonable claims to the friendship of any Scythian people, by this public confession, that they were destitute either of faith or power, to protect the suppliant who had embraced the throne of Theodosius.†

The firmness of a single town, so obscure, that, except on this occasion, it has never been mentioned by any historian or geographer, exposed the disgrace of the emperor and empire. Azimus, or Azimuntium, a small city of Thrace on the Illyrian borders,‡ had been distinguished by the

* According to the description, or rather invective, of Chrysostom, an auction of Byzantine luxury must have been very productive. Every wealthy house possessed a semi-circular table of massy silver, such as two men could scarcely lift, a vase of solid gold of the weight of forty pounds, cups, dishes of the same metal, &c.

† The articles of the treaty, expressed without much order or precision, may be found in Priscus (p. 34—37, 53, &c.) Count Marcellinus dispenses some comfort, by observing, 1st, *That* Attila himself solicited the peace and presents, which he had formerly refused: and, 2dly, *That*, about the same time, the ambassadors of India presented a fine large tame tiger to the emperor Theodosius.

‡ Priscus, p. 35, 36. Among the hundred and eighty-two forts or castles of Thrace, enumerated by Procopius, (de Edificiis, l. 4, c. 11, tom. ii, p. 92, edit. Paris), there is one of the name of *Esimontou*, whose position is doubtfully marked in the neighbourhood of Anchi-

martial spirit of its youth, the skill and reputation of the leaders whom they had chosen, and their daring exploits against the innumerable host of the barbarians. Instead of tamely expecting their approach, the Azimuntines attacked, in frequent and successful sallies, the troops of the Huns, who gradually declined the dangerous neighbourhood; rescued from their hands the spoil and the captives, and recruited their domestic force by the voluntary association of fugitives and deserters. After the conclusion of the treaty, Attila still menaced the empire with implacable war, unless the Azimuntines were persuaded or compelled to comply with the conditions which their sovereign had accepted. The ministers of Theodosius confessed with shame and with truth, that they no longer possessed any authority over a society of men, who so bravely asserted their natural independence; and the king of the Huns condescended to negotiate an equal exchange with the citizens of Azimus. They demanded the restitution of some shepherds, who, with their cattle, had been accidentally surprised. A strict, though fruitless, inquiry was allowed: but the Huns were obliged to swear, that they did not detain any prisoners belonging to the city, before they could recover two surviving countrymen, whom the Azimuntines had reserved as pledges for the safety of their lost companions. Attila, on his side, was satisfied, and deceived, by their solemn asseveration, that the rest of the captives had been put to the sword; and that it was their constant practice, immediately to dismiss the Romans and the deserters, who had obtained the security of the public faith. This prudent and officious dissimulation may be condemned or excused by the casuists as they incline to the rigid decree of St. Augustine, or to the milder sentiment of St. Jerome and St. Chrysostom: but every soldier, every statesman, must acknowledge, that if the race of the Azimuntines had been encouraged and multiplied, the barbarians would have ceased to trample on the majesty of the empire.*

The name and walls of Azimuntium might subsist till the reign of Justinian; but the race of its brave defenders had been carefully extirpated by the jealousy of the Roman princes. The peevish dispute of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, who laboured by different expedients, to reconcile the seeming quarrel of the two apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, depends on the solution of an im-

It would have been strange, indeed, if Theodosius had purchased, by the loss of honour, a secure and solid tranquillity; or if his tameness had not invited the repetition of injuries. The Byzantine court was insulted by five or six successive embassies;* and the ministers of Attila were uniformly instructed to press the tardy or imperfect execution of the last treaty; to produce the names of fugitives and deserters, who were still protected by the empire; and to declare, with seeming moderation, that unless their sovereign obtained complete and immediate satisfaction, it would be impossible for him, were it even his wish, to check the resentment of his warlike tribes. Besides the motives of pride and interest which might prompt the king of the Huns to continue this train of negotiation, he was influenced by the less honourable view of enriching his favourites at the expense of his enemies. The imperial treasury was exhausted to procure the friendly offices of the ambassadors, and their principal attendants, whose favourable report might conduce to the maintenance of peace. The barbarian monarch was flattered by the liberal reception of his ministers: he computed with pleasure the value and splendour of their gifts, rigorously exacted the performance of every promise which would contribute to their private emolument, and treated, as an important business of state, the marriage of his secretary Constantius.† That Gallic adventurer, who was recommended by Ætius to the king of the Huns, had engaged his service to the ministers of Constantinople, for the stipulated reward of a wealthy and noble wife; and the daughter of count Saturninus was chosen to discharge the obligations of her country. The reluctance of the victim, some domestic

portant question, (Middleton's Works, vol. ii, p. 5—10,) which has been frequently agitated by Catholic and Protestant divines, and even by lawyers and philosophers of every age.

* Montesquieu (*Considerations sur la Grandeur, &c.*, c. 19) has delineated, with a bold and easy pencil, some of the most striking circumstances of the pride of Attila, and the disgrace of the Romans. He deserves the praise of having read the fragments of Priscus, which have been too much disregarded.

† See Priscus, p. 69. 71, 72, &c. I would fain believe that this adventurer was afterwards crucified by the order of Attila, on a suspicion of treasonable practices; but Priscus (p. 57) has too plainly distinguished *two* persons of the name of Constantius, who, from the similar events of their lives, might have been easily con-

troubles, and the unjust confiscation of her fortune, cooled the ardour of her interested lover; but he still demanded, in the name of Attila, an equivalent alliance; and, after many ambiguous delays and excuses, the Byzantine court was compelled to sacrifice to this insolent stranger the widow of Armatius, whose birth, opulence, and beauty placed her in the most illustrious and oppressive embassies. Attila claimed a suitable return; he weighed, with suspicious pride, the character and station of the imperial envoys; but he condescended to promise, that he would advance as far as Sardica, to receive any ministers who had been invested with the consular dignity. The council of Theodosius eluded this proposal by representing the desolate and ruined condition of Sardica; and even ventured to insinuate, that every officer of the army or household was qualified to treat with the most powerful princes of Scythia. Maximin,* a respectable courtier, whose abilities had been long exercised in civil and military employments, accepted with reluctance the troublesome, and perhaps dangerous, commission of reconciling the angry spirit of the king of the Huns. His friend, the historian Priscus,† embraced the opportunity of observing the barbarian hero in the peaceful and domestic scenes of life; but the secret of the embassy, a fatal and guilty secret, was intrusted only to the interpreter Vigilius. The two last ambassadors of the Huns, Orestes, a noble subject of the Pannonian province, and Edecon, a valiant chieftain of the tribe of the Seyrri, returned at the same time from Constantinople to the royal camp. Their obscure names were

* In the Persian treaty concluded in the year 429, the wise and eloquent Maximin had been the ambassador of Artabarius. (Socrates, l. 7. c. 29.) When Marcian ascended the throne, the office of great chamberlain was bestowed on Maximin, who is ranked, in the public edict, among the four principal ministers of state. (Novellæ de Cod. Theod. p. 31.) He executed a civil and military commission in the eastern provinces; and his death was lamented by the savage of Ethiopia, whose incursions he had repressed. See Priscus, p. 49, 41.

† Priscus was a native of Panium, and derived, by his eloquence, an honourable place among the sophists of the age. His Byzantine history, which related to his own times, was composed in seven books. See Fabricius, Biblioth. Græc. tom. vi. p. 228, 231. Notwithstanding the charitable judgment of the critics, I suspect that Priscus was a Pagan.

afterwards illustrated by the extraordinary fortune and the contrast of their sons; the two servants of Attila became the fathers of the last Roman emperor of the west and of the first barbarian king of Italy.

The ambassadors, who were followed by a numerous train of men and horses, made their first halt at Sardica, at the distance of three hundred and fifty miles, or thirteen days' journey from Constantinople. As the remains of Sardica were still included within the limits of the empire, it was incumbent on the Romans to exercise the duties of hospitality. They provided, with the assistance of the provincials, a sufficient number of sheep and oxen; and invited the Huns to a splendid, or at least a plentiful supper. But the harmony of the entertainment was soon disturbed by mutual prejudice and indiscretion. The greatness of the emperor and the empire, was warmly maintained by their ministers; the Huns with equal ardour asserted the superiority of their victorious monarch: the dispute was inflamed by the rash and unseasonable flattery of Vigilius, who passionately rejected the comparison of a mere mortal with the divine Theodosius; and it was with extreme difficulty, that Maximin and Priscus were able to divert the conversation, or to soothe the angry minds of the barbarians. When they rose from table, the imperial ambassador presented Edecon and Orestes with rich gifts of silk robes and Indian pearls, which they thankfully accepted. Yet Orestes could not forbear insinuating, that *he* had not always been treated with such respect and liberality; and the offensive distinction which was implied, between his civil office and the hereditary rank of his colleague, seems to have made Edecon a doubtful friend, and Orestes an irreconcilable enemy. After this entertainment, they travelled about one hundred miles from Sardica to Naissus. That flourishing city, which had given birth to the great Constantine, was levelled with the ground; the inhabitants were destroyed or dispersed; and the appearance of some sick persons, who were still permitted to exist among the ruins of the churches, served only to increase the horror of the prospect. The surface of the country was covered with the bones of the slain; and the ambassadors, who directed their course to the north-west, were obliged to pass the hills of modern Servia, before they descended into the

flat and marshy grounds, which are terminated by the Danube. The Huns were masters of the great river; their navigation was performed in large canoes, hollowed out of the trunk of a single tree; the ministers of Theodosius were safely landed on the opposite bank; and their barbarian associates immediately hastened to the camp of Attila, which was equally prepared for the amusements of hunting or of war. No sooner had Maximin advanced about two miles from the Danube, than he began to experience the fastidious insolence of the conqueror. He was sternly forbid to pitch his tents in a pleasant valley, lest he should infringe the distant awe that was due to the royal mansion. The ministers of Attila pressed him to communicate the business, and the instructions, which he reserved for the ear of their sovereign. When Maximin temperately urged the contrary practice of nations, he was still more confidently, those secrets (says Priscus) which should not be revealed to the gods themselves, had been treacherously disclosed to the public enemy. On his refusal to comply with such ignominious terms, the imperial envoy was commanded instantly to depart; the order was recalled; it was again repeated; and the Huns renewed their ineffectual attempts to subdue the patient firmness of Maximin. At length, by the intercession of Scotta, the brother of Onegesius, whose friendship had been purchased by a liberal gift, he was admitted to the royal presence; but instead of obtaining a decisive answer, he was compelled to undertake a remote journey towards the north, that Attila might enjoy the proud satisfaction of receiving, in the same camp, the ambassadors of the eastern and western empires. His journey was regulated by the guides, who obliged him to halt, to hasten his march, or to deviate from the common road, as it best suited the convenience of the king. The Romans who traversed the plains of Hungary, suppose that they passed several navigable rivers, either in canoes or portable boats; but there is reason to suspect, that the winding stream of the Teyes, or Tibiscus, might present itself in different places, under different names. From the contiguous villages they received a plentiful and regular supply of provisions; mead instead of wine, millet in the place of bread, and a certain liquor named *camas*, which

according to the report of Priscus, was distilled from barley.* Such fare might appear coarse and indelicate to men who had tasted the luxury of Constantinople: but in their accidental distress, they were relieved by the gentleness and hospitality of the same barbarians, so terrible and so merciless in war. The ambassadors had encamped on the edge of a large morass. A violent tempest of wind and rain, of thunder and lightning, overturned their tents, immersed their baggage and furniture in the water, and scattered their retinue, who wandered in the darkness of the night, uncertain of their road, and apprehensive of some unknown danger, till they awakened by their cries the inhabitants of a neighbouring village, the property of the widow of Bleda. A bright illumination, and in a few moments a comfortable fire of reeds, was kindled by their officious benevolence: the wants, and even the desires of the Romans, were liberally satisfied; and they seem to have been embarrassed by the singular politeness of Bleda's widow, who added to her other favours, the gift, or at least the loan, of a sufficient number of beautiful and obsequious damsels. The sunshine of the succeeding day was dedicated to repose; to collect and dry the baggage, and to the refreshment of the men and horses; but in the evening, before they pursued their journey, the ambassadors expressed their gratitude to the bounteous lady of the village, by a very acceptable present of silver cups, red fleeces, dried fruits and Indian pepper. Soon after this adventure, they rejoined the march of Attila, from whom they had been separated about six days; and slowly proceeded to the capital of an empire, which did not contain in the space of several thousand miles, a single city.

As far as we may ascertain the vague and obscure geography of Priscus, this capital appears to have been seated between the Danube, the Teyss, and the Carpathian hills, in the plains of Upper Hungary, and most probably

* The Huns themselves still continued to despise the labours of agriculture; they abused the privilege of a victorious nation; and the Goths, their industrious subjects, who cultivated the earth, dreaded their neighbourhood, like that of so many ravenous wolves. (Priscus p. 45.) In the same manner the Sarts and Tadgies provide for their own subsistence, and for that of the Usbec Tartars, their lazy and rapacious sovereigns. See Genealogical History of the Tartars, p. 423.

in the neighbourhood of Jazberin, Agria, or Tokay.* In its origin it could be no more than an accidental camp, which, by the long and frequent residence of Attila, had insensibly swelled into a huge village, for the reception of his court, of the troops who followed his person, and of the various multitude of idle or industrious slaves and retainers.† The baths, constructed by Onegesius, were the only edifice of stone; the materials had been transported from Pannonia; and since the adjacent country was destitute even of large timber, it may be presumed that the meaner habitations of the royal village consisted of straw or mud, or of canvas. The wooden houses of the more illustrious Huns were built and adorned with rude magnificence, according to the rank, the fortune, or the taste of the proprietors. They seem to have been distributed with some degree of order and symmetry; and each spot became more honourable as it approached the person of the sovereign. The palace of Attila, which surpassed all other houses in his dominions, was built entirely of wood, and covered an ample space of ground. The outward enclosure was a lofty wall, or palisade, of smooth square timber, intersected with high towers, but intended rather for ornament than defence. This wall, which seems to have encircled the declivity of a hill, comprehended a great variety of wooden edifices, adapted to each of the numerous wives of Attila; and instead of the rigid and illiberal confinement imposed by Asiatic jealousy, they politely admitted the Roman ambassadors to their presence, their table, and even to the freedom of an innocent embrace. When

455, &c.
 * It is evident, that Priens passed the Danube and the Teyss, and that he did not reach the foot of the Carpathian Mts. Agria, Tokay, and Jazberin, are situated in the plains circumscribed by this definition. M. de Buat (*Histoire des Peuples*, &c., tom. vii. p. 461,) has chosen Tokay: Otrokoci, (p. 189, *apud* M. de B., p. 434) learned Hungarian, has preferred Jazberin, a place about thirty miles westward of Buda and the Danube.
 † The royal village of Attila may be compared to the city of Kanakurum, the residence of the successors of Zingis; which, though it appears to have been a more stable habitation, did not equal the vastness of the town and abbey of St. Denis, in the thirteenth century. (See Rubruquis, in the *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, tom. vii. p. 206.) The camp of Aurengzebe, as it is so frequently described by Barrow, (tom. ii. p. 217—235,) blended the manners of Scythia with the mag-

Maximin offered his presents to Cerca, the principal queen, he admired the singular architecture of her mansion, the height of the round columns, the size and beauty of the wood, which was curiously shaped, or turned, or polished, or carved; and his attentive eye was able to discover some taste in the ornaments, and some regularity in the proportions. After passing through the guards who watched before the gate, the ambassadors were introduced into the private apartment of Cerca. The wife of Attila received their visit sitting, or rather lying, on a soft couch; the floor was covered with a carpet; the domestics formed a circle round the queen; and her damsels, seated on the ground, were employed in working the variegated embroidery which adorned the dress of the barbaric warriors. The Huns were ambitious of displaying those riches which were the fruit and evidence of their victories: the trappings of their horses, their swords, and even their shoes, were studded with gold and precious stones; and their tables were profusely spread with plates and goblets, and vases of gold and silver, which had been fashioned by the labour of Grecian artists. The monarch alone assumed the superior pride of still adhering to the simplicity of his Scythian ancestors.* The dress of Attila, his arms, and the furniture of his horse, were plain, without ornament, and of a single colour. The royal table was served in wooden cups and platters; flesh was his only food; and the conqueror of the north never tasted the luxury of bread.

When Attila first gave audience to the Roman ambassadors on the banks of the Danube, his tent was encompassed with a formidable guard. The monarch himself was seated in a wooden chair. His stern countenance, angry gestures, and impatient tone, astonished the firmness of Maximin; but Vigilius had more reason to tremble, since he distinctly understood the menace, that if Attila did not respect the law of nations, he would nail the deceitful interpreter to the cross, and leave his body to the vultures. The barbarian condescended, by producing an accurate list,

nificence and luxury of Hindostan.

* When the Moguls displayed the spoils of Asia in the diet of Toncat, the throne of Zingis was still covered with the original black felt carpet, on which he had been seated, when he was raised to the command of his warlike countrymen. See *Vie de Gengiscan*, l. 4, c. 9.

to expose the bold falsehood of Vigilius, who had affirmed that no more than seventeen deserters could be found. But he arrogantly declared, that he apprehended only the disgrace of contending with his fugitive slaves; since he despised their impotent efforts to defend the provinces which Theodosius had intrusted to their arms; "For what fortress," added Attila, "what city, in the wide extent of the Roman empire, can hope to exist secure and impregnable if it is our pleasure that it should be erased from the earth?" He dismissed, however, the interpreter, who returned to Constantinople with his peremptory demand of more complete restitution, and a more splendid embassy. His anger gradually subsided, and his domestic satisfaction, in a marriage which he celebrated on the road with the daughter of Eslau, might perhaps contribute to mollify the native fierceness of his temper. The entrance of Attila into the royal village was marked by a very singular ceremony. A numerous troop of women came out to meet their hero and their king. They marched before him, distributed into long and regular files: the intervals between the files were filled by white veils of thin linen, which the women on either side bore aloft in their hands, and which formed a canopy for a chorus of young virgins, who chanted hymns and songs in the Scythian language. The wife of his favourite Onegesius, with a train of female attendants, saluted Attila at the door of her own house, on his way to the palace; and offered, according to the custom of the country, her respectful homage, by entreating him to taste the wine and meat which she had prepared for his reception. As soon as the monarch had graciously accepted her hospitable gift, his domestics lifted a small silver table to a convenient height, as he sat on horseback; and Attila, when he had touched the goblet with his lips, again saluted the wife of Onegesius, and continued his march. During his residence at the seat of empire, his hours were not wasted in the reclusé idleness of a seraglio; and the king of the Huns could maintain his superior dignity, without concealing his person from the public view. He frequently assembled his council, and gave audience to the ambassadors of the nations; and his people might appeal to the supreme tribunal, which he held at stated times, and according to the eastern custom, before the principal gate of his wooden

palace. The Romans, both of the east and of the west, were twice invited to the banquets, where Attila feasted with the princes and nobles of Scythia. Maximin and his colleagues were stopped on the threshold till they had made a devout libation to the health and prosperity of the king of the Huns; and were conducted after this ceremony to their respective seats in a spacious hall. The royal table and couch, covered with carpets and fine linen, was raised by several steps in the midst of the hall; and a son, an uncle, or perhaps a favourite king, were admitted to share the simple and homely repast of Attila. Two lines of small tables, each of which contained three or four guests, were ranged in order on either hand: the right was esteemed the most honourable, but the Romans ingenuously confess that they were placed on the left; and that Beric, an unknown chieftain, most probably of the Gothic race, preceded the representatives of Theodosius and Valentinian. The barbarian monarch received from his cupbearer a goblet filled with wine, and courteously drank to the health of the most distinguished guest; who rose from his seat, and expressed in the same manner his loyal and respectful vows. This ceremony was successively performed for all, or at least for the illustrious persons of the assembly; and a considerable time must have been consumed, since it was thrice repeated, as each course or service was placed on the table. But the wine still remained after the meat had been removed; and the Huns continued to indulge their intemperance long after the sober and decent ambassadors of the two empires had withdrawn themselves from the nocturnal banquet. Yet before they retired, they enjoyed a singular opportunity of observing the manners of the nation in their convivial amusements. Two Scythians stood before the couch of Attila, and recited the verses which they had composed to celebrate his valour and his victories. A profound silence prevailed in the hall; and the attention of the guests was captivated by the vocal harmony, which revived and perpetuated the memory of their own exploits: a martial ardour flashed from the eyes of the warriors, who were impatient for battle; and the tears of the old men expressed their generous despair that they could no longer partake the danger and glory of the field.* This enter-

* If we may believe Plutarch, (in Demetrio, tom. v, p. 24,) it was

tainment, which might be considered as a school of military virtue, was succeeded by a farce which debased the dignity of human nature. A Moorish and a Scythian buffoon successively excited the mirth of the rude spectators, by their deformed figure, ridiculous dress, antic gestures, absurd speeches, and the strange unintelligible confusion of the Latin, the Gothic, and the Hunnic languages; and the hall resounded with loud and licentious peals of laughter. In the midst of this intemperate riot, Attila alone, without a change of countenance, maintained his steadfast and inflexible gravity; which was never relaxed, except on the entrance of Irnac, the youngest of his sons: he embraced the boy with a smile of paternal tenderness, gently pinched him by the cheek, and betrayed a partial affection, which was justified by the assurance of his prophetic empire. Two days afterwards the ambassadors received a second invitation; and they had reason to praise the politeness as well as the hospitality of Attila. The king of the Huns held a long and familiar conversation with Maximin; but his civility was interrupted by rude expressions and haughty reproaches; and he was provoked, by a motive of interest, to support, with unbecoming zeal, the private claims of his secretary, Constantius. "The emperor," said Attila, "has long promised him a rich wife; Constantius must not be disappointed; nor should a Roman emperor deserve the name of liar." On the third day the ambassadors were dismissed; the freedom of several captives was granted, the custom of the Scythians, when they indulged in the pleasures of the table, to awaken their languid courage by the martial harmony of twanging their bow-strings. (Some of these lays, orally preserved among the Huns, and traditionally handed down, were probably at a later period rendered into Gothic, and furnished the materials from which the Nibelungen minstrels (Niebuhr's *Lectures*, l. 25) made Attila (Etzel) one of their heroes. Niebuhr (ib. 3. 217) says that these poems were "originally Gothic," still it can only have been through the channel above indicated, that the birds heard of the king of the Huns, whom they associated with other heroes not contemporary. In the tenth century he was introduced into the poetical fiction of *Waltharius*, written in Latin (ib. 1. p. 12, and editor's note.) This poem Mr. Herbert has made the subject of particular notice, in the historical treatise, appended to his *Attila*, (p. 540—544) but detracts from its value by saying, that it "does not appear to contain one word of historical truth." He

for a moderate ransom, to their pressing entreaties; and, besides the royal presents, they were permitted to accept, from each of the Scythian nobles, the honourable and useful gift of a horse. Maximin returned by the same road to Constantinople; and, though he was involved in an accidental dispute with Beric, the new ambassador of Attila, he flattered himself that he had contributed, by the laborious journey, to confirm the peace and alliance of the two nations.*

But the Roman ambassador was ignorant of the treacherous design which had been concealed under the mask of the public faith. The surprise and satisfaction of Edecon, when he contemplated the splendour of Constantinople, had encouraged the interpreter Vigilius to procure for him a secret interview with the eunuch Chrysaphius,† who governed the emperor and the empire. After some previous conversation and a mutual oath of secrecy, the eunuch, who had not, from his own feelings or experience, imbibed any exalted notions of ministerial virtue, ventured to propose the death of Attila, as an important service, by which Edecon might deserve a liberal share of the wealth and luxury which he admired. The ambassador of the Huns listened to the tempting offer; and professed, with apparent zeal, his ability, as well as readiness, to execute the bloody deed: the design was communicated to the master of the offices, and the devout Theodosius consented to the assassination of his invincible enemy. But this perfidious conspiracy was defeated by the dissimulation, or repentance of Edecon; and, though he might exaggerate

seems also to think that "the Arthur of romance," is a "mystical denomination of Attila."—Ed.]

* The curious narrative of this embassy, which required few observations, and was not susceptible of any collateral evidence, may be found in Priscus, p. 49—70. But I have not confined myself to the same order; and I had previously extracted the historical circumstances, which were less intimately connected with the journey and business of the Roman ambassadors.

† M. de Tillemont has very properly given the succession of chamberlains, who reigned in the name of Theodosius. Chrysaphius was the last, and, according to the unanimous evidence of history, the worst of these favourites. (See *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. vi, p. 117—119. *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xv, p. 438.) His partiality for his godfather, the heresiarch, engaged him to persecute the orthodox party.

his inward abhorrence for the treason, which he seemed to approve, he dexterously assumed the merit of an early and voluntary confession. If we now review the embassy of Maximin, and the behaviour of Attila, we must applaud the barbarian, who respected the laws of hospitality, and generously entertained and dismissed the minister of a prince who had conspired against his life. But the rashness of Vigilius will appear still more extraordinary, since he returned, conscious of his guilt and danger, to the royal camp, accompanied by his son, and carrying with him a weighty purse of gold, which the favourite eunuch had furnished, to satisfy the demands of Edecon, and to corrupt the fidelity of the guards. The interpreter was instantly seized and dragged before the tribunal of Attila, where he asserted his innocence with specious firmness, till the threat of inflicting instant death on his son extorted from him a sincere discovery of the criminal transaction. Under the name of ransom or confiscation, the rapacious king of the Huns accepted two hundred pounds of gold for the life of a traitor whom he disdained to punish. He pointed his just indignation against a nobler object. His ambassadors, Eslaw and Orestes, were immediately de-patched to Constantinople, with a peremptory instruction, which it was much easier for them to execute than to disobey. They boldly entered the imperial presence, with the fatal purse hanging down from the neck of Orestes, who interrogated the eunuch Chrysaphius, as he stood beside the throne, whether he recognized the evidence of his guilt. But the office of reproof was reserved for the superior dignity of his colleague Eslaw, who gravely addressed the emperor of the east in the following words: "Theodosius is the son of an illustrious and respectable parent; Attila likewise is descended from a noble race; and he has supported, by his actions, the dignity which he inherited from his father Mundzuk. But Theodosius has forfeited his paternal honours, and, by consenting to pay tribute, has degraded himself to the condition of a slave. It is, therefore, just that he should reverence the man whom fortune and merit have placed above him; instead of attempting, like a wicked slave, clandestinely to conspire against his master." The son of Arcadius, who was accustomed only to the voice of

flattery, heard with astonishment the severe language of truth; he blushed and trembled; nor did he presume directly to refuse the head of Chrysaphius, which Eslaw and Orcstes were instructed to demand. A solemn embassy armed with full powers and magnificent gifts, was hastily sent to deprecate the wrath of Attila; and his pride was gratified by the choice of Nomius and Anatolius, two ministers of consular or patrician rank, of whom the one was great treasurer, and the other was master-general of the armies of the east. He condescended to meet these ambassadors on the banks of the river Drengo; and though he at first affected a stern and haughty demeanour, his anger was insensibly mollified by their eloquence and liberality. He condescended to pardon the emperor, the eunuch, and the interpreter; bound himself by an oath to observe the conditions of peace; released a great number of captives; abandoned the fugitives and deserters to their fate; and resigned a large territory to the south of the Danube, which he had already exhausted of its wealth and inhabitants. But this treaty was purchased at an expense which might have supported a vigorous and successful war; and the subjects of Theodosius were compelled to redeem the safety of a worthless favourite by oppressive taxes, which they would more cheerfully have paid for his destruction.*

The emperor Theodosius did not long survive the most humiliating circumstance of an inglorious life. As he was riding, or hunting, in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, he was thrown from his horse into the river Lycus: the spine of his back was injured by the fall; and he expired some days afterwards, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the forty-third of his reign.† His sister Pulcheria, whose authority had been controlled both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs

* This secret conspiracy, and its important consequences, may be traced in the fragments of Priscus, p. 37—39, 54, 70—72. The chronology of that historian is not fixed by any precise date; but the series of negotiations between Attila and the eastern empire must be included within the three or four years which are terminated, A.D. 450, by the death of Theodosius.

† Theodorus the Reader, (see Vales. Hist. Eccles. tom. iii, p. 563,) and the Paschal Chronicle, mention the fall, without specifying the injury: but the consequence was so likely to happen, and so unlikely to be invented, that we may safely give credit to Nicephorus Callistus, a Greek of the fourteenth century.

by the pernicious influence of the eunuchs, was unanimously proclaimed empress of the east; and the Romans, for the first time, submitted to a female reign. No sooner had Pulcheria ascended the throne, than she indulged her own and the public resentment, by an act of popular justice. Without any legal trial, the eunuch Chrysaphius was executed before the gates of the city; and the immense riches which had been accumulated by the rapacious favourite, served only to hasten and to justify his punishment.* Amidst the general acclamation of the clergy and people, the empress did not forget the prejudice and disadvantage to which her sex was exposed; and she wisely resolved to prevent their murmurings by the choice of a colleague, who would always respect the superior rank and virgin chastity of his wife. She gave her hand to Marcian, a senator, about sixty years of age; and the nominal husband of Pulcheria was solemnly invested with the imperial purple.† The zeal which he displayed for the orthodox creed, as it was established by the council of Chalcedon, would alone have inspired the grateful eloquence of the Catholics. But the behaviour of Marcian in a private life, and afterwards on the throne, may support a more rational belief, that he was qualified to restore and invigorate an empire, which had been almost dissolved by the successive weakness of two hereditary monarchs. He was born in Thrace, and educated to the profession of arms; but Marcian's youth had been severely exercised by poverty and misfortune, since his only resource, when he first arrived at Constantinople, consisted in two hundred pieces of gold, which he had borrowed of a friend. He passed nineteen years in the domestic and military service of Aspar, and his son Ardaburius; followed those powerful generals to the Persian and African wars; and obtained, by their influence, the honourable rank of tribune and senator. His mild disposition and useful talents, without alarming the jealousy, recommended Marcian to the esteem and favour of his

* Pulcheria nutu (says count Marcellinus) sed cum avaritia interemptus est. She abandoned the eunuch to the pious revenge of a son, whose father had suffered at his instigation.
 † One of Marcian's coins, in the Hunterian Collection, supposed to be unique is a curious memorial of this marriage. Eckhel, c. 191.—Ed.

patrons: he had seen, perhaps he had felt, the abuses of a venal and oppressive administration; and his own example gave weight and energy to the laws which he promulgated for the reformation of manners.*

* Procopius, *de Bell. Vandal.* l. 1, c. 4. Evagrius, l. 2, c. 1. Theophanes, p. 90, 91. *Novel. ad calcem Cod. Theod.* tom. vi, p. 30. The praises which St. Leo and the Catholics have bestowed on Marcian, are diligently transcribed by Baronius, as an encouragement for future princes. [Zonaras, for whose authorities see Niebuhr (*Lect.* 1. 65) states very circumstantially (xiii. p. 45. c.) the conditions on which Pulcheria offered, and Marcian accepted, the imperial dignity. He reigned three years as her husband, and after her death remained, to the close of his life, the undisputed sovereign of the East. His severe edicts against heretics may be ascribed to her influence and the disturbed state of the church. Yet he endeavoured quietly to repress the ambition of the priesthood. Under his auspices the council of Chalcedon reversed the acts of the "Robber Synod" of Ephesus; deposed Dioscorus, the violent primate of Egypt; and restored Theodoret and the other bishops who had been expelled.—ED.]

END OF VOL. III.

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was darkened with swarms of innumerable insects.* The appearance of the hostile country was far more inviting. The extensive region that lies between the river Tigris and the mountains of Media, was filled with villages and towns; and the fertile soil, for the most part, was in a very improved state of cultivation. Julian might expect, that a conqueror, who possessed the two forcible instruments of persuasion, steel and gold, would easily procure a plentiful subsistence from the fears or avarice of the natives. But on the approach of the Romans, this rich and smiling prospect was instantly blasted. Wherever they moved, the inhabitants deserted the open villages, and took shelter in the fortified towns; the cattle was driven away; the grass and ripe corn were consumed with fire; and as soon as the flames had subsided which interrupted the march of Julian, he beheld the melancholy face of a smoking and naked desert. This desperate but effectual method of defence, can only be executed by the enthusiasm of a people who prefer their independence to their property; or by the rigour of an arbitrary government which consults the public safety, without submitting to their inclinations the liberty of choice. On the present occasion, the zeal and obedience of the Persians seconded the commands of Sapor; and the emperor was soon reduced to the scanty stock of provisions, which continually wasted in his hands. Before they were entirely consumed, he might still have reached the wealthy and unwarlike cities of Ecbatana or Susa, by the effort of a rapid and well directed march;† but he was deprived of this last resource by his ignorance of the roads, and by the perfidy of his guides. The Romans wandered several days in the country to the eastward of Bagdad; the Persian deserter, who had artfully led them into the snare, escaped from their resentment; and his followers, as soon as they were put to the torture,

the Geographical Dissertation of Foster, inserted in Spelman's Expedition of Cyrus, vol. ii, p. 26. [For the floods of the Tigris, in the months of March and April, see Layard, p. 337, 347.—Ed.] * Ammianus (24, 8), describes, as he had felt, the inconveniency of the flood, the heat, and the insects. The lands of Assyria, oppressed by the Turks, and ravaged by the Curds, or Arabs, yield an increase of ten, fifteen, and twenty-fold, for the seed which is cast into the ground by the wretched and unskilful husbandman. Voyages de Niebuhr, tom. ii, p. 279—285.

† Isidore of Charax (Mansion. Parthic. p. 5, 6. in Hudson, Geograph. Minor. tom. ii), reckons one hundred and twenty-nine schoeni from Seleucia; and Thevenot (part 1, lib. 1, 2, p. 209—245), one hundred

confessed the secret of the conspiracy. The visionary conquests of Hyrcania and India, which had so long amused, now tormented, the mind of Julian. Conscious that his own imprudence was the cause of the public distress, he anxiously balanced the hopes of safety or success, without obtaining a satisfactory answer either from gods or men. At length, as the only practicable measure, he embraced the resolution of directing his steps towards the banks of the Tigris, with the design of saving the army by a hasty march to the confines of Corduene; a fertile and friendly province, which acknowledged the sovereignty of Rome. The desponding troops obeyed the signal of the retreat, only seventy days after they had passed the Chaboras with the sanguine expectation of subverting the throne of Persia.*

As long as the Romans seemed to advance into the country, their march was observed and insulted from a distance, by several bodies of Persian cavalry; who, shewing themselves sometimes in loose, and sometimes in closer order, faintly skirmished with the advanced guards. These detachments were, however, supported by a much greater force; and the heads of the columns were no sooner pointed towards the Tigris, than a cloud of dust arose on the plain. The Romans, who now aspired only to the permission of a safe and speedy retreat, endeavoured to persuade themselves that this formidable appearance was occasioned by a troop of wild asses, or perhaps by the approach of some friendly Arabs. They halted, pitched their tents, fortified their camp, passed the whole night in continual alarms; and discovered, at the dawn of day, that they were surrounded by an army of Persians. This army, which might be considered only as the van of the barbarians, was soon followed

and twenty-eight hours' march from Bagdad to Ecbatana or Hamadani. These measures cannot exceed an ordinary parasang, or three Roman miles. [The parasang, like the modern *farsang*, or *farsakh*, of Persia, "was not a measure of distance very accurately determined, but rather indicated a certain amount of time employed in traversing a given space." It denoted the journey of an hour, as the word *Stunde* is now used by the Germans. The length of the Persian *farsang* now varies according to the nature of the country. In the plains of Khorassan, it is equal to about four miles; on difficult and precipitous roads, it scarcely amounts to three." Layard, pp. 60, 61.—Ed.] * The march of Julian from Ctesiphon is circumstantially, but not clearly described by Ammianus (24, 7, 8), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 134, p. 357), and Zosimus (lib. 3, p. 183.) The two last seem ignorant that their conqueror was retreating; and Libanius absurdly confines him to the banks of the Tigris.

by the main body of cuirassiers, archers, and elephants, commanded by Meranes, a general of rank and reputation. He was accompanied by two of the king's sons, and many of the principal satraps; and fame and expectation exaggerated the strength of the remaining powers, which slowly advanced under the conduct of Sapor himself. As the Romans continued their march, their long array, which was forced to bend, or divide, according to the varieties of the ground, afforded frequent and favourable opportunities to their vigilant enemies. The Persians repeatedly charged with fury, they were repeatedly repulsed with firmness; and the action at Maronga, which almost deserved the name of a battle, was marked by a considerable loss of satraps and elephants, perhaps of equal value in the eyes of their monarch. These splendid advantages were not obtained without an adequate slaughter on the side of the Romans: several officers of distinction were either killed or wounded; and the emperor himself, who, on all occasions of danger, inspired and guided the valour of his troops, was obliged to expose his person, and exert his abilities. The weight of offensive and defensive arms, which still constituted the strength and safety of the Romans, disabled them from making any long or effectual pursuit; and as the horsemen of the east were trained to dart their javelins, and shoot their arrows, at full speed, and in every possible direction,* the cavalry of Persia was never more formidable than in the moment of a rapid and disorderly flight. But the most certain and irreparable loss of the Romans, was that of time. The hardy veterans, accustomed to the cold climate of Gaul and Germany, fainted under the sultry heat of an Assyrian summer; their vigour was exhausted by the incessant repetition of march and combat; and the progress of the army was suspended by the precautions of a slow and dangerous retreat, in the presence of an active enemy. Every day, every hour, as the supply diminished, the value and price of subsistence increased in the Roman camp.† Julian,

* Chardin, the most judicious of modern travellers, describes (tom. iii, p. 57, 58, &c. edit. in 4to.) the education and dexterity of the Persian horsemen. Brissonius (de Regno Persico, p. 650—661, &c.) has collected the testimonies of antiquity. † In Mark Antony's retreat, an Attic choenix sold for fifty drachmæ, or in other words, a pound of flour for twelve or fourteen shillings; barley-bread was sold for its weight in silver. It is impossible to peruse the interesting narrative of Plutarch (tom. v, p. 102—116,) without perceiving that Mark

who always contented himself with such food as a hungry soldier would have disdained, distributed, for the use of the troops, the provisions of the imperial household, and whatever could be spared from the sumpter-horses of the tribunes and generals. But this feeble relief served only to aggravate the sense of the public distress; and the Romans began to entertain the most gloomy apprehensions, that before they could reach the frontiers of the empire, they should all perish, either by famine, or by the sword of the barbarians.*

While Julian struggled with the almost insuperable difficulties of his situation, the silent hours of the night were still devoted to study and contemplation. Whenever he closed his eyes in short and interrupted slumbers, his mind was agitated with painful anxiety; nor can it be thought surprising, that the genius of the empire should once more appear before him, covering, with a funereal veil, his head and his horn of abundance, and slowly retiring from the imperial tent. The monarch started from his couch, and stepping forth, to refresh his wearied spirits with the coolness of the midnight air, he beheld a fiery meteor, which shot athwart the sky, and suddenly vanished. Julian was convinced that he had seen the menacing countenance of the god of war;† the council which he summoned, of Tuscan Haruspices,‡ unanimously pronounced that he should abstain from action: but, on this occasion, necessity and reason were more prevalent than superstition; and the trumpets sounded at the break of day. The army marched through a hilly country; and the hills had been secretly occupied by the Persians. Julian led the van with the skill and attention of a consummate general; he was alarmed by Antony and Julian were pursued by the same enemies, and involved in the same distress.

* Ammian. 24, 8. 25, 1. Zosimus, l. 3, p. 184—186. Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 134, 135, p. 357—359. The sophist of Antioch appears ignorant that the troops were hungry.

† Ammian. 25, 2. Julian had sworn in a passion, nunquam se Marti sacra facturum. (24, 6.) Such whimsical quarrels were not uncommon between the gods and their insolent votaries; and even the prudent Augustus, after his fleet had been twice shipwrecked, excluded Neptune from the honours of public processions. See Hume's Philosophical Reflections, Essays, vol. ii, p. 418. ‡ They still retained the monopoly of the vain, but lucrative, science, which had been invented in Hetruria; and professed to derive their knowledge of signs and omens from the ancient books of Tarquitius, a Tuscan sage.

the intelligence that his rear was suddenly attacked. The heat of the weather had tempted him to lay aside his cuirass; but he snatched a shield from one of his attendants, and hastened, with a sufficient reinforcement, to the relief of the rear-guard. A similar danger recalled the intrepid prince to the defence of the front, and, as he galloped between the columns, the centre of the left was attacked, and almost overpowered, by a furious charge of the Persian cavalry and elephants. This huge body was soon defeated, by the well-timed evolution of the light infantry, who aimed their weapons, with dexterity and effect, against the backs of the horsemen, and the legs of the elephants. The barbarians fled; and Julian, who was foremost in every danger, animated the pursuit with his voice and gestures. His trembling guards, scattered and oppressed by the disorderly throng of friends and enemies, reminded their fearless sovereign that he was without armour; and conjured him to decline the fall of the impending ruin. As they exclaimed * a cloud of darts and arrows was discharged from the flying squadrons; and a javelin, after razing the skin of his arm, transpierced the ribs and fixed in the inferior part of the liver. Julian attempted to draw the deadly weapon from his side; but his fingers were cut by the sharpness of the steel, and he fell senseless from his horse. His guards flew to his relief; and the wounded emperor was gently raised from the ground, and conveyed out of the tumult of the battle into an adjacent tent. The report of the melancholy event passed from rank to rank; but the grief of the Romans inspired them with invincible valour, and the desire of revenge. The bloody and obstinate conflict was maintained by the two armies till they were separated by the total darkness of the night. The Persians derived some honour from the advantage which they obtained against the left wing, where Anatolius, master of the offices, was slain, and the prefect Sallust very narrowly escaped. But the event of the day was adverse to the barbarians. They abandoned the field; their two generals, Meranes and Nohordates,†

* *Clamabant hine inde candidati* (see the note of Valesius) quos disjecerat terror, ut fugientium molem tanquam ruinam male compositi culminis declinaret. Ammian. 25, 3.

† Sapor himself declared to the Romans, that it was his practice to comfort the families of his deceased satraps, by sending them, as a present, the heads of the guards and officers who had not fallen by their master's side. Liba.

fifty nobles or satraps, and a multitude of their bravest soldiers: and the success of the Romans, if Julian had survived, might have been improved into a decisive and useful victory.

The first words that Julian uttered, after his recovery from the fainting fit into which he had been thrown by loss of blood, were expressive of his martial spirit. He called for his horse and arms, and was impatient to rush into the battle. His remaining strength was exhausted by the painful effort; and the surgeons who examined his wound, discovered the symptoms of approaching death. He employed the awful moments with the firm temper of a hero and a sage; the philosophers who had accompanied him in this fatal expedition, compared the tent of Julian with the prison of Socrates; and the spectators, whom duty, or friendship, or curiosity, had assembled round his couch, listened with respectful grief to the funeral oration of their dying emperor.* “Friends and fellow-soldiers, the seasonable period of my departure is now arrived, and I discharge, with the cheerfulness of a ready debtor, the demands of nature. I have learned from philosophy how much the soul is more excellent than the body; and that the separation of the nobler substance should be the subject of joy, rather than of affliction. I have learned from religion, that an early death has often been the reward of piety,† and I accept, as a favour of the gods, the mortal stroke that secures me from the danger of disgracing a character, which has hitherto been supported by virtue and fortitude. I die without remorse, as I have lived without guilt. I am pleased to reflect on the innocence of my private life; and I can affirm with confidence, that the supreme authority, that emanation of the Divine Power, has been preserved in my hands pure and immaculate. Detesting the corrupt and destructive maxims of despotism, I have considered the happiness of the people as the end of government. Submitting

nus, *De nece Julian. ulcis.* c. 13, p. 163.

* The character and situation of Julian might countenance the suspicion, that he had previously composed the elaborate oration, which Ammianus heard, and has transcribed. The version of the abbé de la Bletterie is faithful and elegant. I have followed him in expressing the Platonic idea of emanations, which is darkly insinuated in the original. † Herodotus

(L. 1, c. 31) has displayed that doctrine in an agreeable tale. Yet the Jupiter (in the sixteenth book of the *Iliad*) who laments with tears of blood the death of Sarpedon his son, had a very imperfect notion of